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ONE OR TWO LEONTII, LEGAL SCHOLARS IN BEIRUT?

A Contribution to the History of Byzantine Legal Science

By Adolf Berger

The Justinianean constitution *Tanta* by which the great codifier promulgated the Digest (December 16, 533) mentions in its ch. 9, in connection with Anatolius,[1] one of the Digest compilers, the names of two other Byzantine jurists, Leontius and Eudoxius, who did not participate in the compilation of the Digest. The Greek version of that constitution, *Dedoken*, names further two juridical celebrities, Patricius and Leontius, who also had nothing to do with the composition of the Digest. The different wording of those merely historical reminiscences has caused some doubts with regard to the jurist called Leontius, all the more since the Greek text presenting two Leontii is not fully preserved. It is therefore worthwhile clarifying this obscure point in the history of the Byzantine legal science,—a point which may seem at first glance to be of minor importance. However, since our knowledge of the Byzantine jurists is rather limited, even a modest contribution should be welcome, especially if it affords the opportunity of revealing and correcting various misunderstandings and blunders concerning not only this particular question but also some details of a general nature.

I. The purpose of the following remarks is the examination of the question whether the two passages quoted verbatim below concern one or two Byzantine jurists by the name of Leontius. The question has so far not been studied monographically. Occasional remarks are contradictory, and what an author who dealt extensively with the Law school of Beirut said about the Leontius problem breaks down under a more critical approach to the sources.

[1] According to Zachariae v. Lingenthal, *Ztschr. f. Rechtsgesch.* X (1872), 60; *Ztschr. d. Savigny-Stift., Rom. Abt.*, VI (1885) p. 282, VIII (1887), 70; *Gesch. des griech.-röm. Rechts*[3] (1892), 8—followed by P. Krueger, *Gesch. der Quellen*[2] (1912), 431; B. Kuebler, *Gesch. d. roem. Rechts* (1925), 438; P. de Francisci, *Storia del dir. rom.* III (1940), 318 n. 6—this Anatolius, professor at the Law School in Beirut, was not identical with the commentator to Justinian's Code, Anatolius, as had been generally supposed before, cf. Mortreuil, *Hist. du droit byzantin*, I (1843), 283; C. G. E. Heimbach, *Basilica* VI (1870), 13, 62, 69; Hartmann, Pauly-Wissowa *RE.*, I, 2073, nr. 10.—Zachariae's argument that the Code commentator was professor in Constantinople, and not in Beirut, based on the frequent use of the word ἐνταῦθα (= here) in his commentary to indicate Constantinople, is not convincing. Cf. C. Ferrini, *Opere*, I (1929, written 1883), p. 241ff. It should not be forgotten that the professor from Beirut lived at least three years in Constantinople during his collaboration in the compilation of the Digest.

The two texts are:

a. Const. *Tanta* 9: ". . . vir (sc. Anatolius) ab antiqua stirpe legitima procedens, cum et pater eius Leontius et avus Eudoxius optimam sui memoriam in legibus reliquerunt."

The Greek version of this passage contains a good deal of new details. Its author was evidently better informed than the author of the Latin constitution, since he says much more with reference to the same Anatolius.

b. Const. *Dedoken* 9: . . . ἀνὴρ (sc. Anatolius) ἐκ τριγονίας σεμνῆς τ[ῆ]ς παρὰ Φοίνιξιν τῶν νόμων διδασ[καλίας καταβ]αίνων (ἀναφέρει γοῦν[2] [ε]ἰς Λεόντιόν τε καὶ Εὐδόξιον, ἄνδρας ἐπὶ νόμοις μετὰ Πατρίκιον, τὸν τῆς εὐκληοῦς μνήμης κυαιστώριον καὶ ἀντικήνσορα καὶ Λεόντιον, τόν πανεύφημον ἀπὸ ὑπάρχων <καὶ *ins.*Mommsen> ὑπάτων[3] καὶ πατρίκιον, τὸν αὐτοῦ παῖδα, [δικαί]ως[4] τεθαυμασμέν[ους] . . .].[5]

While the Latin text precisely indicates the genealogy: the son (Anatolius), the father (Leontius), the grandfather (Eudoxius), the Greek text omits the paternity relation: it adds, however, a characteristic connotation παρὰ Φοίνιξιν. This may be an expression of the author's local patriotism who belonged perhaps to the Beirut members of the staff of the compilers.[6] Moreover, and this is of greater importance, the *Dedoken*-text mentions two further jurists and their official career as well.

It is well known that *Tanta* and *Dedoken* often profoundly diverge.[7] With regard to the passage quoted above, however, it is to be observed that the supplementary phrase of *Dedoken* which follows the mention of Eudoxius is preserved also in Latin: once in the *Tanta*-text of a Digest manuscript designated as F^2—[8] and the second time in the text of *Tanta*, as it runs in Justinian's Code, ch. I, 17, 2, 9:

[2] τὸ γένος Witte, cf. Heimbach, *Bas.* VI, 10 n.33; γονεῖς Zachariae, *Savigny-Ztschr.*, VIII, 70 n. 1; X (1889), 291.

[3] Cf. Zachariae, *Savigny-Ztschr.*, VIII, 70, n.2.

[4] Older editions did not fill in the gap and wrote simply ὡς. So also Heimbach, *Bas.* VI, 10, n.33. [δικαί]ως is, of course, not sure, all the more so since there is place only for four letters. I would suggest: [ὁμοί]ως.

[5] Latin translations of the second part of the passage may be given here. Brencmann, followed by the brothers Kriegel and the Italian pocket-edition of the Digest: "viros in legibus post Patricium, gloriosae memoriae quaestorium et antecessorem, et Leontium, celebratissimum ex praefectum et ex consulem, et Patricium, filium eius, in admiratione habitos." The translation of [δικαί]ως is omitted. Cf. n.4.

Translation by Mommsen: "qui viri in iurisprudentia post Patricium, clarae memoriae quaestorium et antecessorem, et Leontium, virum gloriosissimum ex praefecto praetorii [et] ex consule et Patricium (*sic* the major Digest edition, *patricium* ed. Mommsen-Krueger) filium eius iure celebrantur."

[6] Cf. infra ch. X.

[7] For their chronological relation s. Ebrard, *Savigny-Ztschr.*, XL (1919), 113ff.

[8] *Libri Florentini scriptura secundaria ab ordinario correctore profecta*, cf. Ed. ster. Dig. Mommsen-Krueger, p. 18 n.1; Schulz, *Einführung in die Digesten*, p. 3.

"qui[9] (sc. Leontius et Eudoxius) post Patricium inclutae recordationis quaestorium et antecessorem et Leontium virum gloriosissimum praefectorium (praefectorem F^2) et consularem atque patricium filium eius optimam sui memoriam in legibus relinquerunt."

The Greek text, examined without prejudice, does not admit of any other interpretation than that there were two Leontii:[10] one—let us call him here Leontius I—who is mentioned in both constitutions to point out Anatolius' descent from a famous family of jurists, namely as the son of a renowned father (Leontius I) and the grandson of a similarly renowned jurist, Eudoxius,[11]—the other, Leontius II, named only with his father Patricius,[12] another Byzantine celebrity. Neither Leontius I nor Leontius II had anything to do with the compilation of the Digest. The juxtaposition of Anatolius' family of distinguished teachers on the one hand, and of Patricius and his son Leontius II on the other hand, gives the impression that the author wanted to confront the first group with another family of jurists, even a more famous one.[13] Thus, together with the representatives of the Law-school of Beirut, Dorotheus and Anatolius, actually still alive, a series of other authorities in the field of legal science in the same town is enumerated.

The result that two jurists appear by the same name, Leontius, is as such not suspicious at all. We have already seen that in the same section of the introductory constitutions to the Digest a third Leontius is named whose existence does not evoke any doubt.[14] We know that the name Leontius was one of the most frequent.[15] Of another Leontius teaching law in Constantinople we learn from Cod. Th. VI 21, 1 (a. 425) and a great

[9] *Qui* disturbs the structure because of the foregoing *cum et.* It is superfluous, and correctly it does not appear in the Code. For the various retouchings made on this text see the Codex edition of the brothers Kriegel. Some of those corrections are merely senseless, as, for instance, *filios*, instead of *filium* after *patricium*.

[10] Besides a third Leontius, named among the eleven advocates who collaborated in the compilation. He appears in the following part of §9, not quoted above.

[11] See Kuebler, Pauly-Wissowa *RE.*, VI, 927.

[12] See Berger, Art. Patrikios, Pauly-Wissowa *RE.* XVIII (delivered in 1938 and corrected 1939).

[13] μετὰ is used here not in the sense of temporal sequence, but in the meaning of "in order of rank," cf. Liddell-Scott s.v. under cI 3. Likewise *post* can have the same meaning, cf. for juridical sources Heumann-Seckel, *Handlexikon zu den Quellen* s.v. and, for instance, Dig. XXVIII, 6, 34. Here it means that Patricius and Leontius II were more appreciated than Eudoxius and Leontius I. At any rate, no consequences should be drawn from the passage to establish the chronological sequence of Patricius' and Eudoxius' activity. Otherwise Collinet, *Histoire de l' Ecole de droit de Beyrouth* (1925), p. 159.

[14] See *supra* n. 10.

[15] See the articles *Leontius* in Pauly-Wissowa, *RE.* vol. XII and Suppl. VII.—For the Leontii in *Vita Severi* s. infra n. 57.

number of ecclesiastical personalities of high rank were called by the same name.[16] Therefore it is not surprising that both Eudoxius and Patricius had a son named Leontius. It is surely not fortuitous that both Leontii are mentioned with their fathers' names because this way misunderstandings were excluded.

II. How was it possible, however that, in spite of the clear texts, efforts have been made to eliminate Leontius II? One of the reasons of the identification of Leontius I with Leontius II was the fact that the latter is missing in *Tanta* as preserved in the best manuscript of the Digest. For some scholars this was decisive, although, as remarked earlier, one Ms. of the Digest and several Mss. of the Code are in perfect accord with *Dedoken*,[17] and this is conscientiously noted in the stereotype edition by Mommsen-Krueger. But the most zealous defender of the identity of the two Leontii, Paul Collinet, overlooked it,[18] misled by the use of the abbreviation "*S*" in that edition in a double sense. With regard to the introductory constitutions the letter *S* does not signify the so-called Vulgate Mss. of the Digest,[19] as in the case of the Digest itself, but the Mss. of Justinian's Codex containing two of the introductory constitutions: *Deo Auctore* and *Tanta* (not *Dedoken*) in title I, 17.[20] It was certainly not a fortunate idea of the Digest editors to use the same sign for two such different things, and it is quite comprehensible if it was not perceived. But, on the other hand, it is well known[21] that the Vulgate Mss. do not contain the introductory constitutions at all.[22]

This regrettable misunderstanding led Collinet to believe that the contents of the Greek version were nowhere confirmed, and consequently to some further erroneous conclusions, as we shall see later.[23]

Another reason which confused scholars was the use of the word *patricius* in our texts in two different meanings: once it is the name of the well-

[16] There were, for example, about the middle of the fifth century three bishops by this name. It has often been doubtful who was meant, cfr. Migne, *Patrol. Lat.*, XLIX, 769D, 477; LIII, 683 D; LIV, 1296 nr. 11.

[17] Cf. *supra* the text before n.9.

[18] *Loc. cit.*, p. 142.

[19] See the *Signorum explicatio*, printed before the text of the Digest: *S = secundi ordinis libri Digestorum.*

[20] See *ibid.*, p. 8, n.1 and for the const. *Tanta*, p. 13 n.1.

[21] Cf. P. Krueger, *loc. cit.*, p. 430.

[22] Therefore Mommsen and Krueger did not hesitate using here the sign "*S*" for a different purpose than in the notes to the very text of the Digest. The same sign had been used in the same sense by Mommsen in his major Digest edition, cf. vol. I, p. LXXXV with the following explanation: S = "in const. Deo Auctore et Tanta quattuor Codicis Justiniani libri consentientes." The use of *S* in the sense of the Vulgate Mss. was introduced, however, at first in the minor edition.

[23] See *infra* the text after n. 32 and ch. III.

known pre-Justinian jurist, Patricius, the other time it is used as an honorary title applied to higher officials to whom the *patriciatus* was granted.[24] In the latter meaning it is used in the introductory constitutions to the first edition of the Code, cf. const. *Haec quae necessario* 1 (a. 528) and const. *Summa* 2 (a. 529) as well as in several Justinian Novels, in the title of their addressees, cf. Nov. 1, 2, 8, 10, etc. The confusion of the proper name with the honorific title is all the more intelligible since in some earlier editions of the Digest the second mention of *patricius* was capitalized.[25] The same mistake, strange to say, still appears in the Italian pocket-edition of the Digest (1908), both in *Tanta*, 9[26] and the Greek text of *Dedoken*, 9, as well as in its Latin translation in the footnote. Mommsen, however, who in the major Digest edition (I, 1870) had still written Πατρίκιον in the second mention, eliminated the capitalization in the later one-volume edition, apparently following a critical remark of Zachariae v. Lingenthal.[27] This faulty capital P introduced a second jurist by the name of Patricius whose father would have been Leontius II![28] This Patricius nr. 2 does not appear in any other source, and had been so far quite unknown until the inventive imagination of some editors created him.[29] It is, however, beyond any doubt that the second mention of *patricius* refers to the title. This is proved by the use of *atque* in the formula *consularis atque patricius* in the Latin version of the passage in F^2 and Cod. Just. I, 17, 2, 9 and in the preface-constitutions to the Code, *Haec quae necessario*, 1 (three times) and *Summa*, 2 as well. In the latter text, indeed, our Leontius II is called *consularis atque patricius*.[30] The formula seems to be of official coinage.

The erroneous identification of the two Leontii was also furthered by the awkward position of τὸν αὐτοῦ παῖδα. The sense of the whole passage would be much clearer if this apposition were put before Λεόντιον or immediately after it, i.e., before τὸν πανεύφημον. But, as the three words stand now, clumsily affixed to a word to which they do not belong and disconnected from the word to which they belong, they were referred through παῖδα to the second πατρίκιον instead—through αὐτοῦ to the first πατρίκιον

[24] Cf. C. J. III, 24, 3pr.; X, 32, 64, 3; eod. 67, 1; XII 3, 1, 3.

[25] Cf. for instance, the edition of the brothers Kriegel.

[26] Completed according to F^2; see *supra* ch. I.

[27] *Savigny-Zeitschr.*, VIII, 70.—Cf. H. Peters, "Die oströmischen Digestenkommentare," *Sitz.-Ber. der sächs. Gesellschaft der Wiss. Leipzig*, LXV (1913), 69 n. 190.

[28] We find him already with Jacobus Hasaeus (1716), cf. Collinet, p. 6 and p. 146, n. 1.—In vain warned Heimbach, *Bas.* VI, p. 10 n.33: "alioquin duo essent Patricii jurisconsulti quos si statuerimus, in difficultates vix explicandas incidimus."—In the Greek papyri difficulties arise, too, when it is not clear whether a name or a title is meant. Cf. Wilcken, *Arch. f. Papyrusforschung*, VI 646; Preisigke, Wörterbuch, III s.vv.

[29] Cf. Berger, Art. *Patrikios* (*supra*, n. 12).

[30] We shall come back to this text later, ch. V.

and created thus a paternity which never existed. In this interpretation it was overlooked that, if there had been in fact another Patricius, son of Leontius II, he would have been characterized by some details on his professional activity like the other jurists mentioned beforehand. At any rate, whatever the meaning of the second *patricius* mention may be, neither of the two Leontii does disappear.

The fact that Collinet did not take Cod. Just. I, 17, 2,9 into account at all,[31] led him to go astray and draw conclusions which sometimes may seem inconceivable. He fell, for instance, into the strange idea that the clause concerning Leontius II in *Dedoken*, was a gloss or even an interpolation because—we quote literally—"le texte grec et d'après lui le texte de F^2 S^{32} sont inadmissibles en ce qui concerne le détail sur Leontius. Prise à la lettre ces versions arrivent à cette absurdité: Leontius était fils de Patricius" (p. 143). But the "absurdity" does not exist at all when we admit of the existence of two Leontii, one the son of Eudoxius, the other of Patricius. And, in fact, it did not embarrass either Witte,[33] C. G. E. Heimbach,[34] Huschke[35] among the earlier romanists or Peters[36] among the modern ones. Peters was, however, misunderstood by Kuebler,[37] who cited him incorrectly among those scholars who denied the existence of a second Leontius.[38] Both Collinet[39] and Kuebler refer wrongly to P. De Francisci[40] who, in his dissertation *Vita e Studi a Berito* did not even touch the question: one or two Leontii? The Italian scholar noted only—as for the rest quite incorrectly, too—that the so-called *Vita Severi*[41] cleared up the doubts existing about the relationship between Eudoxius and Leontius on the one hand, and between Leontius and Anatolius on the other hand,—doubts which arose from the "uncertainty of the reading of *Tanta*, 9". All these assertions are wrong[42] because the genealogy Eudoxius-Leontius I-Anatolius is established in *Tanta* with ideal certainty. Controversial is only the question whether there was another Leontius (II), and for the

[31] This text is not even mentioned in the whole book.

[32] In the sense of the Vulgate Mss., cf. *supra* n. 19.

[33] *Krit. Jahrbuecher f. deutsche Rechtswissenschaft I* (1837), pp. 13ff. Witte gives a colorful picture of the difficulties caused by the bad state of preservation of the *Dedoken* Ms. He commits, however, the mistake of identifying Leontius II with the advocate Leontius (p. 15). See *supra* n. 10.

[34] Bas. *loc. cit.*, *supra* n. 4.

[35] *Jurispr. anteiustinianea* II, 2^6, ed. by Kuebler, p. 516, unjustly blamed by Kuebler, *ibid.*, n. 1.

[36] *Loc. cit.*, 69.

[37] *Loc. cit.*, *supra*, n. 34.

[38] To those belongs also Mortreuil, *loc. cit.*, I, 283 n.a.

[39] P. 147, n. 2.

[40] (Rome, 1912), p. 11.

[41] See below ch. IV.

[42] As well as De Francisci's reference to Heimbach *Bas.* VI, 10. See *supra* n. 33.

solution of this problem De Francisci did not draw any argument from the *Vita Severi*, as we shall do later.

In order to complete the unpleasant picture of all the misunderstandings provoked by the *Dedoken*-text it is to be noted that a grievous lapsus occurs in all editions of Paul Krueger's excellent History of the sources of Roman Law,[43] where we read of a Leontius, son of Patricius, and father of ... Anatolius (!), although the most certain element among those various relationships is that Leontius I, the father of Anatolius, was the son of Eudoxius.

It is really astonishing how many misapprehensions the *Tanta* and *Dedoken*-texts caused, texts which I would not hesitate calling simple and harmless.

III. Collinet's view that the mention of Leontius II together with all attributes (i.e., the words καὶ Λεόντιον, τὸν πανεύφημον as far as τὸν αὐτοῦ παῖδα) may be a gloss, is untenable. It cannot be, however, simply rejected without any criticism, since it poses a problem of principal importance. Collinet asserts that the last words τὸν αὐτοῦ παῖδα let us discover where the gloss should be exactly attached: "it refers to the name of Eudoxius whose son was Leontius" (p. 143). The firmness of this conclusion notwithstanding, the matter is, however, not so simple as Collinet presents it. First of all, the words τὸν αὐτοῦ παῖδα do not fit the structure of the passage where Leontius I is mentioned: they cannot be attached either to the first Λεόντιον or to Εὐδόξιον because in that phrase where the fathers and not the sons are mentioned, the insertion of the three words would produce an untruth. I do not see in any case how they could enter into the phrase ἀναφέρει εἰς Λεόντιον. At the best, τὸν αὐτοῦ πατέρα might be said there, after Λεόντιον. There is, however, another difficulty: the *Dedoken*-text did not establish the degree of relationship of the three members of the Anatolius family. It is only the *Tanta*-text which by the words *pater* and *avus* defines it. Collinet did not even try to adjust the three words to the foregoing construction, since in this case the incompatibility of the respective passages could not have escaped to him. The asserted "attache exacte" of the alleged gloss is mere fantasy.

Another question arises in this connection: who could have been the author of this gloss who smuggled into the text that "absurdity", as Collinet qualified it? Or rather this untruth, as he should have called it. Who wrote this obvious inaccuracy about the descent of a jurist, contemporary or shortly anterior to Justinian, and dared to let the Emperor publish it? I do not believe that Justinian would have tolerated such an incompetent among his collaborators. But there is something more: if anybody does

[43] *Geschichte der Quellen*, 1st ed. 1888, p. 319, n. 2; French ed. by Brissaud (1894), p. 426 n. 3; second German edition, 1912, p. 361 n. 2.

not trust the *Dedoken* passage, because it is missing in *Tanta*, he must suspect the genuineness of the whole and not only of a part of it, as Collinet does. Either all is spurious—gloss or interpolation, according to Collinet's view—or nothing. Collinet, however, clings to the genuineness of that part of the *Dedoken* passage which deals with Patricius, although it does not appear in the *Tanta*. He does it with the strange argumentation that otherwise the text would be insignificant, being without any indication about the time "où ces hommes ont brillé dans la culture du droit." This argument is devoid of any foundation, inasmuch as *Tanta* mentions all those jurists, Leontius I and Eudoxius as well as Patricius and Leontius II, simply by name only, without any chronological suggestion. It is likewise impossible to follow Collinet in his further assertion that the Patricius passage has—contrary to the part referring to Leontius II—all guaranties of authenticity, both grammatically as located at the correct place, and logically as attracted by the remembrance of the Beirut school. But there is actually no mention of Beirut in connection with Patricius, and what is more important, the grammatical construction and the logical one as well refer in the same measure both to Patricius and Leontius II (*μετὰ Πατρίκιον . . . καὶ Λεόντιον*).

The source of this so-called "gloss" in the Greek text should be according to Collinet, the const. *Summa*, 2 where a certain Leontius "vir sublimissimus,[44] expraefecto praetorio consularis atque patricius" is specified.[45] Collinet does not explain either the fundamental technical question how and when this "gloss" (or interpolation) crept into the text of *Dedoken* and how its unfortunate author fell into the idea of taking a passage from an introductory constitution to the first Code in order to complete solely the Greek constitution promulgating the Digest. We generally suppose that a gloss is attached to the sense or to a word of the glossed text. Therefore, if the insertion of a gloss describing Leontius' career has to be conjectured, there should have been already a mention of one or two Leontii in the original text. If, however, there was one Leontius only, whom Collinet so tenaciously defends, we must ask ourselves why the glossator did not attach the "gloss" to the first mention of Leontius (that before Eudoxius) and why, instead, he did introduce another Leontius to make him—through the addition of *τὸν αὐτοῦ παῖδα*—a son of Patricius, as Collinet understands the text. Thus the idea of a "gloss" borrowed from the const. *Summa* appears not only originally unlikely and entangled in a net of contradictions, but it creates new difficulties resulting from a superficial interpretation.

[44] Not *gloriosissimus*, as Collinet, p. 146 quotes. *Sublimissimus* is not adequate to *πανεύφημος*.

[45] Why not the const. *Haec quae necessario* c. 1 (see infra ch. V), which says the same about this Leontius?

Is it still necessary, after the foregoing remarks showing the failure of Collinet's gloss-conception, to utter more words about the more unlikely hypothesis of an interpolation? The constitutions which inaugurated the Digest were doubtlessly written by one of the Emperor's collaborators and approved by him before their publication. With regard to such parts as sect. 9, where the compilers were eulogized, the statements had to be perfectly exact since they called for Justinian's particular attention. It is therefore unthinkable that a draft of the constitution *De confirmatione Digestorum*, inaccurate as to the personal data on the Emperor's closest collaborators, should have been presented to him for approval. Collinet was the first to speak of an interpolation in an introductory constitution in general, and in the *Tanta* in particular. Nowhere, however, did he try to explain how he conjectured the origin and the sense of such an interpolation, which is completely incompatible with the notion and nature of interpolations as generally understood. An interpolation presupposes two editions of the same text: first, the earlier, original one, and then, the interpolated version. Now, the const. *Dedoken* was edited only once, and was even not repeated in Justinian's Code, where its place was by the side of I, 17, 2. It cannot be seen in what stage a new phrase could be interpolated, since the text was published only once, immediately after having been approved by the Emperor. An interpolation, in the real sense of the word, is simply unthinkable in one of the constitutions which introduced the single parts of Justinian's codification. Collinet's strange idea, presented without any trace of evidence, so to say *en passant* and seemingly with unconsciousness of its significance for the doctrine of interpolations, has remained so far isolated, or, what is more likely, quite unnoticed.

Incidentally we wish to stress, however, that on earlier Justinian constitutions promulgated before 534, interpolations could be made by the compilers on the occasion of the insertion of those constitutions into the second edition of the Code. Such interpolations have so far been supposed,[46] with more or less evidence. Consequently, intentional alterations of the *Tanta*-text published December 16, 533, could be performed on the same occasion in C. J. I, 17, 2, as the very characteristical example of *Tanta*, 22 shows.[47] Therefore it cannot be *a priori* excluded that the mentions of Patricius and Leontius II in C. J. I, 17, 2, 9, corresponding to the wider text of the *Dedoken*, were inserted into the original text of *Tanta*. If, however, the compilers of the second Code factually enlarged the text in question to make it conformable to *Dedoken*, this might be further evidence of the trustworthiness of the Greek text.

[46] Cfr. Albertario, *Studi di dir. romano V* (1937), 347ff. and 357ff. (not always convincing) and others quoted by Albertario, p. 347 n. 2.

[47] Where instead of "dispositum est et in Latina constitutione et in Graeca quam rel." the Compilers of the Code wrote "dispositum est in constitutione quam rel."

Since not one argument by Collinet, the most zealous defender of the thesis that there existed only one Leontius, has proved convincing, the attempt at fusing two Leontii into one person must be considered as a failure. Thus, the only possible solution is: there were two Leontii, as witnessed by *Dedoken* and the Latin text mentioned before.[48]

This result imposes the duty of examining all existing mentions of any jurist Leontius belonging to the Justinian epoch or time shortly preceding in order to establish as far as possible whether they refer to Leontius I or II.

IV. First of all, we have to consider the so-called *Vita Severi*, the biography of Severus, the monophysite bishop and patriarch of Antiochia from 512 to 518.[49] Its author is Zacharias Scholasticus, bishop of Mitylene about 536 (died before 553).[50] Zacharias came to Beirut one year later than Severus and met there the future patriarch in the Law-School in the class of Professor "Leontius, son of Eudoxius." According to the translation by Kugener[51] the report of Zacharias runs as follows:

J'entrai dans l'école (σχολή) de Leontius, fils d' Eudoxius, qui enseignait alors le droit (νόμοι) et qui jouissait d' une grande réputation auprès de tous ceux qui s'intéressaient aux lois.[52] Je trouvai l'admirable Sévère assis avec beaucoup d'autres auprès de ce maître[53] pour écouter les leçons sur les lois.

The text is of high importance to our problem:[54] contrary to the custom observed in the whole work, it is only at this place that Zacharias named a person together with the name of his father.[55] The reason is obvious: it could be only to indicate which Leontius was Severus' teacher. And if Zacharias felt obliged to do so, it is further proof that there were at that time, at least, two Leontii, both renowned teachers of law, and, perhaps, professors at the Beirut Law School.[56] The frequency of the name Leontius

[48] Cf. *supra* ch. I.—Even the idea of three Leontii was suggested, see *infra* ch. V.

[49] He is known from legal sources, too, cf. Nov. Just. XLII, 1.2.

[50] The work was written after 512 since the biography arrived only to Severus' patriarchate. The Greek original is lost, only a Syriac version is preserved. It was first edited by Spanuth, *Zacharias Rhetor*, Programm des Gymnasiums in Kiel, 1893, then by Kugener *Patrologia Orient.* II, 1 (1903) with a French translation which is considered as a better one than that of Nau, *Revue de l'Orient Chrêtien* IV, 343ff., 543 ff., V, 74ff., 293ff. (1899–1900). As to the passage concerning Leontius cf. Lenel, *Gesch. des röm. Rechts*, in Holtzendorff-Kohler's *Enzykl. der Rechtswiss.*, I, 386 n. 3; De Francisci, p. 11, Peters, p. 61f.; Kuebler, *Gesch.*, p. 425; P. Huvelin, "*Leçon inaugurale de l'Ecole française de droit de Beyrouth*," *Mélanges à la mémoire de P. Huvelin* (1938), p. 5.

[51] P. 47.

[52] Nau, *loc. cit.*, IV, 557: "qui s'occupait du droit." Huvelin, *loc. cit.*: "les étudiants."

[53] Huvelin, *loc. cit.*: "assis à ces pieds dans l'auditoire."

[54] Otherwise Collinet, p. 147; De Francisci, *loc. cit.*

[55] Sometimes he mentions only the place from which a person originated.

[56] For this point see *infra*, ch. V.

alone could not be the reason of this exceptional distinction.[57] There must have been two *jurists* by the same name, if Zacharias deemed it necessary to add the father's name. Zacharias did nothing else than we do by noting the first name of an author when there are two or more by the same family name.

V. Now, what about Leontius, the collaborator in the first Code edition, mentioned in *Haec quae necessario*, 1 (February 13, 528) and *Summa*, 2 (April 7, 529)?[58] If this "vir sublimissimus, magister militum,[59] ex praefecto praetorio consularis atque patricius" is to be identified with one of the two Leontii—and there is no reason, why he should not—it is only Leontius II, Patricius' son, who could be the compiler of the Code since he appears with the same honorific titles as in *Dedoken*, 9. Peters'[60] objection that he would have been in 529 too old, is not justified. He did not take part in the compilation of the *Codex repetitae praelectionis* as witnessed by the const. *Cordi* (December 534).[61] It is therefore probable—but not certain—that he died after April 529 and before December 534, although in *Dedoken* he is not mentioned as dead.[62] But he appears there beside three jurists, all of them no longer alive, and is included together with them by the same verb (τεθαυμασμένους, *reliquerunt* in the Latin text). If we assume that at the time of Zacharias' arrival in Beirut (a. 488) Leontius II was a younger contemporary of Leontius I, actually more celebrated as a law teacher, and further that he was at that time 26 to 30 years old,[63] he was then between 66 and 70 when he participated in the work on the first Code. These stages of life, however, are not available with regard to Leontius I. When Zacharias was at Beirut, Leontius I could not be as young as we supposed with respect to Leontius II, because—as we learn

[57] We meet several Leontii—besides the law teacher—in Zacharias' treatise: (a) a Leontius, without any distinction (s. Kugener, p. 40); (b) a student of laws, Leontius (Kugener, p. 66,—Nau, IV, 566 calls him Leontes). He is called *magister* (μαγίστρος) of the students. For this expression s. Collinet, p. 100 s. 310, who explains it as "chairman of the students' association," which, of course, is not certain. (c) a παραμονάριος of the μαρτύριον of the martyr Leontius (Kugener, p. 81; Nau, V, 77).

[58] Cf. *supra* ch. III.

[59] This title is missing in *Summa loc. cit.*

[60] P. 69, n. 190.

[61] Cf. Huschke, *Jurispr. anteiust.*, II[6], 516.

[62] *Gloriosissimus* in F[2] and C. J. I 17, 2, 9 is a translation of πανεύφημος; it does not contribute to the elucidation of this point.

[63] He could even be teacher at the Law-School since there were teachers in the twenties, cf. Collinet, p. 199. It should be stressed that Zacharias' report does not absolutely lead to the conclusion that Leontius II was a renowned teacher simultaneously with Leontius I. Zacharias wrote his booklet much later (cf. *supra* n. 50) and even if Leontius II had become a legal authority of Beirut later than 487, Zacharias' remark would be quite reasonable indicating precisely which of the two distinguished, although not contemporary, jurists was Severus' teacher.

from Zacharias—he enjoyed already a high esteem in juridical circles and had plenty of pupils, and with a young man of 26 years this is rather unlikely. If we increase his age by about ten years at the time when the future bishop Severus was his pupil, he would be at the compilation of the first Code an old man of about eighty. All these are minimum assumptions as to his age and it is by no means impossible that he was at the time of Severus' scholarship much older. Moreover, the way in which he is mentioned in *Tanta* as belonging to an *antiqua stirps legitima* is very characteristic as well as the locution *memoriam reliquerunt*. A person who died a year or two before would not be designated by such expressions. Therefore it may be supposed that Leontius I died some decades before, perhaps about 500, so that at the time, when he was Severus' teacher, he was a man of mature age.

There remains still another solution proposed by Peters:[64] the collaborator in the first Code would have been a third Leontius! But the identical official career of Leontius II with that of the Code compiler makes this hypothesis untenable. It would have been, indeed, a devilish play of fortuity, if there had been two contemporary famous jurists by the same name and with an identical official career.

VI. The dates presumed before for the stages of life of Leontius II, the son of Patricius, permit in certain limits[64a] the establishment of those of his father which are all but certain.[65] As Patricius is called by Thalelaeus, the well-known commentator to Justinian's Code, μακαρίτης[66] and as this expression is used to refer to persons who died not long before, it may be assumed that Thalelaeus had Patricius in personal reminiscence. Thus we arrive at the following approximative dates of Patricius' life: born about 430, died about 500. His literary activity is to be put into the second half of the fifth century.[67]

VII. The official Leontius mentioned by Lydus *De mag.*, 3, 17: Λεοντίου τὴν ἐπαρχότητα διέποντος, ἀνδρὸς νομικωτάτου is, of course, Leontius II, actually (a. 503 or some years later[68]) about 40 years old. The attribute

[64] *Loc. cit. supra*, n. 60.

[64a] Reservation, however, must be made with regard to the remark made *supra*, n. 63.

[65] See Berger, Art. *Patrikios* (*supra* n. 12). The results of the precedent observations had not yet been taken into consideration in that article.

[66] Sch. ad Bas. XLV, 1, 56 (= C. J. VI, 62, 3. Hb. IV, 502).

[67] Collinet, p. 161 puts the beginning of Patricius' activity as a teacher in the year 420. Contra Berger, Art. *Patrikios* (*supra* n. 12).

[68] Collinet, p. 151 refers the text to Leontius I.—Against the date 503 Cuq, *Comptes. Rendus de l' Acad. des Inscr.*, 1921, p. 76, with reference to his remarks in Bart. Borghesi, *Oeuvres complètes* X (1897), 378, as at that time Constantinus was *praefectus praetorio Orientis*. Cf., however, Zachariae v. Lingenthal, *Anecdota*, p. 273, nn. 135 and 148.

νομικώτατος may refer as well to a jurist as to a law teacher. This leads to the question whether Leontius II was also professor at Beirut. It is striking that Patricius is expressly called ἀντικήνσωρ (= antecessor = professor), while with Leontius this indication is missing.[69] But, nevertheless, it seems more likely that he was a law teacher, for his name is cited together with other Beirut professors, and the distinction given by Zacharias Scholasticus to Leontius I[70] alludes rather to another teaching authority of Beirut.[71] Leontius' activity as a teacher might have been, however, of a short duration because of his wide official duties, both civilian and military. Evidently for this reason the author of *Dedoken* did not call him "professor."

VIII. The addressee of C. J. VII, 39, 6: "*Imperator Anastasius Leontio pp.*" is doubtlessly Leontius II. This constitution must have been written in the second half of Anastasius' reign[72] i.e., after 500, since the foregoing constitution (VII, 39, 5) is to be assigned to that year, cf. C. J. II, 7, 21 and II, 4, 43. The date corresponds perfectly with the dates assumed above with regard to Leontius II.

IX. With none of our two Leontii can be identified Leontius mentioned in Sch. 173 to Bas. XVIII, 5, 42 (= Dig. XV, 1, 42. Zach. Suppl. Bas. I 227). This is the only citation of a Leontius in the Basilica. He appears there[73] not as a scholar expressing his opinion, but as a student who asks for explanation: Λεόντιος ἠρώτ(α). We have here an example of those "questions" (ἐρωτησεις) which are very frequent in Stephanus' commentary to the Digest.[74] Provided that the reading is correct,[75] a connexion with either of the two Leontii is beyond consideration simply because neither of them could have been a disciple of Stephanus, Justinian's contemporary, whose activity fell into the middle of the sixth century. But to Collinet[76] this is no obstacle to an identification of Eudoxius' son, the Beirut professor in 487, with Stephanus' pupil. From the harmless question of this unknown Leontius Collinet concludes that he might have written a commentary to the twelfth book of Ulpian's *Libri ad edictum*,[77] as if any

[69] That Leontius II is not called professor in Const. *Haec quae necessario* is less striking, since the compilers of the first Code were—except Theophilus, professor in Constantinople—high governmental officials.

[70] *Supra*, ch. IV.

[71] Cf. *supra* n. 63 and *infra* ch. X.

[72] So correctly Cuq, as referred to by Collinet, p. 151, n. 9, where the constitution is erroneously quoted.

[73] Collinet, p. 279 speaks of a "façon très bizarre." The reason is not obvious.

[74] Cfr. Heimbach, *Bas.* VI, 50.

[75] See *infra*, before n. 80.

[76] Pp. 153, 179.

[77] This conclusion is in contradiction with what Collinet p. 248 said about ἐρωτήσεις of the students and the answers of their teachers.

student who asks his teacher for an explanation would write later a book about the same topic.

Collinet thought he could find an explanation for the circumstance that Leontius—of course, Leontius I, since he admits of one Leontius only—does not appear in the Basilica scholia. A literal quotation of his reasoning may suffice: "Certaines scolies, celles de Théodore,[78] par exemple, (sic!) seraient des emprunts à des scolies de Leontius. Cette dernière hypothèse expliquerait la discrétion de ces extraits sur lui-même et encore un point embarrassant, le titre de ὁ ἐμὸς διδάσκαλος appliqué à Domninus dans un passage de Théodore,[79] dont Domninus n'a pas pu être le maître. Si la scolie venait vraiment de Leontius, c'est de Leontius que Domninus était le maître" (!). There is no hint in the sources at all which would support even in the slightest degree this "hypothesis."

The Leontius-scholium reminds us of two other scholia with a similar name of the questioning person where the answering teacher is also Stephanus: ad Bas. XXI 2, 24 (Heimb. II, 451) and XXIX, 1 62 (Heimb. III, 402), both with the formula: Λέοντος ἐρώτησις. If the reading Λεόντιος ἠρώτ( ) in the scholium mentioned before is correct, which, of course, can be ascertained only by an examination of the Mss., it may be a mistake of the copyist who instead of Λέοντος (genet.) wrote Λεόντιος (nomin.). Ἠρώτ may be an abbreviation for ἐρώτ(ησις) as well.[79a] Thus we would have here a new ἐρώτησις of the same student of laws, and Stephanus' pupil, Leon.[80]

X. An analysis of the differences between the Greek and Latin texts of the whole section 9 in both constitutions[81] suggests some further conclusions. On the one hand, the author of the Latin text apparently did not sympathize with the Beirutians and their city. Contrary to his Greek colleague he avoided the historical reminiscences referring to two jurists of Beirut one of whom belonged to the older generation as a great celebrity, and the other, a famous teacher, did not collaborate in the Digest. We miss in the Latin text the flattering attributes of the Beirutian metropolis as "the city of the laws" (ἡ τῶν νόμων πόλις),[82] "famous in song and story" (ἀοίδιμος),[83] and "glorious" (περιφανής).[84] And similarly the remark that Anatolius' ancestors, Leontius I and Eudoxius, lived "with the Phoenicians."

[78] Why just Theodorus and not another Byzantine jurist?

[79] Sch. to Bas. XLVII, 1, 60; Heimb., IV, 585. For this question see Mortreuil, *loc. cit.*, I, 262: Kuebler, Pauly-Wissowa, *RE.* V A, 1864.

[79a] The η instead of ε is no hindrance, cf. *Bas.* III 402 n.g.; Zachariae, *Suppl. Bas.*, p. 167 n.g.

[80] Cf. Heimb., *Bas.* VI, 50: Berger, Pauly-Wissowa, *RE.* XII, 1962 nr. 6.

[81] Considered by Ebrard, *loc. cit.*, n. 7, *supra*, pp. 123, 131, 135.

[82] And yet, on another occasion, Beirut is called *legum nutrix*, c. *Omnem* 7.

[83] Cf. Liddell-Scott s.v.: a favorite epithet of Athens.

[84] For other epithets given to Beirut see Collinet, pp. 35 f., 51, 54.

Of all historical reminiscences connected with Beirut were left only the names of these two jurists, because their suppression would have been an obvious affront to the colleague Anatolius. On the other hand, the author of the *Tanta* set forth Tribonian who at the end of sect. 9 appears once more as the *vir excelsus*, although the beginning of the text was wholly dedicated to his eulogy. In the Greek text, instead, the whole committee of the compilers appears as ἔνδοξοι καὶ σοφοὶ ἄνδρες, while the Latin text calls them simply *omnes*.[85] Are these variations merely casual or were they intended by the different writers of the two constitutions? The latter hypothesis seems more likely to me. The preference given to Beirut suggests that *Dedoken* was written by a professor from Beirut who belonged to the Digest compilers (Dorotheus or Anatolius), while *Tanta* was composed by a legal authority of Constantinople named among the nearest collaborators of Tribonian (beside the professor Theophilus, two of them—Constantinus and Cratinus—were high governmental dignitaries) if not by Tribonian himself, which is most probable.

For the solution of the problem that so often has been discussed, which of the two texts was written first, the divergences mentioned do not give any direct evidence, but, in my opinion, they speak rather in favor of the temporal priority of the Greek constitution.[86] It would hardly be conceivable that the writer of the Greek constitution had dared to make such striking additions in order to emphasize the centre of his activity and its legal authorities or to cancel a mention of Tribonian, thus gainsaying the official Latin text.[87]

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[85] Cf. const. *Omnem* 6, where beside Tribonian, *vir excelsus*, his collaborators are only . . . *ceteri*.

[86] In this sense these observations could serve as an argument in favor of the theory of Ebrard who also arrived at the conclusion that the Greek text has been written before *Tanta*.

[87] Lectures delivered at the Ecole Libre (November–December, 1943).

EARLY BYZANTINE TAX RECEIPTS FROM EGYPT

By A. E. R. Boak

The small group of tax receipts written on papyrus which are presented here come from the archive of Aurelios Isidoros which contained the edict of Aristius Optatus introducing the new tax system of Diocletian into Egypt in 297 A.D.[1] Isidoros, whose papers belong to the reigns of Diocletian, Constantine I, and their colleagues, was a substantial landholder of the village of Karanis in the Arsinoite name. Although illiterate, he apparently held in his turn all of the obligatory offices which fell to the lot of propertied villagers in this period. His activities in an official capacity have been illustrated by previously published documents from his archive, whereas the following texts reveal him and members of his circle as meeting some of their obligations as taxpayers both before and after the reforms of Diocletian. They consequently throw light not only upon the type of taxes imposed by the government of the Late Roman Empire upon the cultivators of Egyptian land but also upon the method employed in the collection thereof. For the most part they bear a close relationship to the numerous contemporary receipts, usually less complete, written on ostraka coming from Karanis and published by L. Amundsen, H. C. Youtie and O. M. Pearl.[2]

1. Receipts for Payments of Wheat and Wine Taxes

Cairo, *Journal d'entrée*, 57050 22 x 17 cm. 291–294 A.D.

The items are arranged in two columns, of which the second parallels lines 1–7 of the first. In Col. I there is a considerable gap between lines 12 and 13, and lines 13–19 are much longer than lines 1–12. The papyrus is well-preserved, but in places the writing is abraded, especially in Col. II, where its decipherment offers some difficulty.

Col. I contains three receipts for commutation payments of the wheat

[1] A. E. R. Boak, "Early Byzantine Papyri from the Cairo Museum," *Études de Papyrologie*, II, 1933, 1–22. Other texts from the same archive have been published by the writer in *Études*, III (1936), 1–45; V, 1939, 85–117; *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, LI (1940), 35–60; and in other journals.

[2] L. Amundsen, O. Mich. I, Nos. 1–699 (Humanistic Series, Vol. XXXIV; *Greek Ostraka in the University of Michigan Collection*, Pt. I); H. C. Youtie and O. M. Pearl, O. Mich. II, Nos. 700–971 (Humanistic Series, Vol. XLVII, *Papyri and Ostraka from Karanis*, pp. 143–199). I wish to take this opportunity to express my obligation to Professor Youtie for many helpful suggestions in the decipherment and interpretation of the documents edited in this article.

tax. The first (lines 1–7) issued on 20 Jan., 291 by Aurelios Maskoulleinos, a gymnasiarch, records a payment of 800 drachmas for the year 288/89 by Aurelios Isidoros. The second (lines 8–10), under the same date and issued by the same officer, lists a similar payment of 400 drachmas through one Pateieis. The third (lines 13–19) dated 21 Aug., 294, issued by Aurelios Philadelphos through a subordinate Melos, acknowledges the receipt of 400 drachmas from a certain Sarapion for the wheat tax of the preceding year. Col. II contains only one receipt (lines 20–26), which is partly illegible. This records a payment by Isidoros for Sarapion, son of Onnophris, of the wine tax on 18 Nov., 294 A.D.

Col. I

ἔτους ζ′ καὶ ϛ′ τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν
Διοκλητιανοῦ καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ Σεβαστῶν,
Τῦβι κε′. διέγρ(αψεν) Ἰσίδωρος Πτολεμαίου
ὑπ(ὲρ) τιμῆς πυροῦ γενή(ματος) ἔτ̣ο̣υ̣ς̣ ε′ καὶ δ′ ὑπ(ὲρ)
{ἀπὸ} σπορᾶς κώμης Καρανίδος ἀργυρίου
δραχμὰς ὠκτακοσίας, γ(ίνονται) (δραχμαὶ) ω′. Αὐρήλιος
Μασκουλλεῖνος γυ(μνησίαρχος) σεσ(ημείωμαι).
καὶ διὰ Πατειεῖ ὑπ(ὲρ) σπορᾶς ϵ′ (ἔτους) καὶ δ′ (ἔτους)
(δραχμὰς) τετρακοσίας, γ(ίνονται) (δραχμαὶ) υ′. Αὐρήλιος
Μασκουλλεῖνος γυ(μνησίαρχος) σεσ(ημείωμαι). Αὐρή(λιος) Ἀθανάσις
διὰ Κηπίωνος βοη(θοῦ) ἐση(μειωσάμην) τὰς δραχμὰς ὀκτα-
κοσίας ὡς πρόκι(ται).
2nd hand ὑπατίας τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν Κωνσταντίου καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ
τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων Καισάρων, ἔτους ι′ καὶ ἔτους ἑνάτου τῶν κυρίων
ἡμῶν Διοκλητιανοῦ καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ Σεβαστῶν καὶ ἔτ̣ο̣υ̣ς̣ β′ τῶν κυρίων
ἡμῶν Κωνσταντίου καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων Καισάρων,
Μεσορὴ κη′. διέγρ(αψεν) Σαραπίων Ὀννώφρεως τι(μῆς) πυροῦ τ̣ο̣ῦ̣ θ′ (ἔτους)
καὶ η′ (ἔτους)
ω..ϊ̣ς̣δρωνει[.]αλλου (δραχμὰς) τετρακοσίας, (δραχμὰς) υ′. (*3rd hand*)
Αὐ(ρήλιος) Φιλάδελφος δι' ἐμοῦ
Μέλανος σεσ(ημείωμαι).

Col. II

4th hand ια′ (ἔτους) καὶ ι′ (ἔτους) καὶ γ′ (ἔτους), Ἀθὺρ κβ′
διέγρ(αψεν) Ἰσίδωρος ὀνό(ματος) Σαρα-
πίωνος Ὀννώφρεως
οἴνου . [.]τ[.]ις ἀννῶ
ὑπὲρ. . (δραχμὰς) τριακοσίας.
δ̣ϵ̣ . . . [Αὐρ]ή(λιος) Παλλ . . .
δι' ἐμοῦ Ὡρίο(νος) ἀπετ(ητοῦ) σεσ(ημείωμαι).

Notes

1. There are here, as often, redundant symbols for ἔτους after the year numerals. The date is 20 January 291 A.D.
4. ἔτους ϛ: very badly rubbed. The 5th and 4th year is 288–289 A.D. Arrears of two years in tax payments are by no means uncommon.
5. {ἀπὸ}: unnecessary after ὑπ(ἐρ).
7. γυμνησίαρχης): no other resolution of this abbreviation seems justifiable.
8. Πατειεῖ: dative for genitive.

13–17. Here we have a double system of dating, by the consuls for 294 and by the current regnal year,—the 10th, 9th and 2nd = 293–294 A.D. Mesore 28 = April 21.

17. Σαραπίων Ὀννώφρεως: cf. 11. 21–22 below. Here the Ο looks almost like an A.
18. ω . . ϊṣδρωνει[.]αλλου: the letter preceding α has been obliterated by a heavy pen stroke. Up to the present, I can offer no acceptable reading for this passage.
20. The date is 18 November 294 A.D.
23. οἴνου κτλ.: the letters which follow οἴνου are so badly rubbed that no words can be read with certainty before αννω- which may be either ἀννώνης or ἀννωνικοῦ. For similar payments of wine, see O. Mich 16 (290 A.D.) and O. Mich 802 (296 A.D.). Unfortunately the formula employed here does not correspond to that in either of the Michigan ostraka, so that they do not suggest a restoration.
24. ὑπ̣ἐ̣ρ̣: questionable, and possibly followed by a year date.

Translation

The seventh and sixth years of our Lords Diocletian and Maximian, Augusti, Tybi 25. Isidoros, son of Ptolemaios, has paid as the price of wheat of the harvest of the fifth and fourth year from the sowing of the village of Karanis, eight hundred drachmas, that is dr. 800. I, Aurelios Maskoulleinos, gymnasiarch, have attested it.

And through Pateieis for the sowing of the fifth and fourth year four hundred drachmas, that is dr. 400. I, Aurelios Maskoulleinos, gymnasiarch, have attested it. (2nd hand). I, Aurelios Athenasis, through Kepion, my assistant, attested the eight hundred drachmas as aforesaid.

(3rd hand). In the consulship of our Lords Constantius and Maximian, the most noble Caesars, the tenth and ninth years of our Lords Diocletian and Maximian, Augusti, and the second year of our Lords Constantius and Maximian the most noble Caesars, Mesore 28.

Sarapion, son of Onnophris, has paid as the price of wheat of the ninth and eighth year . . . four hundred drachmas, dr. 400. (4th hand). I, Aurelios Philadelphos, through me, Melas, have attested it.

Col. II

(5th hand). The eleventh and tenth and third year, Hathur 22. Isidoros, in the name of Sarapion, son of Onnophris, has paid for wine . . . three hundred drachmas . . . . I, Aurelios Pall———, through me, Horion, have attested it.

2. *A Receipt for the Payment of Wheat*

Cairo, *Journal d'entrée*, 57048 24.4 x 16.5 cm. 306–07 A.D.

The top of the papyrus is badly torn and several of the lines have suffered

from rubbing. The text is a receipt for the delivery at the village granary of Karanis of ten artabas of wheat by Onesimos Proklos through Isidoros, son of Ptolemaios, from the harvest of the current year, 306–307 A.D. Since there is no mention of the day on which the delivery was made, the receipt cannot be dated more precisely. The list of the grain collectors of the village which is placed at the head of the list indicates that they were the officials responsible for collecting the tax in question here. The Aurelios who attested the delivery was their agent and probably one of their number.

[. . . .]. . . . . .καὶ Ἰσίδωρος Ἡρᾶ
καὶ Ἀνοῦπις Μασκουλλεί[νου] κὰι Φ [. . . . .]. ωναφρ(ιος) καὶ Πα[.] . .
καὶ Πρίκος καὶ Σαραπίω̣ν . . . . [. . .] καὶ σιτολόγ(οι) κ̣ώμης
Καρανίδος. ἐμέτρη[σε]ν ἐν θη(σαυρῷ) κώ(μης) ὑπὲρ γενήματος αὐτοῦ
ιε (ἔτους) καὶ γ (ἔτους) καὶ α (ἔτους) Ὀνν[η]σ̣ίμου Πρ[ώ]κλου διὰ Ἰσιδώρου Πτολεμαίου
ὑπὲρ ὁριοδικτ(ίας) Καρα(νίδος) καὶ . . . . ουμαιδος πὰμ μέτρῳ δημοσίῳ
ξυστῷ πυροῦ ἀρτάβας [δ]έκα, (πυροῦ ἀρτάβας) ι, καὶ τὰς δεκτάς.
Αὐρ̣ήλι(ος) Δο( ) σεση(μείωμαι).

Notes

3. Πρίκος: for Πρίσκος, cf. O. Mich I, 355, 4. καὶ σιτολόγοι: one would expect κοινωνοὶ before σιτολόγοι.
4. Written above this line over the words Θη(σαυρῷ) κώμης ὑπὲρ is a word of some six letters ending in ησης. Mention of the village granary of Karanis occurs frequently in the Michigan ostraka, and it is probably to be identified with one of the granaries belonging to the later occupation levels on the site which were excavated by the University of Michigan expedition between 1924 and 1930.
5. The 15th, 3rd and 1st year is that of the emperors Galerius and Severus, and the Caesars Maximinus and Constantine.
5–6. Ὀνν[η]σ̣ίμου Πρ[ώ]κλου: for Ὀνήσιμος Πρῶκλος . . . .
6. . . ουμαιδος: apparently a place-name.
7. τὰς δεκτάς: the equivalent of τὰ καθήκοντα, the "receivable" or "customary" charges added to wheat and other taxes to defray certain costs of handling, cf' Preisigke, *Wörterbuch*, *s. v.* καθήκειν and § 11.

Translation

. . . and Isidoros, son of Heras, and Anoupis, son of Maskoulleinos, and Ph———, son of ———onaphris, and Pa———, and Priskos and Sarapion, son of ——— (?), and (their fellow) grain-collectors of the village of Karanis.

Onesimos Proklos, through Isidoros, son of Ptolemaios, has delivered at the village granary for the harvest of this fifteenth, third and first year for the boundary district of Karanis and ———, all with the level public measure, ten artabas of wheat, that is artabas 10, and the customary charges.

I, Aurelios Do———, have attested it.

3. *Receipt for Pork*

Cairo, *Journal d'entrée*, 57094 313 A.D.

The writing has suffered considerably from abrasion and in some places the ink has disappeared completely.

The document is a receipt for three deliveries of pork totalling 62½ pounds. It was issued by three meat collectors (ἀπαιτηταὶ κρέως) of Karanis and its district to Isidoros, son of Ptolemaios, who made three deliveries as payment of the meat tax due from him for the year 311–312 A.D. The receipt itself is dated 20 October 313 A.D.

Αὐρήλιοι Διόσκορος Δι.ε[. . . καὶ Πτολεμ]αῖος Ἡρακλ[ή]ο(υ)
καὶ Εὐδήμων Δούλου ἀπετ(ηταὶ) κρέ̣ω̣ς κώ(μης)
Καρ(ανίδος) καὶ ὁρι(οδικτίας) αὐτ(ῆς) Ἰσιδώρῳ Πτολεμαίου χαί(ρειν).
παρελάβαμεν παρὰ σοῦ ὑπὲρ κρέ̣ω̣ς η′ (ἔτους) καὶ ς′ (ἔτους) καὶ δ′ (ἔτους)
κρέας χοίρου λί(τρας) τριάκοντα (ἥμισυ) καὶ ὑπὲρ . . . ω.
Παλήμω(νος) λί(τρας) ιγ′ καὶ ἐπὶ Κολλῦ λίτρις δε̣κ̣α̣ε̣ννέ̣α
γί(νονται) τοῦ σύμ(παντος) λί(τραι) ξβς′
ὑπατίας τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν Κωνσταντίνου καὶ Λικ[ι]ν̣ν̣[ιο]ῦ Σεβαστῶν τὸ β′,
Φαῶφι κγί.

Notes

1. [Πτολεμ]αῖος Ἡρακλ[ή]ο(υ): a Ptolemaios, son of Herakleos(?), of Karanis, occurs in O. Mich. I, 631,5.
4. The regnal years are those of Constantine I, Licinius, and Maximinus.
5. The word following ὑπέρ may be a personal name, possibly abbreviated, in which case the Παλήμω(νος) of 1. 6 would be a patronymic.
6. ἐπὶ Κολλῦ-: a puzzling phrase. Κολλ- may be either a personal or a place name. If a place name, it would designate where the delivery was made; if a personal name, the individual to whom the payment was to be credited, although the use of ἐπί in this sense would be unusual.

λίτρις δε̣κ̣α̣ε̣ννέ̣α: λίτρις for λίτρας. Although the letters following δ cannot be read with certainty, this restoration is required by the total of 62½ pounds in l. 7.

Translation

The Aurelioi, Dioskoros son of Di———, and Ptolemaios (?), son of Herakleos, and Eudaimon, son of Doulos, collectors of meat for the village of Karanis and its district, to Isidoros, son of Ptolemaios, greeting.

We have received from you for meat of the eighth, sixth, and fourth year, thirty and one-half pounds of pork, and on behalf of ——— (?), son of Palemon, thirteen pounds, and . . . nineteen pounds, making in all sixty-two and one-half pounds.

In the second consulship of our Lords Constantine and Licinius, Phaophi 23.

4. *Receipts for Transport Charges and for Meat*

Cairo, *Journal d'entrée*, 57056 314 A.D.

The papyrus bears two receipts, both of the year 314 A.D., but written in different hands. For convenience in reference, they have been desig-

nated (a) and (b) respectively. The recipient in both cases was the same, a woman named Aurelia Kyrillous, daughter of Kopres.

(a) was issued on 21 August 314 by Aurelios Didymos and Aurelios Moros, son of Isidoros, both collectors of transport charges (*ἀπεταὶ ναύλων εἰδῶν*) for Karanis and its district. It acknowledged the receipt of 600 drachmas in payment of these charges for the year of their office, 312–313 A.D.

(b) was issued 18 November of the same year by Aurelios Mistias and Aurelios Papeeis, collectors of meat for Karanis and its district, acknowledging the receipt of eleven and one-quarter pounds of meat for the second indiction, that is, 313–14 A.D.

(*a*)

Αὐρήλιοι Δίδυμος καὶ Μῶρος Ἰσιδώρου
ἀπεταὶ ναύλων εἰδῶν κα' (ἔτους) κώ(μης) Καρ(ανίδος)
καὶ ὁριοδικτίας Αὐρηλίᾳ Κυρίλλους Κοπρῆ χέρ(ειν).
ἔσχαμεν παρὰ σοῦ ὑπὲρ ναύλων εἰδῶν
ὑπὲρ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἔτους, κα' (ἔτους), ἀργυρίου
δραχμὰς ἑξακοσίας, γί(νονται) (δραχμαὶ) χ'.
ὑπατίας Ῥουφίου Οὐολοσιανοῦ καὶ Πετρωνίου
Ἀππιανοῦ τῶν λαμπροτάτων, Μεσορὴ κζ'.

(*β*)

2nd hand Αὐρήλιοι Μιστίας καὶ Παπεεῖς ἀμφότεροι ἀπεταὶ κρέως
κώμης Καρανίδος καὶ ὁριοδικτίας Αὐρηλίᾳ Κυριλλοῦς Κοπρῆ χαίρειν
ἔσχαμεν παρὰ σοῦ ὑπὲρ β' ἰνδικτίωνος κρέως λί(τρας) ἐνδ̣ε̣κα τέταρτον, λί(τρας) ια. ὑπατίας Ῥουφόου Οὐολουσιανοῦ καὶ Πετρωνίου
Ἀππιανοῦ τῶν λαμπροτάτων, Ἀθὺρ κβ'.

Notes

3. χέρ(ειν): read χαί(ρειν).
4. τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἔτους, κα' (ἔτους): refers to the 21st regnal year of the recently deceased emperor Galerius. Since this year (312–13 A.D.) does not correspond to the consular year by which the document is dated (314 A.D.), the expression τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἔτους must refer to the year of office of the collectors who signed the receipt. Naturally they would continue to collect arrears of taxes for their term even after it had lapsed.
7. Οὐολοσιανοῦ: in l. 12 Οὐολουσιανοῦ.
11. β' ἰνδικτίωνος: 313–314 A.D., cf. A. E. R. Boak, "Early Byzantine Papyri," *Etudes de Papyrologie*, V, p. 115.

Translation

(a)

The Aurelioi, Didymos and Moros, son of Isidoros, collectors of transport charges for the twenty-first year for the village of Karanis and its district, to Aurelia Kyrillous, daughter of Kopres, greeting.

We have received from you for transport charges for the same year, the twenty-first, six hundred drachmas, making dr. 600.

In the consulship of Rufius Volusianius and Petronius Appianus, *Clarissimi*, Mesore 27.

(b)

(2nd hand). The Aurelioi, Mistias and Papeeis, both collectors of meat of the village of Karanis and its district, to Aurelia Kyrillous, daughter of Kopres, greeting.

We have received from you for the second indiction eleven and one-quarter pounds of meat, 11¼ lbs.

In the consulship of Rufius Volusianius and Petronius Appianus, *Clarissimi*, Hathyr 22.

5. Receipts for Various Payments

Cairo, *Journal d'entrée* 57029 108 x 16 cm. 324 A.D.

Apart from some abrasion of the writing along the lines of folding, the papyrus and its text are in excellent condition and the several hands are unusually legible. The writing is arranged in four columns of uneven length, with a blank space of several cms. between lines 23 and 24 of Col. II, making the division of its contents in two separate items.

The text consists of five receipts arranged as follows: Col. I, Col. II (a) and (b), Col. III and Col. IV, each written in a different hand. Col. I is an acknowledgment of two money payments made by Isidoros, son of Ptolemaios, to the collectors of taxes called, if the reading is correct, *τέλη βασιλικά*. The first of these payments, amounting to 4,000 drachmas, was made by Isidoros in the name of two other persons, Palemon and Syrion. The date of this payment was 17 May 324 A.D. On the following 24 of June, Isidoros made on his own account a second payment of 3,600 drachmas for the period of the eleventh indiction, i.e., 322 A.D., which presumably was the period covered by the previous payment. Col. II (a) is a receipt issued by the grain collectors of Karanis to Isidoros for payment of transport charges on barley of the eleventh indiction that was being shipped to Chaireou, near Alexandria. The amount of the payment is 3,300 drachmas in silver and 11⅓ artabas of barley. The receipt is dated 17 May, 324. Col. II (b), of the same date was also issued to Isidoros by the collectors of transport charges, but this time for a payment of 3,600 drachmas made by him through his agent Kastor in the name of the Palemon and Syrion mentioned in the receipt of Col. I. The time to which the payment applied was again the eleventh indiction. Col. III, dated 24 May, acknowledges a third payment of transport charges, this time on chaff being shipped, like the barley of II (a), to Chaireou. Col. IV, is a receipt of 27 July of the same year given by the collectors of the wood levy to Isidoros for 800 drachmas as the commutation tax for fifty pounds of

wood and for the repair of a boat, the payment being once more in the name of Palemon and Syrion and for the eleventh indiction.

Col. I

δ[ιέ]γραψεν Ἰσίδωρος Πτολεμαίου καὶ ὀν(όματος)
Π[αλ]ήμωνος καὶ ὀν(όματος) Συρίωνος τιμῆς
τ[ε]λῶν βασιλικῶν ἀργυρίου δραχμάς
τε[τρ]ακισχιλίας διακοσίας, (δραχμάς) Δ̄Β̄, μόνας,
διὰ Παλήμων καὶ Ἀντιούριος καὶ οἱ κοινο(νοὶ)
ἀπ[αι]τηταὶ Καρανίδος καὶ ὁριοδικτί(ας)
το[ῖς] ἀποδιχθησομένοις ὑπάτοις τὸ γ',
Π[α]χὼν κβ̄. *2nd hand.* Παῦνι λ' ὁ αὐτὸς
ὑ[πὲρ] ⟦π.⟧ ἐνδεκάτης ἰνδικτίωνος
δραχμὰς τρισχιλείας ἑξακοσίας,
(δραχμὰς) [Γχ'], μόνας.

Col. II

(α)

3rd hand Ἰσίδορο(ς) Παύλου καὶ Καλών(ιος) Οὐεναφρίου
καὶ Ἀτρῆς Ἀχιλλᾶς καὶ οἱ κονονοὶ
σιτολόγοι κωμητῶν Καρανίδος
καὶ ὁριοδικ[τία]ς γενήματος ἐνδεκάτης
ἰνδικτίονος, Ἰσιδό{δο}ρου Πτολεμαίου χαίρειν.
ἔσχαμεν παρὰ σοῦ ὑπὲρ ναῦλα κριθῆς
ἀποστελλομέν(ης) ἐν Χαιρέρυ ἀργυρίου
δραχμὰς τρισχιλείας τριακοσίας, (δραχμὰς) Γτ',
καὶ κριθῆς ὁμρίως ἀρτάβας ἕνδεκα τρίτον,
(ἀρτάβας) ιαγ''.
τοῖς ἀποδιχθησομένοις ὑπάτοις τὸ γ',
Παχὼν κβ'.

(β)

4th hand Τοῖς ἀποδιχθησομένοις ὑπάτοις τὸ γ',
Παχὼν κβ'. [δι]έγραψεν Ἰσίδορος Πτολεμ(αίου)
καὶ ὀνό(ματος) Παλήμωνος καὶ ὀνό(ματος) [Σ]υρίο(νος) δι(ὰ) Κάστορ(ος)
καὶ Χαιρήμ[ωνος] καὶ ἀπαιτητᾶι ναῦλα εἰδῶν
ἐνδεκάτης [ἰν]δεκτίονος Καρανίδος
ἀργυρίου δραχμὰς τρισχιλείας ἑξακοσίας
(δραχμὰς) Γχ', μόνας.

Col. III

5th hand τοῖς ἀποδιχθησομένοις ὑπάτοις τὸ γ',
Παχὼν κθ'. διέγραψεν Ἰσίδορος Πτολεμαίου

ὑπὲρ ναύλου ἀχύρου ἀποστελλομένου ἐν Χαιρέου
δι(ὰ) Ἔκιος καὶ οἱ κυνοῦ(οἱ) ἀπαιτηταὶ Καρανίδος
ἀργυρίο(υ) δραχμὰς τρισχιλείας, (δραχμὰς) Γ, μόνας.

Col. IV

6th hand τοῖς ἀποδιχθησομένοις ὑπάτοις, τὸ γ',
Μεσορὴ γ. διέγραψεν Ἰσίδορος Πτολεμαίου
καὶ ὀνό(ματος) Παλήμων Πτολεμαίου καὶ ὀνό(ματος) Συρίων
ὑπὲρ τιμῆς ξύλα ἐνδεκάτης ἰνδικτίονος,
ξύλα κεντηνάριον ἥμισυ, καὶ [ὑ]πὲρ ἐξαρσισθη(σομένου)
πλοίου δραχμὰς ὀκτακοσίας, (δραχμὰς) ω', μόνας,
δι(ὰ) Ἀντιούρις καὶ Παλήμ[ω]ν καὶ κυν(ωνῶν) ἀπαιτη(τῶν).

Notes

4. τ[ε]λῶν: at first the scribe wrote ου at the end of the word, then he crossed it out, and wrote ων above it. Although the term τέλη βασιλικά is new, the reading τ[ε]λῶν seems the only possible one. The nearest parallel is afforded by P. Flor. 294,40: δημόσια τελέσματα βασιλικὰ κανονικ[ά]. The meaning of τέλη βασιλικά is uncertain. On the one hand it may refer to taxes collected from the γῆ βασιλική, which was one of the categories of farm land listed in the census declarations of the late third and early fourth centuries, cf. P. Thead. 54; 55; P. Cairo Boak, 8; 9; 10; 11 (*Études de Papyrologie*, III, pp. 1 ff.). On the other it may refer to a specific tax, differing from the transport charges, the levy for wood and the like. Or, thirdly, it may designate a particular type of tax, such as the grain tax, levied on γῆ βασιλική.
5. διὰ Παλήμων: nom. for gen., as often in these documents. Cf. the οἱ κοινο(νοί) ἀπ[αι]τηταί which follows.
κοινο(νοί): for κοινω(νοί), cf. l. 13.
7. το[ῖς] ἀποδιχθησομένοις ὑπάτοις τὸ γ': "the consuls designate for the third time." The reference is to the Caesars Crispus and Constantius, consuls for 324 A.D. Cf. Preisigke, *Wörterbuch*, III, p. 74.
8–11. The entry contained in these lines obviously was added after Cols. II and III had been written.
9. ἐνδεκάτης ἰνδικτίονος: 322 A.D., cf. Preisigke, *op. cit.*, III, p. 81.
12. Ἰσίδορος: for Ἰσίδωρος.
13. κονονοί: for κοινωνοί.
17. ὑπὲρ ναῦλα: for ὑπὲρ ναύλων.
18. Χαιρέου: near Alexandria.
27. ἀπαιτηταὶ ναύλων εἰδῶν: ἀπαιτηταί for ἀπαιτητῶν. For the use of εἶδος as a general term for tax, cf. Preisigke, *Wörterbuch*, III, pp. 234–35. The phrase ναῦλα εἴδη means simply "transport charges" without specifying the goods for the movement of which the charge was levied.
34. οἱ κυνον(οἱ) ἀπαιτηταί: for τῶν κοινων(ῶν) ἀπαιτητῶν.
38. Παλήμων; Συρίων: nominatives for genitives.
39. ὑπὲρ τιμῆς ξύλα: ξύλα for ξύλων. ξύλα κεντάριον ἥμισυ: in apposition to the preceding ξύλα rather than the object of διέγραψεν. Otherwise there would be no meaning to τιμῆς. In other words, the 800 dr. of l. 41 includes both the com-

mutation value of half a kentarion of wood and the contribution towards the refitting of a boat. Deliveries of wood, possibly as tax payments, appear in Amundsen, O. Mich. 257; 356.

Translation

Col. I

Isidoros, son of Ptolemaios has paid, in the name of Palemon and in the name of Syrion, as commutation for royal taxes four thousand two hundred drachmas, dr. 4,200 in all, through Palemon and Antiouris and their associate collectors of Karanis and its district.

The consuls designate for the third time. Pachon 12. (2nd hand) Pauni 30. The same (has paid) for the eleventh indiction three thousand six hundred drachmas, dr. 3,600 in all.

Col. II

(a)

(3rd hand) Isidoros, son of Paulos, and Kalonios, son of Ouenaphris, and Hatres, son of Achillas, and their associate grain collectors of the villagers of Karanis and its district for the harvest of the eleventh indiction, to Isidoros, son of Ptolemaios, greeting:

We have received from you for transport charges on barley that is being shipped to Chaireon three thousand three hundred silver drachmas, dr. 3,300, and likewise eleven and one-third artabas of barley.

The consuls designate for the third time, Pachon 22.

(b)

(4th hand) The consuls designate for the third time, Pachon 22.

Isidoros, son of Ptolemaios, has paid in the name of Palemon and in the name of Syrion, through Kastor and Chairemon and the collectors of transport charges for the eleventh indiction at Karanis, three thousand six hundred drachmas in silver, dr. 3,600 in all.

Col. III

(5th hand) The consuls designate for the third time, Pachon 29. Isidoros, son of Ptolemaios, has paid for transport charges on chaff being shipped to Chaireon, through Hekis and his associate collectors of Karanis, three thousand drachmas in silver, dr. 3,000 in all.

Col. IV

(6th hand) The consuls designate for the third time, Mesore 3.

Isidoros, son of Ptolemaios, has paid in the name of Palemon, son of Ptolemaios, and in the name of Syrion, as commutation price for wood for the eleventh indiction, namely half a kentarion of wood, and for the refitting of a boat, eight hundred drachmas, dr. 800 in all, through Antiouris and Palemon and associate collectors.

The information contained in the preceding documents relative to the collecting of taxes may be summarized in the following table.

Document No.	Tax	Form of Payment	Receipting Officials	Dates
1, I, 1–12	Wheat	Money	Gymnasiarch	A.D. 291
1, I, 13–19	Wheat	Money	Gymnasiarch	294
1, II	Wine	Money	?	294
2	Wheat	Wheat	Sitologoi	306/07
3	Meat	Meat	ἀπαιτηταὶ κρέως	313
4 (a)	Naula	Money	" ναύλων	314
4 (b)	Meat	Meat	" κρέως	314
5, I, 1–8	τέλη βασιλικά	Money	"	324
5, I, 8–11	" " (?)	Money	"	325
5, II, (a)	Naula on barley	Money and barley	Sitologoi	324
5, I (b)	Naula	Money	ἀπαιτηταὶ ναύλων	324
5, III	Naula on chaff	Money	"	324
5, IV	Wood and boat repair	Money	"	324

Of the thirteen receipts, three are for wheat taxes, one for a wine tax, two for meat taxes, one for a wood tax, four for transport taxes, and two for the so-called royal taxes.

As for the wheat taxes the first two (No. 1, I, 1–12; 13–19) belong to the period before Diocletian's reorganization of the taxation system in Egypt in 297 A.D.[3] Accordingly, the tax in question might be either the old land tax in kind which was regularly paid in wheat,[4] or the *annona militaris* levied from the close of the second century.[5]

Since, however, the *annona* was paid either in kind or in a corresponding monetary evaluation (*adaeratio*), and our receipt records a money payment, it is likely that we have here a reference to it. The presence of the gymnasiarch as the receiving official is most unusual since his duties did not normally involve the collection of taxes.[6] At any rate, he must have belonged to the metropolis Arsinoe; and perhaps functioned in a dual capacity, as a *dekaprotos* or other tax officer, as well as a gymnasiarch. The third payment of wheat, No. 2, dating from 306–307 A.D. after Diocletian's reforms, was made in kind to the sitologoi of Karanis. These sitologoi were in charge of the state granaries and acted as receivers of grain paid as taxes.[7] Consequently the wheat receipted for here was most probably part of the ἐμβολή or *annona civica* raised for the sustenance of the inhabitants of the

[3] P. Cairo Boak, 1, *Études de Papyrologie*, II, 1–8.

[4] Wallace, *Taxation in Egypt*, Ch. II; IV.

[5] Wallace, *Op. cit.* 339; Wilcken, *Grundzüge und Christomathie der Papyruskunde*, 181; 361.

[6] Oertel, *Die Liturgie*, 316 ff.

[7] Wallace, *Taxation*, 37.

cities of Old and later New Rome,[8] although at this period, the *annona militaris* was still collected partly in kind.

Since the single receipt for wine is not fully legible, we only know that in this case the wine tax was paid in money, and that it seems to have been levied as part of an *annona*. This would certainly have been the *annona militaris*, which included not only grain, but also wine, meat, oil and fuel.[9]

The two deliveries of meat (Nos. 3 and 4 (b)) of 313 and 314 A.D., respectively, were made to the ἀπαιτηταὶ κρέως, inferior officials who served as the collectors of special taxes. Since the only meat collected was for the military *annona* we have here examples of payments of this levy in kind. Actually, the meat delivered under these conditions must have been smoked, pickled, or salted in order to remain fit for consumption for more than a very short time.

Of the four receipts for *naula*, two, Nos. 4(a) and 5 II(b), were for transport charges in general (ναῦλα εἴδη), and one each for the charges on barley (No. 5 II (a)) and chaff (No. 5 III) being shipped to Chaireou near Alexandria, which seems to have been the site of a military cantonment (P. Oxy. 1749). The ναῦλον or ναῦλα was a shipping charge levied on taxes paid in kind to defray the expense of their transportation from the point of delivery, where the payer received the receipt, to some more distant destination. The earliest definite evidence for its collection comes from 296 A.D.[10] Since most of the freight in Egypt was carried in canal and river boats, the *naula* often appears as ναυλεπλοίου.[11] The *naula* could be paid at the time the *naturalia* were delivered to the tax collector, as in O. Mich. I, 171; II 802 (296 A.D.); and P. Mich. 179 (297 A.D.), or it might be withheld for subsequent payment, as in P. Mich. 399–411 and 413–417, all of which acknowledge the payment of taxes in kind χωρὶς ναυλεπλοίου. The *naula* itself might be paid in kind; for example in wheat (O. Mich. I, 171), or barley (as in No. 5 II (a)); or it might be paid in currency, as we see from Nos. 4(a), 5 II (a), 5 II (b) and 5 III above. The payment partly in money and partly in barley recorded in No. 5 II (a) was acknowledged by the sitologoi since these officials were in charge of warehousing of wheat and barley; and the money payment for *naula* on chaff or straw (No. 5 III) was attested by ἀπαιτηταὶ ἀχύρου because the latter handled the chaff accounts.[12] As for the ἀπαιτηταὶ ναύλων of Nos. 4 (a) and 5 II (b), who have

[8] Wilcken, *Grundzüge*, 222; Segrè, "*Annona Civica* and the *Annona Militaris*," *Byzantion*, XVI 401 ff.

[9] Segrè, *op. cit.*, 407–408. With this receipt we may compare O. Mich. II, 802 (296 A.D.), a receipt for 16 ξέσται of wine ὑπ(ὲρ) τῆς ψηφισθείσης ἀννώνης νέας ἐπιγρ(αφῆς).

[10] Wallace, *Taxation*, 44.

[11] *E.g.*, P. Mich. 399–411; 413–417. ναῦλον πλοίου in 413, and O. Mich. I, 171, 172.

[12] See the report of the ἀπαιτηταὶ ἀχύρου in P. Cairo Boak 23, *Études de Papyrologie*, V, p. 95 ff.

so far not been recorded elsewhere, they do not seem to have been active in collecting the *naula* on any one tax in kind, but to have been concerned with shipping charges in general. Therefore, it is tempting to assume that they collected the *naula* levied in money for the transport of government grain to Heracleia and Byzantium (P. Oxy. 2113; Segrè, *Byzantion*, xvi, 396).

The payment for a wood levy and towards the fitting out of a boat was made in money and to ἀπαιτηταί who were probably ἀπαιτηταὶ ξύλων. Wood, like chaff, was delivered to the troops as a fuel allowance,[13] but owing to the scarcity of wood in Egypt, it would probably be necessary for many persons to pay an evaluation of their share in money. The same would apply to the wood needed in boat building. We may assume that the boat in question was to be used for the transport of government stores, probably the military *annona*. O. Mich. I, 257 of 309 A.D. is a receipt for wood delivered to an ἀποδ(έκτης) ξύλων.

Owing to the uncertain character of the τέλη βασιλικά of No. 5 I, it only seems necessary to point out that since the payment was made in money, we have here another instance of a commutation payment for a tax assessed in kind.

From these receipts then, we have additional proof that the practice of commuting payments in kind for a corresponding sum of money occurs before as well as after 297 A.D., and that in the period 306–324 A.D. the *annona militaris* was raised both by deliveries in kind and by alternative payments in money, the option apparently resting with the taxpayer.

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[13] Segrè, *Annona*, pp. 406–07.

TEN DAYS IN CARIA

By Georgina Buckler

One of the curious features of archaeological research is the apparently arbitrary way in which one site has been taken for study and excavation and another left almost at its side. Widely different motives have influenced the travellers and determined their course. Biblical scholars have spent their lives tracing the spots where events recorded in the Old Testament and the New Testament have occurred, and names in Bible lands not mentioned in either of those volumes have been for them almost non-existent. Other historical researchers in Asia Minor have followed the footsteps of Alexander or of the Crusaders, and have paused in their journeyings to investigate disconnected archaeological remains that lay on their path. Others have been in quest of dialects or coins or folklore or what not, and have done some excavations incidentally. But Caria has been practically neglected by all such pilgrims, while its mountainous interior and absence of good roads have made its antiquities easily visible only to the two classes of travellers to whom everywhere we owe most of our early finds. Diplomatic or consular agents like Sir Charles Newton could come to Halicarnassus and Cnidus by sea; naval men of observation and intelligence could and did note treasures of antiquity while passing along the coast in performance of their duties, and later on could carry out with care and skill the task of bringing them away to safer keeping. The London, Berlin and Vienna museums rejoice in the results achieved by these two professions, which in essence have nothing whatever to do with Archaeology.

As a matter of fact, Archaeology is one of the youngest of the Sciences. The *Encyclopedia Britannica* (11th ed.) says of Newton: "The scientific study of classical archaeology, which Winckelmann had set on foot in Germany, was in England to find its worthy apostle in Newton," whose first excavations began in 1854. Thus it was only in the nineteenth century that archaeology became a profession in itself, at first as the handmaid of History and Geography. Sir William Mitchell Ramsay, regarded by many of his followers as their Pope, called his first great book "The Historical Geography of Asia Minor" (1890). All through it he works at ascertaining the old routes across the country and the military and commercial use made of them, and himself admits that he barely touched on Caria, which in the sphere of Anatolian archaeology has always been the Cinderella. Even to the casual traveller it still seems decidedly more primitive and out of the world than (for instance) Lydia or Phrygia, and our journey to and stay in its northeast corner stands out as unique in our memories.

Geographically Caria has a character of its own, not lending itself to easy archaeological research. The site of Xanthus in neighbouring Lycia was near enough to the sea for British sailors to mark it down; the towns of Miletus and Priene, where Lydia and Caria meet, could be approached at the mouth of the river Maeander, and the two great excavations of Newton at Halicarnassus and Cnidus were made on promontories extending into the Aegean. But in the high lands which constitute the major part of Caria there were no main roads to be traversed by Crusading armies, and the caravan routes across Asia Minor further to the East passed north or south of the province. It is indeed believed on good evidence that when Trajan went from Antiocheia on the Maeander to Attaleia in Pamphylia, he passed through the northeast Carian plain to Apollonia ad Salbacum, a road afterwards taken by Caracalla (MAMA VI, p. 34). But this one striking exception to the general rule, a route undoubtedly planned just to cut off a corner and avoid the Mons Salbacus, covered in fact a very small piece of ground, and otherwise the mountainous land of Caria has remained virtually apart and inviolate. Consequently the scenes of our ten days travel, Herakleia ad Salbacum (Vakuv), Apollonia ad Salbacum (Medet) and Tabai (Davas) have been distinguished by no great historical happenings, in spite of the eighty inscriptions copied by us in that neighbourhood and the many others that we had no time to investigate. We saw only one stone of real interest to the general public, i.e. the important senatus consultum of 81 B.C. found in a Greek translation at Tabai in connection with Sulla's victorious campaign; of this unique discovery, first published in *BCH* XIII (1889) we only got a partial reading under circumstances that will be described later, though ultimately our visit proved beneficial.

On the whole little is known about Carian history from either literary or epigraphic sources, and that little may be briefly told. A. H. M. Jones in his *Cities of the East Roman Provinces* (1937) begins his second chapter with the words: "The west coast of Asia Minor was colonized by the Greeks before authentic history begins," and as to this there is little doubt, nor as to the fact that the "mainland of Lydia and Northern Caria" was occupied by Ionians. But then vagueness begins. The *Encyclopedia Britannica* says that "the country known as Caria was shared between the Carians proper and the Caunians," a wilder people inhabiting the district between Caria and Lycia; but who were the "Carians proper"? Herodotus, himself a native of these parts, believes them to have been the same as the Leleges, driven from the Aegean islands by the invading Greeks (cf. Thuc., I, 8), whereas Homer distinguishes between Carians and Leleges. As to the Caunians, Herodotus counts them as aborigines apparently of the lands comprised by the middle and lower Maeander plain. Strabo in later days followed a Cretan tradition, that the Carians or Leleges inhabited the Aegean islands and manned the ships of Minos, king of Crete, whom they

served but without paying tribute till driven to the mainland by Ionian and Dorian settlers. He does not make the boundaries of their territory very clear but seems to agree with Herodotus on this point. We infer that they were a warlike and not a trading race, for they are said to have invented helmet-plumes and devices on shields. The *Realencyclopädie* pronounces them to have been the most famous of all peoples in Minos' time, and early Christian writers look back to a Carian maritime empire. Carian mercenaries even served the Pharaoh Psammetichus in faraway Egypt, where their inscriptions in a strange script have been found.

As to the Caunians, the *Encylopedia Britannica* tells us that even though they spoke the same language they were not "considered of the same blood" as the Carians, and were therefore excluded from the common worship of Carians, Lydians and Mysians, descendants of the mythical brothers Car, Lydus and Mysus, in a temple situated according to the *Encycl. Brit.* at Mylasa, but believed by Smith (*Dict. of Gk. and Rom. Geog.*) and by most modern archaeologists to have been that of Zeus Chrysaoreus at Stratonikeia (v. Louis Robert, *Villes d'Asie Mineure*, p. 61).

In any case Carians and Caunians alike had Greek cities interspersed along the coast in their territories, and all three races were dominated in very early days by the Lydian King Gyges. Not many generations afterwards in 545 B.C. they suffered the same fate as Gyges' descendant Croesus (who had Carians for his bodyguard), and passed under Persian domination.

After this matters become a little clearer. The early Carians had mostly lived not in large cities but in κῶμαι united in a sort of federation, with Stratonikeia as their religious centre; as subjects of Persia they were ruled by native dynasts. In the Ionian revolt of 499 they fought alongside of the Greek settlers, but after the capture of Miletus they submitted again freely or by compulsion to the Persians, and when Xerxes invaded Greece they provided seventy ships for his fleet. Later in the same century the Carian maritime cities, now republics, appear on the Athenian tribute-quota lists as members of the Confederacy of Delos (v. B. D. Meritt's article in *Anatolian Studies presented to William H. Buckler*, 1939). But we learn from Thucydides that the Athenians never established their tyranny in the interior. Down to the time of Alexander, native Carian dynasts, under Persian protection as we have said, ruled Caria with one important exception. In 408 the republic of Rhodes was formed, and was not long in acquiring a large area on the mainland of Caria, known as the Rhodian Peraea, which remained as a thorn in the side of the natives for over two centuries. The natives and their dynasts seem to have kept up the old form of what Jones terms "a rudimentary federation," for we read in a Greek inscription found at Mylasa of a collective embassy sent in 367 to the Great King. Indeed a confederation voting by villages lingered on to Hellenistic and even Roman times.

One episode in the south of Caria is almost the only event which lightens

up the darkness of its history. About the middle of the fourth century Mausolus, satrap of Caria, moved his capital from Mylasa (where the Greek decree above mentioned shows how completely the larger cities had been Hellenized) to Halicarnassus which he beautified with splendid buildings whose great fragments adorn the British Museum. The tomb erected to him in 360 by his wife Artemisia has given us the word still used of interments on a grand scale. But before the century was out the last legitimate Carian dynast Pixodarus had gone, and the usurping prince Orontobates had had to surrender the capital Halicarnassus to Alexander, who in his turn restored it to a native princess Ada, making her Queen of Caria. This nominal independence however did not last long. After Alexander's early death his generals divided up his conquests among themselves, and as the *Realencyclopädie* puts it: "In 313 Caria passed into the power of Antigonus, then of Lysimachus and finally of the Seleucids," who nominally ruled west Asia Minor from 281 to 189 B.C., though in 247–39 the coast belonged to the Egyptian Ptolemies, who made use of Carian sailors, as well as of the fine timber for which the country is famous. The Seleucids founded new cities, and merged existing small ones into large communities, but, as Jones points out, the weakness of the Seleucid government enabled the Rhodians to make considerable additions to their Peraea at the expense of the mainland inhabitants. Thus about 242 Antiochus Hierax and Seleucus II gave Stratonikeia to the island republic, and when in 197 Antiochus III moved into Anatolia "with the object of restoring the Seleucid Empire to its ancient extent," he did his best to keep the Rhodians as his friends. After his defeat at Magnesia by the Romans, he ceded to them by the peace of Apamea all his Anatolian dominions and the new masters divided them between their allies, Eumenes of Pergamon and Rhodes. The latter received Caria south of the Maeander, and the former had its northeast part. But not many years passed before the Rhodians fell out of favour with Rome, and in 167 the Senate declared their Carian cities free, a liberation which was marked by "an orgy of coining." Thirty-four years later Attalus III of Pergamon bequeathed his kingdom to the Roman people, whose province of Asia finally included the whole mainland of Caria, both the former Rhodian and the former Attalid domains. As a part of this Asia it remained till Diocletian made it a separate province. As everywhere Rome based its rule here on self-government, and the prevalence of practical autonomy under a governor appointed by the Senate is "shown by the large number of coining communities in the first fifty years." For judicial purposes they were divided into *conventus* (circuits) and from fragments of an official register early in the reign of Augustus preserved to us by Pliny we learn that the *conventus* of Alabanda corresponded roughly to Caria south of the Maeander, including the three places of special interest to us in our visits, Heraclea and Apollonia ad Salbacum

and Tabai. For further light on the relations between Rome and Caria in the third and second centuries B.C. v. articles by A. H. M. Jones and David Magie in *Anatolian Studies, Buckler*. The monetary and commercial policy of the Seleucids and Attalids in encouraging "silver minting" is dealt with by M. Rostovtzeff in the same volume.

In the Byzantine period these three appear again in the civil lists of Hierocles' *Synecdemus* (usually assigned to the early years of Justinian), and also in the ecclesiastical *Notitiae episcopatuum*, but with no information about them. Caria was under a *consularis* and comprised 30 Eparchies with 28 towns.

The mediaeval fate of Caria presents little of special interest. As part of the East Roman Empire it was exposed in the seventh century to some danger when Persian armies swept over the whole of Asia Minor, and again when the Arabs who followed them went by sea and land to besiege Constantinople, but its situation and its mountains were a great shield. When Leo III in the eighth century divided his Empire into themes, Caria was assigned to one of the three preeminently maritime themes, the Cibyrrhaeot famous for its powerful fleet. For the next two hundred years the principal enemies the Saracens (v. the article by Prof. A. A. Vasiliev in *Camb. Med. Hist.*, IV, ch. V.B.) made only predatory raids on Asia Minor and were finally expelled in the tenth century. But in 1067 the Seljik Turks founded the Empire of Rum which at one time included nearly the whole of Asia Minor, and continued till 1243 when the Mongols overthrew it. Then came the supremacy of the Osmanli or Ottoman Turks and not many years after their Sultan Bajazet had had his dramatic struggle with Tamerlane, ending in the deaths of the two opponents respectively in 1403 and 1405, the great Mahomet II was "girt with the sword of Osman" (*Camb. Med. Hist.*, IV, 693). Between the years 1451 and 1481 he turned Asia Minor into a part of the Turkish Empire, as it still is. Caria individually played little part in all these happenings, and being as it were "the nation that has no history," we may perhaps assume that as the proverb says it was "happy." One small but illuminating fact may here be mentioned: in the late twelfth century, when Manuel I Comnenus was Emperor in Constantinople and the Sultan of Rum reigned at Iconium, with most of west Anatolia in his power, the Christians of Caria were able to dedicate at Stavropolis (= Aphrodisias) a new church, the *stavropegion* of which was commemorated by a dated bronze cross now in our possession (BZ 1928).

If Carian history is obscure, so is its language. This, according to Strabo who refers to a history (now lost) by a certain Philippus, had many Greek words mixed into it, but modern archaeologists believe it to have been substantially "Asianic" and not Indo-European. E. G. S. Robinson (in *Anatolian Studies, Buckler*) says that "material for the study of the Carian script and language is scanty and limited." Only seventy-six inscriptions

from all sources are recorded by J. Friedrich in his *Kleinasiatische Denkmäler* and none of these have so far been translated, though Monsieur Benveniste is said to have under study new material recently discovered by Professor Louis Robert. The coinage already mentioned as dating from Seleucid and Attalid times of course bore Greek inscriptions.

So much for Caria as it concerns historians and philologists; now let us look at the accounts of its always few travellers. Professor Louis Robert in the *AJA* of 1935 speaks of his satisfaction when the American Society for Archaeological Research in Asia Minor invited him to work for them, and allowed him to choose his long wished for Caria, "pays souvent parcouru par les archéologues mais toujours de façon discursive, où les découvertes sont presque toujours restées isolées, ne s'insérant pas dans un ensemble." Such an ensemble he did not attempt, saying truly that it needed "non point un homme mais une mission assez nombreuse et bien outillée"; he himself studied "un rayon peu étendu," i.e., Mylasa (where he found a new god Σινυρι) and its environs, near the southwest coast, and thus diametrically opposite to our even more restricted sphere in the northeast, just across from the Phrygian frontier. His *Villes d'Asie Mineure* published the same year (1935) deals principally with Mysia, Lydia and Phrygia, but welcome news came recently that even since 1939 he has been working in France on "L'hellénization de la Carie." His article in *Anatolian Studies, Buckler* has fourteen pages on a 44 line inscription found at Carian Aphrodisias by Boulanger (1913) wherein the town of Ephesus honoured an Aphrodisian athlete, thus testifying to the affection existing between these two cities situated in different districts. Other modern writers who have dealt with Caria, selected somewhat at random, Schönborn, de Laborde, Sterrett, Trémaux, Ramsay, Philippson, Holleaux and Paris, Kubitschek and Reichel, have contributed little to our knowledge and as Professor Grégoire said in a recent private letter, "Ce pays en effet est terriblement peu connu."

Above all there remains a big task for any Anatolian epigraphist after the war in the publishing of the 201 inscriptions of Aphrodisias, known under Christian Byzantine rule as Stavropolis, copied (some old, some new) by W. M. Calder in 1934. Their great variety appears from the following list:

26 are Documents and Public Records	4 new
29 are Votive texts	5 new
72 are Honorific	16 new
74 are Sepulchral	35 new

These do not include the inscriptions found by Boulanger in his one big excavation, and those later discovered by Jacopi. It is hoped that the work which Professor Robert is known to have been doing during the war will embrace this great field for archaeological research. In his *Villes*

d'Asie Mineure (p. 106) he has already made this interesting statement about Aphrodisias, which may be copied here as concerning three of the places we visited: "A la fin du IIe siècle ou dans le cours du IIIe les Aphrodisiens ayant obtenu de l'empereur la faveur de pouvoir célébrer un ἱερὸς ἀγών . . . les villes de la région envoyèrent des délégations pour participer aux sacrifices . . .; en remerciement les Aphrodisiens élevèrent des statues honorifiques à chacun de ces peuples; on a retrouvé les bases des statues des peuples d'Herakleia et d'Apollonia de la Salbake, de Tabai," etc. Many of the epigraphic copies from Aphrodisias are of considerable length, and the whole mass is doubtless a veritable storehouse of valuable information, whenever publication becomes possible.

It is much to be hoped that the Turks will by that time have returned to their old friendliness towards archaeological research. Shortly after our visit in 1933 their government grew suspicious, and though it allowed excavation to a limited extent in certain spots, frowned on archaeological travel from place to place, as a military precaution presumably against invasion.

A brief account of our own experiences in this "little known" land may possibly be not without interest. On May 2, 1933, we crossed over from Istanbul to Haidar Pasha and took the train going south to Afion-karahisar, which we left on May 4, after spending 1½ days there. In the hotel two boys from the local lycée came up and had a fairly long talk to us in French and German respectively. My comment in a letter to a daughter in England was: "Isn't that surprising enterprise for an Anatolian town?" but it came to seem quite normal there and at Denizli to which we went on May 4 in a private motor-bus with backless benches for seats. The Inn at Denizli, the ancient Laodicea, left much to be desired, but our camp outside the town in two tents, each with two mattresses on the ground, by the side of a rushing stream was, as I wrote and still think, in "a really perfect spot," a big grass plot bordered on three sides by running streams, and adorned by several fine planes and other trees. Here our "leave to travel" began, but while we were waiting for our next move, we had three experiences of Phrygian culture that seem worth recording, especially as a contrast to Caria. As my daughter and I were sitting in our tent by our "Fountain of Figs" we received a visit from a local woman who gave us delicious rose lemonade and her little girl who proceeded to entertain us with the English that she was beginning to learn in school. And in Denizli itself we went to tea with the driver of the Ford truck in which we did our journeys. We only caught a distant glimpse of his wife heavily veiled, but the tea was excellent, and the new house most attractive. And at the neighbouring village of Khonaz, which we visited twice with very little epigraphical success, we found "a man who had been for twenty years a barber in New York and Boston, and was pathetically homesick for the

U. S. A., wishing heartily, I think, that he hadn't obeyed his mother's orders and come home, nor saddled himself further with a 'wife and two kids.' It was amusing to see him impressing the villagers with an account of the eighty-two floors of the Empire State Building, of which, I have rather rashly promised to send him a photo." Then in another direction we went to the site of ancient Tripolis, where I sketched, and the others "walked over the ruins and were shown an inscription by some friendly Yuruk women who offered them coffee. We are very much struck with the kindliness and good manners of all the people, even the children. They stare of course, but they never annoy one, and when I have to say to a group of women 'Turkje anlamam' ("I don't understand Turkish") they smile sympathetically and often give me flowers."

This was the end of our time in Phrygia, and on May 19 we moved across the Baba-dagh range from Denizli to Vakuf, the ancient Herakleia ad Salbacum. Our rough and rather dangerous uphill journey gave us a foretaste of the more primitive "culture" of Caria; we might almost have been among not Carians proper, but the "wilder people" of the Caunians. Everything was difficult, and even the weather was ungenial, producing such a succession of rainy days that archaeological research was sorely hampered by the appalling mud of the dirt-roads. My letter goes on: "Both the evening we arrived and the next morning were sunny and bright, but on Saturday afternoon it began to rain—first occasional showers, then a regular deluge, which continued at night so that the tent on my side leaked, and I had to sleep under an umbrella." Two days later I write that the chauffeur of our Ford truck was refusing to attempt getting to Tabai (Davas) till the roads had had two good days to dry. "Yesterday we had such bad skids in trying to get up a muddy slope that we had to turn back and go round another way, and when the final climb up our camp hill came, the Ford simply stuck and had to spend the night at the bottom." Even when sixty-three "written stones" were found at or near Vakuf the behaviour of the inhabitants was of a strange, almost savage kind. The best find was a long one honouring a benefactor on four blocks, which had to be heaved up one by one out of a stone heap. But after this had been done the men of Vakuf, either from the same superstition of magic value or possibly gold in the stones that made the natives of one Anatolian village many years ago hack to pieces the door-sill which D. G. Hogarth had only half copied, or merely from a desire to make money out of the unsuspecting foreigner, twice brought us up fragments of these four blocks as newly discovered inscriptions. The fraud was detected by our daughter. She herself had the curious experience of being followed about everywhere daily by a little girl, who said nothing and did nothing, but gazed at her steadily like some faithful little animal. And I had the shock of seeing four sturdy local youths batter down a shed under which an inscription was

concealed, without as far as we knew any leave whatever from the owner. The shed was strongly built of logs, and the mess of destruction which we left on the ground seemed to me out of proportion to the pay, one Turkish pound (about fifty cents) for each helper, doled out in piastres by Mustafa our elder camp servant. On two other occasions leave was asked with strange results. At Apollonia (Medet) where six inscriptions were copied, one of them (not the one referred to by Jones, *op. cit.*, p. 43, as proving that it possessed a regular Greek constitution and was under Seleucid rule in the middle of the third century B.C., and published in MAMA VI, p. 56) was in the door-jamb of a woman, who apparently agreed with the request made by the Turkish museum-attaché whom the government sent to accompany us everywhere, that we might copy the stone. But hardly had W. H. Buckler secured his squeeze when the woman suddenly rushed towards our daughter armed with a sharp stone. The imam sitting smoking on an adjacent roof looked on imperturbably, and the woman would have struck the girl in the arm, if her own wrist had not been seized by our resourceful Hilmi Bey. It was supposed that she thought the squeeze would carry away some latent virtue in the stone. And at Tabai (Davas) where the "bag" was eleven inscriptions the question of leave became a burning one. The Greek copy of a Latin decree of Sulla's time was so firmly imbedded in the wall of a house, that any reading of half of it necessitated breaking into the wall, and the owner was away, not likely to return for several days. So Hilmi Bey asked the headman of the village for leave to do the necessary work of tearing down, promising that the building up again should be at our expense. The man most naturally demurred, but reluctantly agreed to consult the imam, as soon as the Friday service going on in the mosque should be over. We waited eagerly, but the imam went straight from the mosque to his dinner, and from his dinner to his afternoon siesta and could not be reached by us or by Hilmi Bey. However the latter at last persuaded the reluctant headman to take the responsibility on himself, and preparations for the excavation were as we thought being made on the spot, when the headman after a few minutes absence came back and announced that he had been telephoning to the district governor, who forbade the entire proceeding. The idea of a telephone operating in this remote wild village, where we could get almost no food and where the population followed us about like a pack of suspicious dogs, amazed us too much for any protest and we came away without the desired copy. But it is worth adding that the next year, with the leave of the owner, the valuable inscription was removed by the government from the wall and placed in safety in a museum. So that our efforts had brought good after all (v. D. M. Magie in *Anatolian Studies, Buckler*, p. 176, and also MAMA, VI, 61).

Tabai was almost our last expedition from Vakuf, and we ended our

Carian stay at a village called Jerengume, on the high road (such as it was) that led down to Denizli. Our tents were pitched just outside a school, and there the last proof of a "Caunian" state of civilization was given us. The head of our party went to see the village schoolmaster, as that functionary is always the likeliest person to know the whereabouts of "Written Stones," and the school-mistress was in the room. Coffee was brought in and offered to our chief, who politely tried to pass it on to the mistress. She declined as not liking coffee, so the schoolmaster and his male guest each had a cup. After they had finished, the servant brought in a cup for the school-mistress who drank it:—it had merely been impossible and unsuitable for a woman to be served till men had had their fill. As my daughter and I had all along been lumped together by our camp servants as "the children," we left Caria for our Oxford home with the sense that for all its beauty it was not a Paradise for Tennyson's "Lesser Man."

BALTIMORE.

ON THE SOCIAL STRUCTURE OF THE LATER ROMAN EMPIRE

By Peter Charanis

Immobility was the principal feature of the social structure of the later Roman empire as it developed following the crisis of the third century and the reforms of Diocletian and Constantine. Those in the country who actually worked the fields, whether they possessed them or not, became attached to the soil; and those in the cities who were engaged in any trade or profession of public interest became attached to their trade or profession. In neither case was there any freedom of choice; one was legally bound to follow the trade of his father.[1]

The three elements that played the predominant role in the establishment of this system were the dangerous external situation of the empire, the decline in the population, and the ever increasing financial needs of the state. The reorganization of the empire by Diocletian and Constantine, designed to establish internal stability, greatly increased the complexity of the government, increasing thereby its financial needs, while the defense of the frontiers against the invasions of the barbarians and the Persians was making greater and greater demands upon the treasury. To meet these demands the empire had limited resources at its disposal: land, a limited supply of agricultural labor,[2] and certain organized services in the cities, notably those connected with the supply of food. And it was by a systematic exploitation of these resources that the empire could find the necessary funds with which to defend its frontiers and to maintain its governmental establishment. Freedom of choice gave way to strict con-

[1] J. B. Bury, *History of the later Roman empire* (London, 1931), I, 55ff.; Ernst Stein, *Geschichte des Spätrömischen Reiches*, I (Vienna, 1928), 22ff.; M. Rostovtzeff, *Economic and social history of the Roman empire* (Oxford, 1926), p. 465ff.; C. E. Stevens, "Agricultural and rural life in the later Roman empire," in *The Cambridge economic history*, 1 (Cambridge, 1941), p. 106ff. The various theories concerning the origin of the Roman colonate have been reviewed by Roth Clausing, but his book (*The Roman colonate: the theories of its origin*, New York, 1925) is deficient in many respects. See M. Rostovtzeff's very unfavorable review in *The American historical review*, XXXI (New York, 1926), 304–306. See also Ch. Saumagne, "Du rôle de l' "Origo" et du "Census" dans la formation du colonat romain," *Byzantion*, XII (Brussels, 1937), 487–581. On the professional corporations the work of J. P. Waltzing (*Étude historique sur les corporations professionelles chez les Romains depuis les origines jusqu'à la chute de l'empire d'occident*, 4 vols., Louvain, 1895–1900) is still the fundamental work on this subject. Important also is the more recent work of G. Mickwitz, *Die Kartellfunktionen der Zünfte und ihre Bedeutung bei der Entstehung des Zunftwesens: eine Studie in spätantiker und mittelalterlicher Wirtschaftsgeschichte* (Helsingfors, 1936).

[2] On the depopulation of the empire see M. Rostovtzeff, *Social and economic history of the Roman empire*. pp. 465f.; 620, n. 18.

trol and supervision. Land and its cultivation were bound together; one could not leave the land, nor could the land be taken away from him, for the empire obtained its revenues mainly from the land, and it was imperative that the land be cultivated. But these revenues were chiefly in kind; they had to be transported, transformed and distributed; and to achieve these things the state turned to certain existing organizations of transport and industry, imposed its control upon them, held their members responsible with their property for the performance of the services required of them, and rendered their trade hereditary. The ship owners (*navicularii*), the bakers (*pistores*) and the pork dealers (*suarii*) were those chiefly affected. Those working in the state factories, where arms and certain garments, destined for the use of the imperial court, were manufactured, or the state mints, were also attached to their work and their trade was made hereditary. Attached to their social position which was also hereditary were the urban aristocracy, the *curiales*, who performed certain public services, notably the collection of the taxes. The evolution of this social structure was complete by the end of the fourth century.

This was a hard system but the times were hard also. The empire was faced everywhere by formidable enemies; it was fighting for its very existence and it had no other recourse than to exploit fully the only resources at its disposal. The fact is that it survived. Besides, the social immobility never became complete. There were free peasants who were at liberty to move provided they did not stay on the same land for thirty years or more.[3] And in the towns the majority of the artisans, particularly those whose trades were not connected with any public service, though organized into guilds and their activities regulated, enjoyed considerable freedom of action and their trades were not forcibly hereditary, although in actual fact the son usually followed the trade of his father, which was what the government wanted and encouraged.[4] They were even free to strike for higher wages as is shown by the well known inscription of Sardis of 459 A.D.,[5] and their intervention in politics often had important results. The fact also that members of guilds engaged in public services could find substitutes for themselves proves further that there were people for whom the security afforded by membership in such guilds outweighted the curtailment of freedom and the heavy obligation that such membership carried with it.

But there were abuses and weaknesses and these had serious consequences. The burden of taxation was heavy, and to this was added the maladministration of the lower officials who usually exploited the poor beyond the requirement of the law, while they were much more lenient with

[3] *Codex Justinianus*, XI, 48, 19.

[4] Waltzing, op. cit., II, 310 f.

[5] W. H. Buckler, "Labour disputes in the province of Asia," *Anatolian studies presented to Sir William Mitchell Ramsay* (London, 1923), pp. 36 ff.

the wealthy.[6] Many peasants ran away, or sought the protection of the large land-owners, who were also great civil or military functionaries, turning over to them their land and becoming simple *coloni*. The *patrocinium*[7] was perhaps the greatest evil, for it not only deprived the state of some of its revenue, but lessened the number of the small peasant proprietors, while increasing the power of the wealthy who, with their private armies, often defied the central government, thus adding to the maladministration of the empire.[8] Nor did it help to ameliorate the condition of those peasants who resorted to it, for in place of the state they were now exploited by their private masters, and much more ruthlessly.[9] The condition of most of the *coloni* was indeed miserable. There were some who even chose to live among the barbarians rather than in the Graeco-Roman world.[10] And as the small free peasants continued to disappear, while the great magnates were permitted to substitute money payments for the recruits,[11] chosen among their *coloni*, which they were required to furnish to the state, the army of the empire became an army of mercenaries. The state required of its citizens to work and pay the taxes while it entrusted to barbarians and other foreigners the defense of its frontiers.

The emperors of the fifth and sixth centuries, especially Justinian,[12] sought to eliminate some of these abuses, but the measures which they adopted were palliatives, designed to work within the cadre of the existing organization. They did not succeed. At the close of the sixth century there were but large magnates and *coloni* in the empire, although the small free peasant proprietor did not completely disappear.

The two centuries that followed form one of the darkest and most critical periods in the history of the empire. The empire was almost ripped to pieces by the Persians and then by the Arabs in the east, by the Avars and the Slavs in the Balkan peninsula. In the face of these external

[6] That the taxes were high and that there were irregularities in their collection there can be no doubt. According to a writer of the sixth century "a foreign invasion seemed less formidable to the taxpayers than the arrival of the officials of the fisc": John Lydus, *De Magistratibus* (Bonn, 1837), p. 264. The edition by R. Wuensch was not available to me.

[7] On the *patrocinium* see F. Zulueta, "De patronis vicorum," *Oxford studies in social and legal history*, I (Oxford, 1909).

[8] G. Rouillard, *L'administration civile de l'Égypte byzantine* (Paris, 1928), p. 182; Justinian, Nov. 30, c. 5, editor R. Schoell, vol. III of the *Corpus Juris Civilis* (Berlin, 1895).

[9] See, for example, John Chrysostom, "Homelia in Matth," *P. G.*, LVIII (Paris, 1860), 591.

[10] Priscus, "Fragmenta," in *Fragmenta historicorum Graecorum*, edited by C. Müller (Paris, 1851), IV, 86. This passage has been translated by J. B. Bury, *History of the later Roman empire*, I, 284.

[11] *Codex Theodosianus*, VII, 13, 13.

[12] A. A. Vasiliev, *Histoire de l'empire byzantin* (Paris, 1932), II, 203 ff.

dangers important measures were taken which actually transformed the social structure of the empire, gave new life to its society and enabled it not only to stop the Saracens, but to regain eventually the dominant position in the orient. The paucity of the sources makes it impossible to determine definitely what was the exact nature of these measures, when and by whom were they adopted, but what information there is indicates clearly that a transformation of the social structure of the empire took place during this period.

The most important document attesting to such a transformation, at least in the rural districts of the empire is the well known little code, "The Farmer's Law."[13] But when and by whom was it issued? No convincing answer has been given to this question, although the attempts have been many, for there is no external evidence concerning the origin of the code and the internal evidence is too indefinite to yield a final answer. Most scholars agree in placing it in the seventh or eighth century, some attributing it to Leo III (717–741),[14] others to Justinian II (685–95, 705–11).[15] On the basis of the manuscript tradition (the code is found along with the *Ecloga* of Leo III), it is quite possible that the "Farmer's Law" may have been issued by Leo III, but the point is not of capital importance, for the code, while attesting to the transformation of the rural society, it offers no evidence that it affected this transformation. And if it be granted that this code was the work of Leo III, it does not follow that this emperor was responsible for the reforms which changed the structure of the rural society of the empire. Besides the code is fundamentally a compilation of police regulations affecting the free village communities, and when it was issued these communities arleady existed.

[13] The best edition of the "Farmer's Law" is that by W. Ashburner, "The Farmer's Law," *The Journal of Hellenic Studies*, XXX (London, 1910), 85–108, commentary and translation by the same author in the same journal, XXXII (London, 1912), 68–95.

[14] Zachariä von Lingenthal, *Geschichte des Griechisch-Römischen Rechts*, 3rd edition (Berlin, 1892), p. 250, K. Paparregopoulo, *History of the Greek Nation* (in Greek), edited by P. Karolides, (Athens, 1932), vol. III, pt. 2, p. 57; K. Amantos, *History of the Byzantine empire* (in Greek) (Athens, 1939), pp. 357, 360.

[15] G. Vernadsky, "Sur l'origine de la loi agraire," *Byzantion*, IV (Brussels, 1925), 169–80; G. Ostrogorsky, "Agrarian conditions in the byzantine empire in the middle ages," in *The Cambridge economic history*, I, 198, n. 1. Other scholars are less definite: Ashburner simply says (*Journal of Hellenic Studies*, XXXII, 83) that "the vocabulary and phraseology of the Farmer's Law point to its being the work of the seventh or eighth century" and that "it is not by a private hand but a work of legislative authority"; R. H. Panchenko, as quoted by Vasiliev (*Histoire de l'empire byzantin*, I, 325) considers it a product of the seventh century; Vasiliev (*loc. cit.*) thinks that it belongs to an earlier period than the eighth century; H. Grégoire (*Byzantion*, XII, 642) associates it with the reforms of Heraclius and his successors; F. Dölger (*Historische Zeitschrift*, CLXI, Munich, 1929–30, pp. 112–113) suggests that it is the work of Justinian I.

The "Farmer's Law," therefore, as Ostrogorsky and others before him have pointed out, cannot be taken as proof of an extensive reforming activity of the Isaurian dynasty,[16] but it is important evidence of the introduction of reform which affected the structure of the rural society of the empire. It is concerned exclusively with the free peasant communities where the majority of the peasants owned the land and cultivated it with their own hands. It says nothing about the large estates and their tenants, and this has been interpreted to mean that they had disappeared.[17] The large estate, serfdom and, of course, slavery, continued to exist,[18] but the free village community became more and more an important element of the rural society of the empire. This is attested to not ony by the "Farmer's Law," but also by numerous references in the hagiographical literature of the ninth century[19] as well as by official or semi-official documents, such as the "Byzantine treatise of taxation"[20] and of course, the novels of the

[16] Ostrogorsky, "Über die vermeintliche Reformtätigkeit der Isaurier, *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, XXX (Leipzig, 1929–30), 394–400. For a review of the various theories concerning the agrarian question in Byzantium see N. A. Constantinescu, "Question agraire dans l'empire byzantin," *Revue historique du sud-est européen*, I (Bucharest, 1924), 233–250.

[17] Zachariä von Lingenthal, *op. cit.*, 251; Paparregopoulo, *op. cit.*, 57.

[18] A. Constantinescu has tried to show on grounds other than the Farmer's Law that serfdom disappeared in the course of the seventh or eighth century, but his arguments are not convincing: "Réforme sociale ou réforme fiscale? Une hypothèse pour expliquer la disparition du servage de la glèbe dans l'empire byzantin," *Bulletin de la section historique de l'acad. Roumaine*, XI (Bucharest, 1924), 94–109. It is interesting to note that K. Amantos, who follows Paparregopoulo in attributing to Leo III many social reforms, does not accept the view that serfdom disappeared in Byzantium: K. Amantos, *op. cit.*, p. 358 f.

[19] L. Bréhier, "Les populations rurales au IXe siècle d'après l'Hagiographie byzantine," *Byzantion*, I (Brussels, 1924), 175–190.

[20] This document was first published without any commentary by W. Ashburner: "A byzantine treatise of taxation," *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, XXXV (London, 1915), 78–86. It was reedited with an exhaustive commentary in 1927 by F. Dölger: *Beiträge zur Geschichte der byzantinischen Finanzverwaltung besonders des 10 und 11. Jahrhunderts* (Leipzig, 1927). In the same year Ostrogorsky published a study on Byzantine taxation largely based on the treatise, together with a German translation of it: "Die ländliche Steuergemeinde des byzantinischen Reiches im X. Jahrhundert," *Vierteljahrschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, XX (Stuttgart, 1927), 1–108. Still in the same year Constantinescu published an article on the Byzantine village community which was based on this treatise: "La communauté de village byzantin et ses rapports avec le petit traité fiscal byzantin," *Bulletin de la section historique de l'acad. Roumaine*, XIII (Bucharest, 1927), 160–74. In a long and laudatory review of the works of Dölger and Ostrogorsky A. Andreades made some contributions of his own: "Deux livres récents sur les finances byzantines," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, XXVIII (Leipzig, 1928), 287 ff., republished in his *Oeuvres*, I (Athens, 1938), 563 ff. Andreades agrees with Ostrogorsky (*Oeuvres*, p. 568) that the treatise was composed in the tenth century and not in the eleventh as Dölger would have it.

emperors of the tenth century. And while the Theodosian code and the legislative works of Justinian, when dealing with rural problems speak repeatedly of the *coloni*, seldom mentioning the free peasants, the literature of the period after the sixth century, both official and unofficial, puts the emphasis upon the free village communities, and this can only mean that these communities were numerous, doubtless the dominant element of the rural society of the empire.

The characteristic feature then of the rural society of the later Roman empire after the sixth century is the free village community, inhabited by peasants who owned individually the land[21] and cultivated it themselves, but if for some reason, they were not able to do so, they could let it to another member of the community either on a share basis or for a money payment. Each such community formed a fiscal unit for purposes of taxation, and if one farmer failed to meet his obligations to the treasury, his neighbors were held responsible for them unless other measures were taken to relieve them of this responsibility. These villages, at least in the eighth and ninth cenuries, were on the whole prosperous: many of their members were poor, of course; but a considerable number were well to do peasants, while a few had grown to be extremely wealthy. Such one was Philaretos of the town of Amnia in Paphlagonia. He is described as noble, but his nobility was doubtless of very recent origin, for when he lost his property as a result of an incursion by the Saracens, he found it not unbearable to cultivate himself with his two remaining oxen what was left of his fields. At the height of his prosperity his estates were many, and his flocks numerous. He possessed forty-eight large estates through every one of which ran a spring; six hundred heads of cattle; one hundred teams of oxen; eight hundred mares in pasture; eighty saddle horses and mules, and twelve thousand sheep. Philaretos had become, indeed, a great magnate.[22] The majority, however, were less fortunate: few strips of land, a pair of oxen, a horse or perhaps a donkey, may have been all they possessed. They worked their own fields, paid their taxes, and, if necessary, served in the army.

Freedom of movement among the non-servile elements of the population was another feature of the rural society of the empire during this period. This is well attested to by the sources, both official and unofficial. Doubts may be raised, however, as to whether this freedom of movement was *de*

[21] The old view that the members of these village communities held the land in common is without any foundation. Cf. Ostrogorsky, "Die ländliche Steuergemeinde . . . ," 40.

[22] M. H. Fourmy and M. Leroy, "La vie de S. Philarète," *Byzantion*, IX (Brussels, 1934), 113. Vasiliev's edition of this interesting "Life" was not available to me. A more striking example of a poor peasant risen to become extremely wealthy was Philocales, mentioned by Basil II in one of his novels issued for the protection of the poor: *Jus Graeco-Romanum*, edited by Zachariae von Lingenthal, III (Leipzig, 1857), 310.

facto only, or whether it was also *de jure*.[23] That people moved from one place to another is absolutely certain, but it is certain also that the government sought to discourage such movement. The "Byzantine treatise of taxation" is very clear on this point, for, in explaining the various tax exemptions on abandoned land, it states that they were granted in order to prevent others, who, according to the principles of the *epibole*, were required to pay the taxes on these lands, from leaving their villages.[24] And the persistence of the *epibole*[25] is really proof that the peasants were expected to stay in their villages, for if they could legally leave their lands, there could be no justification why their neighbors should be required to pay the taxes on these lands. There are no indications anywhere that the old laws against mobility were ever repealed, but as people moved anyway even in the earlier period despite the repeated prohibitions not to do so, the practice came to be accepted and was tolerated by the government. But this mobility was not very extensive. The vast majority of the people

[23] Ashburner already raised doubts about this: *Journal of hellenic studies*, XXXII, 77 ff.

[24] Dölger, *Beiträge* . . . , p. 116.

[25] The fundamental work on the *epibole* is that by H. Monnier, "Études de droit byzantin. L' ἐπιβολή" *Nouvelle revue historique de droit francais et étranger*, XVI, XVIII, XIX (Paris, 1892, 1894, 1895). According to Monnier the epibole was abolished by Tiberius (578–582), but he has been shown to be mistaken. Stein was the first to raise doubts about the abolition of the epibole by Tiberius: "Des Triberius Constantinus Novelle περὶ ἐπιβολῆς und der Edictus domni Chilperici regis," in *Klio*, XV (Leipzig, 1920), 74. The continuation of the *epibole* is now definitely proven: Ostrogorsky, "Die ländliche Steuergemeinde . . . ," p. 26 ff; Dölger, *Beiträge* . . . , 128 ff. It is well known that in the time of Justinian the *epibole* was applied to two kinds of property: the (1) δμόδουλα, properties which originally belonged to one great domain, and as this domain formed one fiscal unit, they continued to be considered, for purpose of taxation, as one unit, and if one of them was abandoned, the other property of the owner, if he had any, was burdened with the tax of the abandoned property; if he had not other property then whoever owned the property to which the abandoned property originally belonged was held responsible for the tax. The (2) δμόκηνσα, properties belonging to different people and, without ever having belonged to one domain, together form one fiscal unit and when one was abandoned the owners of the others were jointly responsible for its taxes. However, what principle governed the *epibole* in the case of δμόκηνσα is not definitely known, but as Bury remarks (*History of the later Roman empire*, I, 445, n. 2) it was that of proximity, i. e., the neighbors of the abandoned property were held responsible for the taxes on that property and in return had the right of usufruct on it. Proximity is definitely the principle that governs the application of the *epibole*, now known as *allelengyon*, in the period after the sixth century. The term *epibole* is used in this period in a more general sense; it means simply tax imposition. Whether the *epibole*, in its narrow and technical sense, continued after the reign of Romanus III Argyrus (1028–1034) is a question still under discussion. There are some indications that it continued to exist, but the evidence is too scanty to warrant a definite conclusion. See, G. Rouillard, "*L'epibolê* au temps d'Alexis I Comnène," *Byzantion*, x (Brussels, 1935), 81–89; F. Dölger, "Das Fortbestehen der *Epibole* in mittel-und spätbyzantinischer Zeit," *Studi in memoria di Aldo Albertoni*, II (Padova, 1934), 3 ff.

unless moved by the government itself or driven away from their homes by some foreign incursion, grew and died in the community where they were born.

The process whereby the transformation of the rural society of the empire was brought about during the period after the sixth century has been variously explained by scholars. On the assumption that the "Farmer's Law" was the work of Leo III, certain scholars have attributed the creation of the new system to that emperor and his immediate successors.[26] This is a contention which has been shown to be without foundation, as has been pointed out above. The explanation offered by Constantinescu and accepted with some important reservations by Ostrogorsky appears much more seductive and at first sight convincing.[27] In the opinion of this scholar the separation of the head tax from the land tax, a reform supposedly introduced toward the end of the seventh century, was what brought about the greater mobility in the rural society in the period after the sixth century just as the inseparable relationship of these two taxes in the period before had brought about the immobility which characterized the society of that period. For as each peasant now had to pay a head tax independently of the land with which he was associated, the state had no particular interest in keeping him attached to the land.

The system of taxation established by Diocletian has been one of the knottiest problems of the history of the later Roman empire. In 1916 Piganiol published a booklet[28] in which he attempted to prove that the *capitatio-jugatio* were not two different taxes, one on the peasants and the other on the land, but two different aspects of a single tax. Looked at it from the point of view of the land it may be considered as a land tax, but looked at from the point of view of the peasants it may be considered as a head tax, for the computation of the tax was based not only on the quality of the land but also on the number of persons that worked on that land so that there could be no *juga*, the fiscal units of taxation, without *capita*, or *capita* without *juga*. An intimate relationship between land and labor was thus established, but the system could not work unless a definite stability were established between land and labor, hence the interest of the government in attaching the peasants to the land. This explains Constantine's edict of 332 providing for penalties for those peasants who would leave the land and the lords who would accept the services of the fugitives. Piganiol's theory has been accepted by many byzantinists.

[26] Zachariä von Lingenthal, *op. cit.*, p. 251; Paparregoppoulo, *op. cit.*, p. 57.

[27] Constantinescu, "Réforme sociale ou réforme fiscale . . . ," p. 102 ff.; Ostrogorsky, "Agrarian conditions in the Byzantine empire," p. 197; "Das Steuersystem im byzantinischen Altertum und Mittelalter," *Byzantion*, VI (Brussels, 1931), 230 ff.

[28] A. Piganiol, *L'impôt de capitation sous le Bas Empire Romain* (Chambéry, 1916).

In 1933 Boak published a number of papyri, included among which is the edict of the Prefect of Egypt, putting into effect the new taxation system of Diocletian. After pointing out some irregularities in the collection of taxes the Prefect declares: "Therefore I have publicly set forth the quota of each aroura with respect to the quality of the soil, and the quota of each head of the agrarian population and the minimum and maximum ages of liability in accordance with the published divine edict and the breviary included in it, and issued the copies of this my edict."[29] Reviewing his own theory on the basis of this text, Piganiol came to this conclusion:[30] "To each proprietor there corresponds a part. The tax of the small proprietor is the *capitatio plebeia:* one must understand under this term both his land and personal charges. The tax of the large proprietor was divided more distinctly in *jugatio*, corresponding to the land tax, and in *capitatio humana* and *animalium*, corresponding to the equipment of the estate, but the whole of these taxes was comprehended, as in the case of the *plebeius*, under the more general term of *capitatio.*" All this means that there were two taxes, the head tax and the land tax and the head tax was paid by all the peasants whether they cultivated their own land or not, whether free or serfs. The peasants who owned the land themselves paid also, of course, the land tax.

There is nothing in the taxation system of the period after the sixth century that differs radically from this. There is a head tax, *kapnikon*, and a land tax, and all the peasants whether they owned the land or not were required to pay the head tax.[31] To be sure the *kapnikon* of the later period is really a hearth and not a head tax, but already in the fourth century the old *capitatio* was on the way of becoming a family tax. For according to a law of 386 the *caput*, as a fiscal unit, was to consist of two and a half men, or four women, and on this basis a family of three, husband, wife and a son, would be counted, for purposes of taxation, as one *caput.*[32] It is easy to see how the head tax of the earlier period was gradually transformed into the hearth tax of the later period. If then the taxation system

[29] A. E. R. Boak, "Early Byzantine papyri from the Cairo Museum," *Société royale égyptienne de papyrologie: études de papyrologie*, II (Cairo, 1933), 4. I have used Boak's translation.

[30] Piganiol, "La capitation de Dioclétien," in *Revue historique*, LXXVI (Paris, 1935), 10.

[31] There is no agreement whether both peasant proprietors and those who did not possess any property paid the *kapnikon*. Constantinescu ("Réforme social ou réforme fiscale," p. 103) says that only the propertyless peasants paid this tax and Dölger (*Beiträge . . .*, p. 53) agrees with him, but Ostrogorsky maintains that all peasants, proprietors or not, paid this tax ("Das Steuersystem im byzantinischen Altertum," p. 234 f.) I think Ostrogorsky is right.

[32] *Cod. Just.*, XI. 48, 10. Cf. O. Seeck, *Geschichte des Untergangs der Antiken Welt* (Stuttgart, 1921), 2: 272.

of the later period did not differ fundamentally from that of the earlier period it is hard to imagine how in the first case it could lead to social mobility while in that of the second to social immobility.

The reasons for the changes in the rural society of the later period must be sought elsewhere. They are connected with the dangerous external situation of the empire during the seventh century and the administrative and military reforms of Heraclius and his immediate successors. It is now generally conceded that the system of themes, designed to check the advance of the Saracens and the incursions of the barbarians, was the work of the dynasty of Heraclius.[33] But with the establishment of the themes there is connected the establishment of another institution, the military estates. Many who had fled from the conquered provinces and, what was more important, many barbarians who were settled in the empire were granted land in return for military service. And while the eldest son of each grantee inherited his father's plot together with the obligation for military service, the rest of the family were free to reclaim and cultivate the land that was vacant, thus adding to the number of the free peasant proprietors.[34] In this there was no break with the past, for the free peasant proprietor and the free peasant community had been a feature of the rural society of the empire before Heraclius, although by the end of eth sixth century both were on the verge of disappearing.[34a] The wisdom of Heraclius and his successors lay in this that, instead of settling these people on state or private land as *coloni*, they settled them as free men in free village communities, and thus the free village community was given new life. The increased number of free peasants, cultivating their own land, paying the taxes, and, if necessary, serving in the army, in turn lent

[33] Ostrogorsky, "Uber die vermeintliche Reformtätigkeit der Isaurier," p. 396; Grégoire, *Byzantion*, XII, 642 f.

[34] Ostrogorsky, "Die Wirtschaftsgeschichte und die sozialen Entwicklungsgrundlagen des byzantinischen Reiches," *Vierteljahrschr. für Sozial-und Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, XXII (Stuttgart, 1929), 133. On the militarization of the empire see further, E. Darko, "La militarizzazione dell'impero Byzantino," *Studi Byzantini e Neoellenici*, V (Rome, 1939), 90ff.

[34a] There is no longer any doubt about the existence of free peasant proprietors and free peasant communities in the empire before Heraclius. Their existence is well attested to by the Theodosian Code (XI. 7, 12; XI. 24, 6); by papyri (H. I. Bell, "An epoch in the agrarian history of Egypt," *Recueil d'études égyptologiques dédiées à la mémoire de Jean F. Champollion, Paris, 1922*); by Libanius (*Oratio de patrociniis*, ed. R. Foerster in *Libanii opera*, 3: 450 f.); and by the novels of Justinian (*Nov.* XXXII; XXXIV). But by the end of the sixth century the free peasant was on the verge of disappearing: *Jus Graeco-Romanum*, III, 21 f. The theory that the free peasant communities were communistically organized and that they had been created in the course of the seventh and eighth century under Slavonic influence, a theory first developed by certain Russian scholars, has now been generally abandoned: Vasiliev, *Histoire de l'empire byzantin*, I, 331; Ostrogorsky, "Die ländliche Steuergemeinde . . . ," p. 40 ff.

new vigor to the empire and enabled it eventually to recover its position in the Orient. Heraclius and his successors did what Arcadius, despite the pleas of Synesius,[35] had failed to do, create an army of citizens and a body of citizens whose interest would be bound up with the maintenance and the defense of the empire.

Urban society, too, went through some important changes during this period. The loss of Egypt and Syria and the consequent abolition by Heraclius[36] of the gratuitous distribution of bread doubtless affected the corporation or guild of the shipowners, the *navicularii* of the earlier period. Already under Justinian they had won some important concessions,[37] and during the reign of Maurice a decree was issued, "enacting that the captain of a vessel should not be subjected to punishment and made to render compensation when his ship was wrecked, but that the loss should be put down to the imperial revenue."[38] During the reign of Heraclius and after, the impression given by the sources is that the shipowners were comparatively free agents, plying the seas for their own personal gain.[39] Were they still attached to their trade, and was that trade hereditary? No definite answer can be given; the *Book of the Prefect* says nothing about the *navicularii;* but it would seem, on the basis of the general economic organization characteristic of this period, that one was free to enter or abandon this trade. There can be no doubt, however, that the activities of the *navicularii*, whether they were still organized into a corporation or not, were regulated, for the provisioning of Constantinople was one of the deepest concerns of the central government.[40] The abolition of the gratuitous distribution of bread probably also affected the organization of the guild of the bakers. The *Book of the Prefect* has now been definitely shown to have been the work of Leo VI (886–912),[41] but the various trade or-

[35] Synesius, *De regno*, p. 134 of A. Fitzgerald's translation, *The essays and hymns of Synesius of Cyrene*, I (London, 1930).

[36] *Chronicon Paschale*, ed. L. Dindorf (Bonn, 1832), I; 711; Dölger, *Beiträge . . .*, p. 58.

[37] Their compensation for the transportation of grain for the state was increased ten-fold: Stöckle, "Naviculariі" in *Pauly-Wissowa*, XVI (Stuttgart, 1935), 1931; Rouillard, *op. cit.*, 142 f.

[38] John of Nikiu, *Chronicle*, tr. by R. H. Charles (London, 1916), 165.

[39] H. Gelzer (editor), *Leontios von Neapolis Leben des Heiligen Johannes des Barmherzigen . . .* (Freiburg, 1893), pp. 18, 54; B. N. Nelson and J. Starr, "The legend of the divine surety and the Jewish money-lender," *Université libre de Bruxelles: Annuaire de l'institut de philologie et d'histoire orientales et slaves*, VII (New York, 1944), 298 ff.; A. Ashburner, *The Rhodian sea-law* (Oxford, 1909). The date of the composition of this code cannot be definitely fixed. It is placed in the period between 600 and 800 A.D.: *Ibid.*, lxxv.

[40] G. I. Bratianu, "La question de l'approvisionnement de Constantinople," *Byzantion*, V (Brussels, 1930), 91.

[41] A. Christophilopoulos, Τὸ ἐπαρχικὸν βιβλίον Λέοντος τοῦ Σοφοῦ καὶ αἱ συντεχνίαι ἐν Βυζαντίῳ (Athens, 1935), p. 24.

ganizations which it regulated were not the creations of that emperor; they were the continuations of the trade guilds of the early centuries of the later Roman empire.[42] The impression given by this document is that the bakers were neither attached to their trade nor was that trade hereditary.[43] The same thing is true of the dealers in pork.[44]

When these changes took place is, of course; impossible to determine, but that they may be associated with the abolition of the gratuitous distribution of bread is not at all improbable. Indeed, the principles of attachment to one's trade and the hereditary transmission of it which characterized the public corporations of the early centuries were already being abandoned by the end of the sixth century. The complaint of the *saponarii* of Naples addressed to pope Gregory I at the end of the sixth century to the effect that the *palatinus* of Naples permitted anyone to enter their corporation is well known.[45] During the reign of Heraclius, however, an attempt seems to have been made to check the tendency to ignore the regulations requiring the hereditary transmission of one's trade at least in those corporations that directly affected the interests of the state. There is a law, preserved in the *Basilics* and probably issued by Heraclius, which restricted admission to the public corporations, those corporations that were directly managed by and served the state, to the descendants and relatives of the corporation members. This law, however, did not apply to the private corporations. These enrolled their members without reference to any hereditary rights.[45a] By the end of the ninth century, therefore, attachment to one's profession and the hereditary transmission of it no longer seems to have been a feature, at least, of the private corporations, and this development must have taken place during the seventh or eighth century, the result of the force of circumstances rather than of the conscious efforts of the government. All corporations, however, whether public or private, were strictly regulated, but these regulations had in view not only the interests of the State, but also those of the public at large as well as those of the trades themselves.[46] The organization of

[42] A. Stöckle, *Spätrömische und byzantinische Zünfte* (Klio, Beiheft IX, Leipzig, 1911), p. 140 f.

[43] *Le Livre du préfet ou l'édit de l'empereur Léon le Sage sur les corporations de Constantinople*, ed. T. Nicole (Geneva, 1893), C. 18. The *Book* has been reprinted by T. and P. Zepos, *Jus Graeco-romanum*, 2 (Athens, 1931), 371–392. There is also an English translation: A. E. R. Boak, "The Book of the Prefect," *Journal of economic and business history*, I (Cambridge, 1929), 600 ff.

[44] *The Book of the Prefect*, C. XIV.

[45] Stöckle, *Spätrömische und byzantinische Zünfte*, p. 40, where the reference to the letter of Gregory I is given.

[45a] See the brilliant study of R. S. Lopez, "Silk industry in the Byzantine empire," *Speculum*, XX (Cambridge, 1945), 5.

[46] Besides Stöckle (*op. cit.*), Christophilopoulos, (*op. cit.*), Mickwitz (*op. cit.*), the urban economy of Byzantium in the tenth century has been studied by C. M. Macri, *L'organisation de l'économie urbaine dans Byzance sous la dynastie de Macé-*

the trades in Byzantium during this period was indeed more balanced and freer than was the case during the early centuries of the empire.[47]

This society of small farmers, and of artisans organized and regulated for the interest of all was undermined by the social struggle of the tenth century and the political and military disasters of the eleventh. Indeed this social struggle was one of the principal reasons for the fall of the empire from its pre-ëminent position.

Everything being equal, the small farmer, with his strips of land, a pair of oxen, and a mule or a donkey, managed to provide for his family, but it was difficult, if indeed not impossible, to accumulate a reserve with which to meet an emergency. Any misfortune, as for instance, the loss of one of his animals, might endanger his entire social and economic position. For the loss would lessen his productivity and he might not be able to pay his taxes or meet the demands of his creditors, if he had been unfortunate enough to have resorted to borrowing. In either case he might abandon his land and run away.[48] Protracted service in the army might have the same results. Then again his whole existence might be endangered by the incursions of the enemy, an earthquake or a famine. Wars and famines were quite frequent during the tenth century. Under these circumstances the small farmer evinced a desire to sell his land, and to try and eke a living by working for some large landed magnate. And there was no lack of purchasers. The landed aristocracy had never ceased to occupy a very important position in the society of the empire. It was a powerful and wealthy group, controlling the high military functions of the empire and enjoying many economic privileges. This aristocracy had grown still more powerful in the course of the ninth century; many of them had found their way into the free village communities;[49] they began now the systematic

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doine (Paris, 1925), and G. Zoras, *Le corporazioni bizantine; studio sull' ἐπαρχικὸν βιβλίον dell' imperatore Leone VI* (Rome, 1931). Zoras' book was not available to me.

[47] A. Andreades, "Byzance: Paradis du monopole et du privilège," in *Byzantion*, IX (Brussels, 1934), 171 ff. See also S. Runciman, *Byzantine civilization* (London, 1933), 174 ff.

[48] Fourmy and Leroy, "La vie de S. Philarète," Byzantion IX (1934), 117–119, where a peasant complains that, having lost one of his oxen, there is nothing left for him but to run away for he will no longer be able to pay his tax and his creditors.

[49] Some of the peasants themselves became great magnates as, for instance, Philaretos and Philocales (note 22). The aristocracy could find their way into the free village community easily through the system of *klasmata*. According to the principles of the *allelengyon* the neighbors of abandoned land were responsible for the taxes to that land, but in order to lessen the tax burdens of these people and prevent them from running away too, the government often relieved them from this responsibility by freeing the abandoned land from all taxes. If at the end of thirty years the original owners did not return, the land was taken over by the fisc. It was usually sold or granted to the aristocracy, for the aristocracy were the only ones able to buy it. Cf. Ostrogorsky, "Agrarian conditions in the Byzantine empire . . . ," p. 203.

absorption by various means, but principally by purchase, of the land holding of the small farmers, for land offered the most promising outlet for economic expansion, as the economy of the empire was basically agricultural. Thus the small independent farmer tended more and more to disappear.

The great emperors of the tenth century realized the dangerous social and political implications of this tendency and they tried to put a stop to it. As Romanus Lecapenus put it in one of his novels designed to protect the holdings of the peasants: "It is not through hatred and envy of the rich that we take these measures, but for the protection of the small and the safety of the empire as a whole. . . . The extension of the power of the strong . . . will bring about the irreparable loss of the public good, if the present law does not bring a check to it. For it is the many, settled on the land, who provide for the general needs, who pay the taxes and furnish the army with its recruits. Everything falls when the many are wanting."[50] And by a series of measures Lecapenus and his successors fought valiantly against the absorption of the small holdings by the powerful.[51]

But the aristocracy resisted and a social struggle ensued which underlies the entire development of the internal politics of the empire in the tenth century and determined its fate. The aristocracy, led by certain powerful families, of which the most important were the Doukases and the Phocases, challenged the imperial authority. One of the Phocases ascended the throne, and a reaction in favor of the landed aristocracy took place during his reign.[52] His relatives tried to emulate his example, and it was only

[50] Zachariae von Lingenthal, *Jus Graeco-Romanum*, III, 246–47.

[51] G. Testaud, *Des rapports des puissants et des petits propriétaires ruraux dans l'empire byzantin au xe siècle* (Bordeaux, 1898). V. Vasilievsky, "Materials for the history of the Byzantine state," *Journal of the Ministry of Public Instruction*, CCII (St. Petersburg, 1879) (in Russian), 160–230. My knowledge of Russian is very elementary, but I consulted the works of Vasilievsky as well as other Russian works with the aid of Mrs. Nathalie Scheffer. Dölger, "Die Frage des Grunddeigentum in Byzanz," *Bulletin of international committee of historical sciences*, V (1933), 5 ff. Andreades, "Floraison et décadence de la petite propriété dans l'empire byzantin," *Mélanges offerts à Ernest Mahaim*, I (Paris, 1935), 261–266; A. M. Diomedes, "Ἡ πολιτικὴ τῆς μακεδονικῆς δυναστείας κατὰ τῆς μεγάλης ἰδιοκτησίας. Τὰ αἴτια," Ἑλληνικά, XI (Athens, 1939), 246–262; Ostrogorsky, "Agrarian conditions in the Byzantine empire . . .," 204–210.

[52] Nicephorus II Phocas (963–969). In his novel of 967 Nicephorus deprived the peasants of the right of pre-emption in the sale of property belonging to the aristocracy. That right had been given to them by Constantine Porphyrogenitus (*Jus Graeco-Romanum*, III; 296 f.). In another novel he increased the value of the inalienable minimum of a military holding from four to twelve pounds of gold. This had the effect of making of the soldiery a lesser nobility. (*Ibid.*, p. 299 f.). On the progressive side was his measure prohibiting new monastic foundations and all transfers of land to churches and monasteries (*ibid.*, p. 292 ff.). This was repealed by Basil II (*ibid.*, p. 303).

with the aid of six thousand Russians that Basil II finally crushed them in 987. This struggle between the landed aristocracy and the central government is echoed in the popular songs that were composed during this period and were incorporated in the Byzantine epic, *Digenis Akritas*. Grégoire has shown that the great heroes of the poem are the Doukases and the Phocases and that the whole work, at least the original version, is permeated by an anti-imperial tradition.[53]

The principal provision of the various novels issued by the emperors in the tenth century was the prohibition of the purchase by the aristocracy of the holdings of the small farmers. The sale of these holdings was not prohibited, but the right of purchase was reserved for certain persons who stood in a definite relationship to the property offered for sale.[54] In the first category in the order of preference came those persons whose own property was mixed up with that offered for sale and together with which it formed an economic unit (*ἀναμεμιγμένοι*) and among these those were preferred who were joint owners, if such persons existed, and of the latter relatives came first. In the second category came those who had property adjoining that offered for sale (*συμπαρακείμενοι*) and of these the preference was given to those who were jointly responsible with the seller for the taxes. If all these persons declined to make the purchase then the property might be sold to any other member of the community in which the property was located.[55] The aristocracy was further prohibited from accepting the property of the poor by legacy or gift or to extend to them their protection.

The repeated issuance of these prohibitions is the clearest evidence that the acquisition of the property of the small peasants by the aristocracy was not checked. The reason is not far to seek. The aristocracy was powerful and was in a position to circumvent the measures taken by the central government, while these measures did not strike at the roots of the problem. The persons given the right of purchase belonged in general to the same social and economic status as the sellers, and if the latter were not able to keep their property, it was not very likely that the former would be in such a better position as to be able not only to keep their own property but also to buy that of their neighbor. Accordingly, as the aristocracy was the only element that could invest in new land, the peasant who wanted to sell his land had no other recourse than to turn to the aristocracy, and as long as the conditions which made the peasant sell his land continued to exist the prohibition against the purchase of that land by the aristocracy

[53] H. Grégoire, *Digenis Akritas* (New York, 1942, in Greek), p. 72 f.

[54] This preferential treatment given to certain persons is known in Byzantine law as *protimesis:* G. Platon, "Observations sur le droit de *προτίμησις* en droit byzantin, in *Revue générale du droit, de la législation et de la jurisprudence en France et a l' étranger*, XXVII–XXIX (Paris, 1903, 1904, 1905).

[55] Ostrogorsky, "Die ländliche Steuergemeinde . . . ," p. 32 ff.

could not be very effective. But the problem could be solved by the amelioration of the conditions of the poor peasants which would lessen the necessity for them to sell their land. The measure taken by Basil II in 1002 attacked the problem from this point of view. He decreed that henceforth the aristocracy were to pay the *allelengyon* for the poor, i.e., they were to pay the tax arrears of those peasants who were too poor to meet their own obligations, but while paying the tax the aristocracy were not to enjoy the usufruct of the property involved. The right of usufruct was to be enjoyed by the peasant who still remained the owner of the land.[56] This measure was designed not only to help the poor peasants, but also to crush the aristocracy. When, after 987, Basil was reconciled with Bardas Sclerus, one of his most formidable opponents, the latter advised him that, if he were to preserve the imperial authority, he should permit no one of the aristocracy to prosper and should exhaust their means by heavy taxes.[57] By the measure of 1002 Basil tried to put this advice into effect.

But the aristocracy was too strong and not long after the death of Basil, during the reign of Romanus III Argyrus (1028–1034), Basil's law concerning the *allelengyon* was repealed,[58] while the laws prohibiting the purchase of the peasants' land by the aristocracy were not enforced. On the land question the aristocracy triumphed, but the struggle of the central government against its widespread influence continued under another form.

One of the important reasons for the triumph of the aristocracy was the very strong hold that it had upon the military positions of the empire. If it could be shaken from this hold, it would lose in power and influence and would become more amenable to the wishes of the imperial government. And this is precisely what certain emperors of the eleventh century, notably Constantine IX Monomachus (1042–1055), tried to do.[59] The means of attack which they employed was to weaken the military organization by reducing the size of the army, thus depriving the aristocracy of its military commands.[60] The great military triumphs of the tenth century, the crushing of the Saracens and the Bulgarians and the pushing of the frontiers to the Euphrates and the Tigris in the east, to the Danube in the

[56] Cedrenus, *Historiarum Compendium* (Bonn, 1839), II, 456.

[57] M. Psellos, *Chronographie*, ed. and tr. into French by É. Renauld (Paris, 1926), I, 17.

[58] Cedrenus, *op. cit.*, II, 486.

[59] For the position of the empire in the eleventh century the two fundamental books are: C. Neumann, *Die Weltstellung des byzantinischen Reiches vor den Kreuzzügen* (Leipzig, 1894). French translation (Paris, 1905). N. Skabalanovich, *Byzantine state and church in the eleventh century* (St. Petersburg, 1884, in Russian).

[60] Zonaras, *Epitomae Historiarum*, ed. T. Büttner-Wobst (Bonn, 1897), III, 627, 653.

Balkans, created a sense of security and the feeling that the maintenance of a powerful army was no longer necessary. With Constantine IX Monomachus, peace became the keynote of the imperial foreign policy,[61] and there began a systematic elimination of the aristocracy from the army while at the same time the development of a civil bureaucracy was promoted. The wars of the seventh century had led to the militarization of the administration; now, under the impression that the enemies of the empire had been crushed forever, the imperial government sought to demilitarize the administration. But the aristocracy fought back, and a new struggle ensued, this time between the aristocracy as a military class, and a new party of civil officials.

The struggle plunged the empire into a series of civil wars that squandered its resources and man power at a time when new and formidable enemies were making their appearance, both in the east and in the west. But the most serious result of the imperial policy was the deterioration of the army. While heaping honor after honor upon his civil advisors Constantine IX Monomachus neglected the army and retired its generals. His measure depriving the soldiers of the frontier regions of the payment which they had been accustomed to receive further added to the deterioration of the army[62] and left the frontiers wide open to the barbarians. The profession of the soldier which in the great days of Byzantium carried with it prestige, honor and position had no longer any value, and so, as Skylitzes puts it, "the soldiers put aside their arms and became lawyers or jurists."[63] The same author, writing of the army that took the field against the Seljuks in 1071 says: "The army was composed of Macedonians and Bulgarians and Cappadocians, Uzi, Franks and Varangians and other barbarians who happened to be about. [One should add: Patzinaks.] There were gathered also those who were in Phrygia (*θέμα ἀνατολικῶν*). And what one saw in them was something incredible. The renowned champions of the Romans who had reduced into subjection all of the east and the west now numbered only a few and these were bowed down by poverty and ill-treatment. They lacked in weapons, swords and other arms, such as

[61] Psellos, *op. cit.*, I, 151 f.

[62] Zonaras, *op. cit.*, III, 647. According to Zonaras what Constantine IX did was to relieve the frontier regions of their military obligations, transforming them into money payments. Michael Attaliotes (p. 44) gives a different version. According to him the soldiers of the frontier region of Iberia received payments from the nearby public lands (*χώρας*). This means, as Skabalanovich (*op. cit.*, 311) long ago pointed out, that the taxes raised in Iberia and the surrounding regions, instead of going to the imperial treasury, were used to meet the payments allowed to the frontier soldiers. Monomachus stopped these payments and turned over to the treasury the returns from these taxes.

[63] Cedrenus, *op. cit.*, II, 652.

javelins and scythes. . . . They lacked also in cavalry and other equipment, for the emperor had not taken the field for a long time. For this reason they were regarded as useless and unnecessary and their wages and maintenance were reduced."[64] The result was Mantzikert.

Mantzikert was only a battle and what was lost there might have been retrieved had the society of the empire been healthier and more vigorous or new measures had been taken to make it so. The neglect of the army meant also the neglect of that class of soldiers that had been created in the seventh century along with the establishment of the system of themes. The protection of the interests of these soldiers had been one of the deepest concerns of the emperors of the tenth century,[65] but by the end of the eleventh century these soldiers were reduced into poverty and henceforth ceased to be an important element in the society of the empire.[66] Their disappearance further depressed what remained of the free village community just as their creation had helped to envigorate that community. Henceforth the rural economy of the empire was to consist of the large estates, owned by the lay nobility or the church and worked by servile labor.[67] The free independent peasant virtually ceased to exist. In the meantime the commercial privileges granted to Venice and to other Italian cities in return for assistance against the many enemies of the empire under-

[64] *Ibid.*, p. 668.

[65] Wrote Constantine Porphyrogenitus in the novel designed to protect the interests of the soldiers: "The army is to the state what the head is to the body. . . . He who neglects it neglects the safety of the state. . . . Therefore in promulgating our constitution (on the military estates), we feel we are working for the welfare of all." (*Jus Graecoromanum*, III, 262 f.). On the various measures taken by the emperors of the tenth century to protect the military estates see in general R. Gaignerot, *Des Bénéfices militaires dans l'empire romain et spécialement en Orient et au Xme siècle* (Bordeaux, 1889), p. 60 ff.

[66] Already at Mantzikert the mercenary occupies a very important position in the Byzantine army: C. Cahen, "La campagne de Mantzikert d'après les sources musulmanes," *Byzantion* IX (Brussels, 1934), 629. After Mantzikert the mercenaries dominate almost completely. The armies of Alexius Comnenus, for instance, were composed of Russians, Turks, Alans, English, Franks, Germans, Bulgarians and others (*Jus Graeco-romanum*, 3: 373). Cf. *Byzantion*, XIV (1939), p. 280 sgg. The military fiefs were revived in the later part of the eleventh century and continued to the end of the empire, but the holders of them were usually officers and, therefore, belonged to the aristocracy. Some common soldiers were included among them, however. These military grants were known as *pronoeae*. The two fundamental works on the Byzantine *pronoea* are: (1) P. Mutafčiev, "Vojniski zemi i vojnici v Vizantija prez xiii/xiv v.", *Spisanie na Bŭlgarskata Akademija*, xxvii (Sofia, 1923), 37 ff; (2) Th. Uspensky, "Značenie vizantijskoj južnoslavjanskoj pronii," *Sbornik V. J. Lamanskomu*, (St. Petersburg, 1885), 1-32.

[67] On the tendency toward feudalism in the Byzantine empire during the twelfth century and after see A. Vasiliev, "On the question of Byzantine feudalism," *Byzantion*, VIII (Brussels, 1933).

mined the economy of the cities.[68] Complete recovery under these cirumstances was impossible.

In the history of the later Roman empire war and religion were the two principal factors that moulded the society of the empire and determined its external position.

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[80] The granting of commercial privileges to the Italian republics, says Andreades, "became the gnawing worm of the Byzantine public economy." A. Andreades, Ἱστορία τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς Δημοσίας Οἰκονομίας, I (Athens, 1918), 514.

UNE APOLOGIE DES IMAGES DU SEPTIÈME SIÈCLE

Par SIRARPIE DER NERSESSIAN

Un traité arménien contre les iconoclastes est conservé en plusieurs manuscrits sous le nom de Vrt'anes K'ert'ogh, le poète, moine lettré qui joua un rôle important dans l'histoire ecclésiastique de l'Arménie à la fin du sixième et au début du septième siècle. Vrt'anes avait été l'aide du catholicos Moïse; nommé *locum tenens* à la mort de ce dernier, il dirigea les affaires patriarcales pendant l'interrègne de 604 à 607. Après l'élection du catholicos Abraham il continua à prendre une part active dans les discussions provoquées par le schisme entre l'église arménienne et l'église géorgienne[1]. Le traité contre les iconoclastes a été publié en 1852, mais, joint en appendice à un ouvrage d'édification, il a passé presque inaperçu[2]. Une nouvelle publication faite en 1927, d'après un manuscrit de Jérusalem, n'a pas non plus attiré l'attention du public savant[3]. Il nous paraît donc utile d'en donner la traduction[4], et de le mettre à la portée de tous ceux qui s'intéressent aux débuts de l'iconoclasme, car si ce texte a été réellement écrit par Vrt'anes, il serait le plus ancien traité contre les conoclastes qui nous soit parvenu en aucune langue.

TRADUCTION

Toutes les créatures sont éclairées par la lumière vivifiante et le ciel et la terre se réjouissent, illuminés par ses rayons, car la lumière de la vérité a inondé de sa clarté l'univers entier. Le sombre brouillard qui couvrait les coeurs ténébreux et endurcis s'est dissipé, et le monde s'est rempli de

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[1] Plusieurs lettres de Vrt'anes K'ert'ogh se trouvent dans le *Livre des Lettres* (Tiflis, 1901), pp. 93–98, 130–131, 135–139, 141–145. Pour la question arménogéorgienne et le rôle joué par Vrt'anes voir: N. Akinian, *Kiurion Catholicos des Géorgiens* (Vienne, 1910); et pour l'activité littéraire de Vrt'anes voir l'article du même auteur dans *Handes Amsorya* (1910), pp. 8–11, 37–46.

[2] Garegin Z. Sahakian, *Sur l'intercession des saints* (Venise, 1853), pp. 325–342. Ce texte n'est mentionné ni par K. Ter Mkhrttschian, *Die Paulikianer im byzantinischen Kaiserreiche* (Leipzig, 1893), ni par Fred. C. Conybeare, *The Key of Truth* (Oxford, 1898), bien que tous deux se soient occupés des débuts de l'iconoclasme en Arménie.

[3] Mgr. E. Tourian dans la revue *Sion* du Patriarcat arménien de Jérusalem (1927), pp. 22–25, 61–63. Je remercie Monsieur A. Bedikian qui a eu l'amabilité de me communiquer ces numéros de *Sion* et le Père Gokian qui m'a aidée à traduire quelques-uns des passages obscurs.

[4] La traduction est faite d'après la publication de Venise, corrigée par celle du manuscrit de Jérusalem. Les extraits d'un manuscrit de Vienne du dix-neuvième siècle ne présentent pas de variantes importantes (P. J. Dachian, *Catalogue des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque des Pères Mekhitaristes de Vienne*, pp. 206–207, MS. no. 44). Le manuscrit d'Etchmiadzin, no. 102, est encore inédit.

l'enseignement qui fait connaître Dieu. Mais les partisans des études obscures, qui errent en vain dans les sombres ténèbres, tremblent, confondus; ils trompent vilement les coeurs des innocents, et ils introduisent des hérésies dans l'Église. Il ne faut pas, disent-ils, avoir des peintures et des images dans les églises; et ils apportent en témoignage des paroles de l'Ancien Testament qui ont été dites au sujet de l'idolâtrie dénoncée par les prophètes. Mais nos images[5] ne leur ressemblent pas car elles se rapportent au Christ et à ses élus; et ceci n'est pas seulement la vérité mais nous est témoigné par les écritures. Et nous dirons ce que les historiens des commandements nous ont enseigné.

Car Moïse, le premier, fit le modèle des images pour l'autel: deux chérubins ailés, de forme humaine, fabriqués en or martelé et placés au-dessus du propitiatoire; et le Seigneur des Seigneurs parlait d'au milieu d'eux[6]. L'apôtre confirme ceci par son témoignage. "Les chérubins de la gloire, dit-il, qui couvraient le propitiatoire."[7] C'est là l'image du grand mystère. De même le rideau que Dieu dit de fabriquer avec des soies multicolores, des images, et d'embellir, de diverses manières, (ce voile) qui est de fin lin et de pourpre, rouge et azur; les couleurs des fils du rideau n'étaient-elles pas des pigments, et les chérubins du rideau n'étaient-ils pas des images?[8]. Suivant ce même modèle Salomon fabriqua en bois de cyprès les chérubins du temple et les recouvrit d'or; et il fit non seulement les chérubins qui étaient dans l'oracle, mais il entailla les murs, les portes, les pavés, de sculptures, de chérubins, de palmiers et de boutons de fleurs épanouies[9]. Et Dieu ne désapprouva pas et il l'appela le temple de son nom. Le prophète inspiré Ézéchiel, dans la vision qu'il vit, non pas comme un autre des prophètes ou des oracles, mais parlant avec la révélation divine, dit: "Le Seigneur me posa dans une ville, sur une haute montagne, et il m'y fit entrer, et j'y vis un autel et un homme redoutable et merveilleux. Des éclairs jaillissaient comme de l'airain; et il se tenait au-dessus de la porte, et il avait en sa main un cordeau de lin et une canne à mesurer, et il me dit: Fils de l'homme, regarde et retiens tout ce qui est ici, car je suis venu pour te les montrer. Et je vis le temple peint tout autour, à l'intérieur et à l'extérieur, avec des chérubins et des palmes, depuis le sol jusqu'au toit. Et ce n'était pas seulement le temple qui était peint, mais aussi les cours, les portes et l'autel; et il y avait des chérubins de forme humaine, deux par deux, ce qui est le modèle des grandes merveilles[10]."

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[5] Le mot image ne se trouve pas dans le texte qui dit seulement: "mais les nôtres."

[6] *Exode*, XXV, 18–22.

[7] *Épitre aux Hébreux*, IX, 5.

[8] *Exode*, XXVI, 31; XXXVI, 8 et 35.

[9] *I Rois*, VI, 23–35.

[10] *Ezéchiel*, XL, 2–4; XLI, 18–20. Ces passages, comme d'ailleurs tous ceux de la Bible, sont cités de mémoire et ne correspondent pas exactement au texte biblique.

Que diras-tu de ceci, ô homme, toi qui es malade d'esprit, car j'ai dit au sujet des chérubins que Moïse et Salomon avaient fait faire qu'ils étaient faits de main d'homme; considères-tu comme fabriqués ce que Dieu leur avait montré? Voici, il est clair que dès l'origine les images furent faites pour l'honneur et la vénération de la gloire divine. Et dans le Nouveau Testament Paul dit aux Athéniens: "En passant et en regardant vos divinités, j'ai trouvé un autel sur lequel était écrit: au dieu inconnu. Celui que vous honorez sans le connaître, c'est celui que je vous annonce"[11]. Etait-ce Dieu qui était l'autel? Mais Paul témoigne qu'ils l'honoraient au nom de Dieu. Et nous, nous ne disons pas que les images et les peintures sont le Dieu véritable, mais nous les peignons au nom de Dieu, tel qu'il apparut, celui qu'Isaïe dit devoir naître, et Jérémie qu'il circulera parmi les hommes, celui dont David prédit la passion et l'ensevelissement, Ezéchiel et Osée la résurrection, Daniel et Zacharie la seconde venue, Nahum et Malachie le jugement. Car ils nous ont raconté par des symboles; et il est, celui qui fut; et il est, celui qui doit être. Et nous peignons cela même qui est écrit dans les saintes écritures; et l'écriture est un pigment et la matière des images.

Les Pères de l'Église parlent aussi des images. Par exemple, Jean, évêque de Constantinople, dans son discours adressé aux baptisés; et un peu plus loin il dit: "Par exemple, les statues d'airain des rois sont inanimées et insensibles; ceux qui se réfugient auprès d'eux sont protégés, non parce que ces statues sont en airain, mais parce qu'elles sont le portrait de l'empereur"[12]. Et toi, hérétique, entends-le de cette manière. De nouveau dans ce discours où il dit qu'il ne faut pas supprimer les titres des saintes écritures, il ajoute: "Ne voyez-vous pas, dans les images des rois, que le portrait du roi est placé en haut, et porte son nom, et au-dessous, sur la base, sont inscrits les actes du roi, ses triomphes, sa justice? La même chose se voit sur les parchemins: le portrait du roi est tracé au-dessus et, au-dessous, ses vertus et toutes ses victoires"[13]. Ou bien que diras-tu de l'image du Seigneur que le pieux roi Abgar fit peindre à la vue même du Christ et qui, dit-on, se trouve maintenant dans la grande église d'Édesse?

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[11] *Actes des Apôtres*, XVII, 23.

[12] Je n'ai pas trouvé ce passage parmi les homélies de saint Jean Chrysostome. Il a été cité par saint Jean Damascène dans les Sacra Parallela (Migne, *P. G.*, XCVI, 17 A), et, d'après l'index, il serait emprunté à une homélie *Ad recens baptizatos* (*νεοφωτίστους*), ainsi qu'il est dit également dans notre texte (Migne, *P. G.*, XCIV, 49); mais le passage en question ne se trouve pas dans les sermons *πρὸς τοὺς μέλλοντας φωτίζεσθαι* (*P. G.*, XLIX, 223-240), ni ailleurs, autant qu'il est possible de voir en consultant l'index des écrits de saint Jean Chrysostome.

[13] Migne, *P. G.*, LI, 71-72. La citation suit presque exactement le texte de la traduction arménienne: *Homélies de Jean Chrysostome* (Venise, 1861), p. 287.

Et l'évêque Sévérien dit: "Lorsque le roi est absent et son portrait occupe la place du roi, les princes se prosternent et célèbrent les fêtes; si des paysans le voient ils se prosternent également, considérant non pas le bois mais le portrait du roi; ils ne considèrent pas la substance mais ce qui est tracé par la plume. Et si le portrait du roi mortel prend ainsi une telle puissance, combien plus la forme et l'image du roi immortel"[14]. Écoute donc ce que je dis car ils sont les docteurs de l'Église, et si tu veux étudier leurs oeuvres, tu verras qu'ils racontent la même chose. De même saint Grégoire, l'Illuminateur des Arméniens, dit en sa prière. "Au lieu des idoles de bois il dressa sa croix au milieu de l'univers, et parce que les hommes ont l'habitude de se prosterner devant les images inanimées des morts, il devint lui-même une image morte. Il mourut et rendit l'âme sur la croix afin qu'ils apprennent à se prosterner devant le bois de la croix, et l'image de la figure humaine qui est sur elle; afin de faire obéir à l'image de sa divinité celui qui fait les images, celui qui les aime, et celui qui les vénère"[15].

Or, si vous ne croyez pas à mes paroles, vous devriez examiner les écritures et les comprendre, mais vous êtes aussi éloignés des écritures que le ciel de la terre. On trouve de nombreux autres témoignages dans les écritures, car tout est visible à qui veut comprendre, car les oreilles entendent et les esprits comprennent, et sans les yeux de l'esprit les yeux du corps demeurent aveugles. Mais ce qui est étonnant c'est que vous acceptez les commandements et vous persécutez le Seigneur; vous vous prosternez devant le symbole[16] et vous lapidez le roi; vous honorez la croix et vous outragez le crucifié. Ainsi agissaient les Manichéens et les Marcianistes[17] qui considèrent comme une apparence le Seigneur qui a vraiment

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[14] Migne, *P. G.*, XCIV, 1409A. Ce passage est tiré de *l'Homélie sur la sainte Croix* qui ne figure pas parmi les homélies traduites en arménien qui nous sont parvenues. Mais on sait, par des citations des catholicos Jean d'Odsun et Nerses le Gracieux, que d'autres homélies de Sévérien de Gabala avient été traduites en arménien. P. Jo. Baptista Aucher, *Severiani sive Seberiani Gabalorum episcopi Emensis Homiliae nunc primum editae ex antiqua versione armena et in latinum sermonem translatae* (Venise, 1827), pp. XVIII–XIX.

[15] *Histoire d'Agat'angeghos* (Venise, 1862). La citation combine plusieurs passages; voir pp. 71 et 72. Cette prière de saint Grégoire l'Illuminateur a été citée par le patriarche Nicéphore. J. B. Pitra, *Spicilegium Solesmense*, (Paris, 1852), I, 499–501.

[16] C'est à dire la croix.

[17] Le texte de Jérusalem porte les Marcionites; celui de Venise les Marcianistes. J'ai adopté la seconde forme, bien que les Marcionites soient habituellement nommés avec les Manichéens, et que dans les anathèmes prononcés par les conciles arméniens le nom de Marcion accompagne presque toujours celui de Manès. Les Marcionites étant mieux connus, une erreur de copie transformant Marcianistes en Marcionites paraît plus probable que l'inverse. Les Marcianistes sont des hérétiques connus

pris corps, et lorsqu'ils en voient les images ils se fâchent et, devenus furieux, ils les insultent[18]. N'avez-vous pas vu, ayant étudié et examiné les prophètes, qu'ils s'élevaient contre l'idolâtrie parce que les idoles des païens sont des démons[19], mais on ne trouve écrit nulle part qu'on ait appelé les images des églises ou des chrétiens des démons; c'étaient les

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surtout sous le nom de Messaliens ou Euchites; ils ont été parfois appelés Marcianistes d'après l'un de leurs chefs, un changeur du nom de Marcianus, qui vivait du temps des empereurs Justinien et Justin (Timothée, "De receptione haereticorum," Migne, *P. G.* LXXXVI, 45). En 592 ou 593, un jugement synodal fut rendu à Sainte-Sophie au sujet de Jean, prêtre de Chalcédoine, accusé de l'erreur des Marcianistes. Ce texte, aujourd'hui perdu, est mentionné dans la correspondance de Grégoire le Grand (V. Grumel, *Les régestes des actes du patriarcat de Constantinople*, vol. I, p. 105–106, no. 265). A Constantinople, les orthodoxes fanatiques, indignés de ce que l'empereur Maurice semblait protéger les hérétiques, l'avaient invectivé par ces mots: *μὴ σχολὴ δέρμα ὁ φιλῶν σε, Μαυρίκιε Μαρκιονιστά (lege Μαρκιανιστά)*, (H. Grégoire, "Maurice le Marcioniste, empereur arménien et 'vert'," *Byzantion* XIII (1938), 395–6; Théophane, *Chronographie*, ed. Bonn, p. 445.). Les Marcianistes sont également mentionnés par Maxime dans ses scholies sur le Pseudo-Denys (Smith et Wace, *Dictionary of Christian Biography*, article *Euchites*, p. 261). Le rapprochement entre Manichéens et Marcianistes, ou Euchites, quoique moins fréquent que celui entre Marcionites et Manichéens, n'est pas inconnu. Sévère d'Antioche, inculpant Julien d'Halicarnasse de Manichéisme, dit que son opinion rencontre celle des Manichéens et Messaliens, et il s'élève contre l'opinion mauvaise "des Messaliens, autrement dit des Manichéens." (R. Draguet, *Julien d'Halicarnasse*, Louvain, 1924, p. 129–130). Déjà Épiphane de Chypre avait rapproché les Euchites et les Manichéens (Migne, *P. G.*, XLII, 761c), et ce même rapprochement se trouve plus tard chez Psellos (Migne, *P. G.*, CXXII, 824) et le patriarche Nicéphore (J. B. Pitra, *op. cit.*, I, 406). Étant donné que l'hérésie des Messaliens était fort répandue en Arménie il n'y aurait rien d'étonnant à ce qu'ils aient été nommés dans notre traité, et le terme Marcianiste s'expliquerait dans un texte du début de septième siècle, puisqu'il apparaît le plus souvent dans les écrits de la fin du sixième siècle. Je remercie M. Honigmann et M. Grégoire qui m'ont signalé quelques-uns de ces écrits.

[18] Les anciens Manichéens n'étaient pas des adversaires des images, bien au contraire la peinture était un de leurs moyens de propagande (Fliche et Martin, *Histoire de l'Église*, II, 315). Mais les écrivains du Moyen Age, et en particulier les iconophiles, les traitent d'iconoclastes. Au second concile de Nicée le patriarche Taraise dit. "Nous avons découvert que les Manichéens n'acceptent pas non plus les images, de même les Marcionites et ceux qui confondent les natures du Christ" (Mansi, *Sacrorum Conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*, XII, 1031E). Cette accusation revient à plusieurs reprises, les Manichéens étant mentionnés parmi les adversaires des images avec les Juifs, les Samaritains et les Phantasiastes (Mansi, XIII, 157E, 173C, 196E).

[19] L'auteur pense sans doute au psaume XCVI, 5, "parce que tous les dieux des nations sont des démons." Dès les premiers siècles, les chrétiens accusaient les païens d'adorer les démons, pensant que ceux-ci habitaient les idoles. Voir les passages d'Athénagoras et de Minutius Felix cités par Edwyn Bevan, *Holy Images* (London, 1940), pp. 92–93. Jean d'Odsun dit expressément que les démons habitent les idoles et cite le psaume XCVI.5 (*Opera*, p. 90–91).

idoles qui étaient condamnées. Dans l'Histoire ecclésiastique d'Eusèbe, au septième livre et au dix-septième chapitre[20], il est question des grandes merveilles accomplies par notre Seigneur dans la ville de Panéada. "Puisque j'ai mentionné cette ville, dit-il, il ne serait pas juste de passer son récit, car il est digne de mémoire pour ceux qui viendront après nous. La jeune femme dont le sang coulait, ainsi que nous l'avons appris par le saint évangile, et qui fut guérie de ses maux par notre Sauveur, était de cette ville, et sa maison se voyait dans cette ville; et la grâce de la charité accordée à cette femme par notre Sauveur, et le monument du miracle, se voient jusqu'à ce jour. En effet, sur une pierre élevée à la porte de sa maison se trouve l'image en airain d'une femme agenouillée, les mains tendues en avant, semblable à une suppliante. Et en face d'elle il y a une autre image en airain d'un homme qui se tient debout, drapé dans un manteau et tendant la main à la femme. Et à ses pieds, s'élevant plus haut que la tunique, pousse une plante différant par sa vue de toutes les plantes, et elle monte jusqu'à l'ourlet de sa tunique, et c'est un médicament pour toutes les maladies. Cette statue, dit-on, est l'image de notre Sauveur; elle est demeurée jusqu'à nos jours, et nous l'avons vue de nos yeux lorsque nous sommes venu dans cette ville. Et il n'est rien de plus grand que ceci, que des païens ont cru en Jésus Christ, et ont peint avec des couleurs les images de Paul et de Pierre et du Christ lui-même, et elles demeurent jusqu'à nos jours".

N'avez-vous pas vu ces écrits, ô ami, qui vous opposez aux commandements de Dieu? Je dis ami, non pas à cause de l'orthodoxie de votre foi, mais à cause de ce que nous entendîmes de notre Seigneur; ami, pour lequel il vint. Mais si vous avez lu et ne savez pas, en vous se confirme la parole de l'apôtre qui dit, entre autres: "aux incrédules dont le Dieu de ce siècle a aveuglé l'esprit, afin qu'ils ne fussent pas éclairés par la lumière du glorieux évangile du Christ"[21]. Mais si vous avez lu, vous devriez chercher et étudier, connaître le bien et le mal, distinguer ce qui vient de Dieu de ce qui vient du démon. Ne savez-vous pas que dans les temples des idoles on trouve sculpté Ormizd, qui est Aramazd[22], ses fornications et ses sorcelleries? Mais dans les églises de Dieu nous voyons peinte la sainte

[20] Ce passage se trouve en réalité au chapitre 18.

[21] *II Corinthiens*, IV, 4.

[22] Aramazd, l'Ahura Mazda du Zend Avesta, dont l'auteur donne aussi le nom d'après une des formes iraniennes, Ormizd, était la divinité principale de l'Arménie païenne. Il était appelé "le père de tous les dieux," "le grand et fort Aramazd, créateur du ciel et de la terre," et ses statues ornaient le fort d'Ani, sépulture des rois d'Arménie (Agathange, "Histoire du règne de Tiridate," dans la *Collection des historiens anciens et modernes de l'Arménie*, publiée par Victor Langlois, Paris, 1867, I, 127, 129, 167). Moïse de Khorène l'appelle "le dieu du Tonnerre" (Langlois, *op. cit.*, II, 126).

Vierge, portant sur ses genoux le Christ qui est à la fois son créateur, son fils, et le créateur de tout. Dans les temples des idoles on voit Anahit[23], ses impuretés et ses séductions; tandis que dans les églises des chrétiens, et dans les demeures des martyrs de Dieu, nous voyons peints saint Grégoire, ses tourments agréables à Dieu et ses saintes vertus; le protomartyr Étienne au milieu des lapideurs; la bienheureuse et glorieuse sainte Gayané et sainte Hrip'simé avec tous leurs compagnons et les martyrs glorieux; de même d'autres hommes vertueux et respectables, d'une piété angélique, que nous ne pouvons énumérer. Dans les temples on voit Astghik et Aphrodite,[24] que tous les païens appellent mère des désirs, leurs nombreuses ivrogneries et débauches; tandis que dans les églises de Dieu on voit la croix divine, la cohorte des apôtres portant la croix, et les prophètes qui firent disparaître l'impiété, et répandirent l'adoration de Dieu dans l'univers, et confondirent le démon et ses légions. Car dans les églises de Dieu nous voyons peintes toutes les merveilles du Christ, tel qu'il est dit dans les écritures, et qui, comme nous l'avons précédemment mentionné, nous furent prédites par les prophètes; je veux dire la naissance, le baptême, la passion et le crucifiement, l'ensevelissement, la résurrection et l'ascension au ciel[25]. Tout ce que les saintes écritures racontent est peint dans les églises. Les livres ne sont-ils pas écrits avec du pigment? Les mêmes

[23] La déesse Anahit, fille d'Aramazd, était aussi importante que son père. Elle est la noble dame, "la gloire et la vie de notre nation, qui a été honorée par tous les rois et en particulier par le roi des Grecs; car elle est mère de toute science, bienfaitrice du genre humain, et fille du grand et fort Aramazd." (Aganthange dans Langlois, *op. cit.*, I, 127). Elle est "la grande déesse" qui "vivifie et protège l'Arménie" (*Ibid.*, pp. 128, 129). Ses principaux autels se trouvaient dans la ville d'Erez, l'actuelle Erzinjan, et sa statue d'or, décrite par Pline, lui avaient valu les surnoms de "créée d'or" et "mère d'or" (*Ibid.*, p. 168).

[24] La déesse Astghik, moins importante que les deux divinités précédentes, est identifiée par Agathange avec l'Aphrodite des Grecs (Langlois, *op. cit.*, p. 173); elle avait son temple à Achtichat, dans le canton de Taron, auprès de ceux de Vahak'n et d'Anahit (*Ibid.*, p. 173); Moïse de Khorène, suivant "sa chère sibylle bérosienne, plus véridique que beaucoup d'historiens," dit qu'elle était la soeur de Titan, de Zérouan et de Japhétos (Langlois, *op. cit.*, II, 59–60).

[25] Cette longue liste de sujets représentés dans les églises, fort importante pour la question du décor des anciennes églises arméniennes, sera discutée plus loin. Une énumération analogue de sujets se trouve dans le premier discours de Jean Damascène. Il dit que le Christ ayant revêtu la forme humaine, on peut représenter "sa naissance virginale, son baptême dans le Jourdain, sa transfiguration sur le mont Thabor, ses souffrances toute-puissantes, sa mort et ses miracles, preuves de sa divinité, les actes qu'il accomplit par sa puissance divine, la croix sauveur, sa sépulture, sa résurrection, son ascension au ciel" (*P. G.*, XCIV, 1240A–B). Sous une forme plus concise une pareille énumération avait déjà été faite par Grégoire le Grand dans sa lettre à l'évêque Secundinus. "Et nos quidem non quasi ante divinitatem ante illam prosternimur, sed illum adoramus quem per imaginem aut natum, aut passum, sed in throno sedentem recordamur. Et dum nobis ipsa pictura quasi

choses sont peintes avec du pigment. A l'église seules les oreilles entendent les écritures, mais les images on les voit avec les yeux et on les entend avec les oreilles, et on les comprend avec le coeur, et on croit[26]. Voici, il est évident qu'il n'est pas contraire aux écritures d'adorer les images, et quiconque examine avec attention aboutit à la vérité, et découvre qu'ils sont dans l'erreur les hérétiques qui argumentent et disent: nous les considérons viles parce qu'elles sont sans parole et sans entendement. Est-ce que l'arche de Dieu parlait quand elle renversa Dagon et Azót et la ville d'Ascalon par les coups des étrangers, à tel point que les habitants d'Ascalon protestaient et disaient: "pourquoi l'arche du Dieu d'Israël est-elle retournée vers nous, pour nous perdre nous et notre peuple?"[27] Est-ce que la croix du Christ parla lorsqu'elle ressuscita les morts dans la sainte ville, et accomplit de nombreux miracles jusqu'à nos jours; la croix, qui est l'orgueil des anges, le salut des hommes, et l'épouvante des démons? Et maintenant de nouveaux commandements, joints aux anciens, nous apportent un témoignage par la grâce du Christ. Car nous voyons le livre des évangiles peint avec de l'or et de l'argent et, de plus, relié avec de l'ivoire et du parchemin pourpre. Et lorsque nous nous prosternons devant le saint évangile, ou bien lorsque nous le baisons, nous ne nous prosternons pas devant l'ivoire et la laque, apportés pour la vente du pays des barbares, mais devant la parole du Sauveur écrite sur le parchemin[28]. De même,

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scriptura ad memoriam Filium Dei reducit, animum nostrum aut de resurrectione laetificat, aut de passione demulcet" (Migne, *P. L.*, LXXVII, 991). Une liste plus longue se trouve dans les lettres du pape Grégoire II au patriarche Germain (Mansi, XIII, 96 A–C), et à l'empereur Léon III (Mansi, XII, 967). Pour l'authenticité de la lettre à l'empereur voir G. Ostrogorsky, "Les débuts de la querelle des images," *Mélanges Charles Diehl* (Paris, 1930), p. 246, et E. Caspar, "Papst Gregor II und der Bilderstreit," *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, LII (1933), 29–84.

[26] On pourrait voir dans ces paroles un écho lointain, et déformé, de celles de saint Grégoire de Nysse: "la peinture muette parle sur le mur" (Migne, *P. G.*, XLVI, 739). L'idée principale, à savoir que la vue est supérieure à l'ouïe, se trouve aussi dans les discours de Jean Damascène. "Nous sanctifions le sens le plus noble, qui est celui de la vue. L'image est un souvenir, exactement ce que les paroles sont à l'oreille qui les entend. L'image est à l'illettré ce que le livre est au lettré. L'image parle à la vue comme les paroles à l'oreille, et elle nous apporte la compréhension" (Migne, *P. G.*, XCIV, 1248C). L'utilité des images, comme moyen d'instruction, sur laquelle les inconophiles ont tant insisté, avait déjà été signalée par saint Nil dans sa lettre au préfet Olympiodore (Migne, *P. G.*, LXXIX, 577), et par Grégoire le Grand dans ses deux lettres à l'évêque Sérénus (Migne, *P. L.*, LXXVII 1027–8; 1128–1130. Voir aussi le *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique*, article "Images (culte des)," col. 797, 799.

[27] *I Samuel*, V, 10.

[28] Avant les iconoclastes, les Juifs avaient déjà accusé les chrétiens d'adorer la matière, et les iconophiles se sont servis des arguments qu'on trouve dans les Discours contre les Juifs, en particulier dans ceux de Léonce, évêque de Néapolis en

lorsque le Seigneur de la gloire, assis sur l'âne, s'approcha de la ville, des vieillards et des enfants allèrent au-devant de lui, portant des rameaux d'olivier et des palmes; et ils le louaient et se prosternaient; or ils ne se prosternaient pas devant l'âne, mais devant le Christ, le Fils de Dieu, qui était assis sur l'âne[29].

Ainsi donc, ce n'est pas à cause des couleurs qu'on se prosterne devant les images, mais à cause du Christ au nom de qui elles furent peintes. Quelle ressemblance y a-t-il avec les commandements divins concernant les impuretés des païens, à cause desquelles les païens calomnient et introduisent des hérésies qui les conduiront à leur perte, eux et ceux qui les écoutent, et qu'ils expieront dans les tourments sans fin de l'enfer, avec tous leurs partisans? Le bienheureux prophète Osée a parlé en vérité contre eux: "leur scandale est sur leurs voies, car ils ont implanté la folie dans la maison de Dieu"[30]. Ou cet autre prophète qui dit: "malheur à celui qui donne à boire à ses compagnons les plaisirs troubles"[31]. C'est en effet par les tromperies qu'ils induisent au péché ceux qui se sont éloignés de la vraie foi, et qui se sont écartés des vraies mystères. Mais je continue et ne me tairai pas. Par exemple, si quelqu'un demande les livres qui sont dans l'armoire et dise: donne-moi les apôtres, ou Isaïe, ou Jérémie; est-ce qu'il entend par là Jérémie, ou l'apôtre lui-même, ou bien les commandements divins et leurs paroles qui y sont écrits?[32] Et nous, ce sont eux que

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Chypre (Migne, *P. G.*, XCIV, 1384 B–D; 1385A; 1388C). Le catholicos Jean d'Odsun, dans son discours "Contre les Pauliciens," repousse aussi l'accusation d'adorer la matière et énumère les objets vénérés par les Juifs (*Opera*, pp. 96–97, 100–103). L'usage de baiser le livre des évangiles existait aussi chez les Byzantins. Anastase le Bibliothécaire décrit une "conférence de 656 de saint Maxime le Confesseur avec Théodore, Maxime et tous ceux qui se trouvaient là se jetèrent à genoux et baisèrent les Évangiles" (*Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique*, article "Images (culte des), col. 772." Cf. *P. G.*, XC, 156 et 164.

[29] On pourrait comparer ces paroles à la question 40 des *Quaestiones ad Antiochum ducem* du pseudo-Athanase, bien que la réponse soit différente. Les Juifs et païens demandent si on doit saluer et vénérer les ânes parce que le Christ s'est assis sur l'âne (Migne, *P. G.*, XXVIII, 621D–624A). Voir aussi G. Bardy, "Les Trophées de Damas, controverse judéo-chretiènne du VIIe siècle," *Patr. Orient.*, XV (1920), 249: "il s'est assis sur un âne, et nous n'adorons pas les ânes."

[30] *Osée*, IX, 8.

[31] *Habacuc*, II, 15.

[32] Ces paroles indiquent que les livres des prophètes formaient autrefois des volumes séparés. Cet usage ancien ne s'est pas conservé en Arménie, car les plus anciens manuscrits de l'Ancien Testament que nous possédons sont écrits en minuscules (*bolorgir*); mais il a survécu en partie à Byzance, comme on peut le voir par un manuscrit du livre d'Isaïe (*Vatican. gr. 755*) et les nombreux exemplaires du livre de Job (*Venise Marc. 538; Patmos 171; Sinaï 3; Vat. gr. 749, 751, 1231; Paris. gr. 134, 135; Athos, Iviron 73*). Quant aux "apôtres," l'auteur pense sans doute aux Actes des Apôtres, auxquels devaient être joints les Épitres, ce qui est resté d'un usage courant pendant tout le Moyen Age.

nous rappelons en peignant leurs images, et celui qui les a envoyés; et nous ne disons pas que c'est Dieu lui-même, mais le souvenir de Dieu et de ses serviteurs[33].

Il était écrit que Pap introduisit les images dans les églises. Or tout le monde sait que vous mentez[34]. Car jusqu'à présent personne chez les Arméniens ne savait faire des images, mais on les apportait de chez les Grecs, et notre culture venait aussi de chez eux, et ils n'étaient pas perdus[35]. Et avant Pap il y eut d'autres rois, et ils faisaient faire des images et des peintures dans les églises au nom du Christ. De nouveau après Pap il y eut d'autres rois chez les Arméniens, et des prélats comme le bienheureux saint Sahak, et Mesrop, et Eznik, et Ardzan, et Koriun, et leurs compagnons, par l'intermédiaire de qui les lettres furent accordées aux Arméniens par Dieu, notre Seigneur[36]. Aucun d'eux ne fit rien concernant les images et les peintures des églises[37], mais seulement l'impie et l'égaré

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[33] L'auteur reprend l'argument dont il s'est déjà servi, que l'image est un souvenir. Ceci avait été dit, avant les iconoclastes, par des écrivains comme Jean de Thessalonique et Léonce de Chypre dans leurs discours contre les Juifs (Mansi, XIII, 164D; 44C–E; 45B; 53A. Migne, *P. G.*, XCIV, 1409C; 1384C–1385A). Même pensée dans les "Trophées de Damas," Bardy, *loc. cit.*, p. 248–249.

[34] Cette protestation violente n'est pas simplement la correction d'une opinion erronée, car même s'il était vrai que les images furent introduites par le roi Pap cela indiquerait une pratique ancienne, puisque Pap a régné de 369 à 374. L'horreur avec laquelle l'auteur repousse la tradition rapportée par les iconoclastes arméniens suggère que ceux-ci avaient des raisons spéciales pour faire remonter à Pap l'introduction des images, comme l'auteur pour repousser cette assertion. Nous en trouvons l'explication dans l'Histoire de Fauste de Byzance. Pap, nous dit Fauste, était possédé par les démons, adonné aux pratiques les plus honteuses, et il fit empoisonner le catholicos Nerses qui réprouvait son genre de vie. Après la mort de Nerses "plusieurs provinces d'Arménie et bon nombre de leurs habitants retournèrent à l'ancien culte des *dev*, et, avec le consentement du roi Pap, ils dressèrent des idoles dans plusieurs endroits, car il n'y avait personne qui leur inspirât quelque crainte ou qui pût les réprimander. Chacun faisait sans pudeur ce que bon lui semblait. On avait même dressé plusieurs statues qu'on adorait ouvertement" (*Collection des historiens anciens et modernes de l'Arménie*, publiée par V. Langlois, I, 295). Ainsi, en faisant remonter les peintures des églises au roi Pap, pendant le règne duquel les Arméniens étaient retournés aux pratiques païennes, les iconoclastes trouvaient sans doute un argument important pour rattacher le culte des images à l'idolâtrie.

[35] Le sens des mots եւ եթէ նոքա չէին կորուսեալ n'est pas clair. Si le pronom նոքա (ils ou elles) se rapporte au mot images, il faudrait traduire "les images n'étaient pas perdues"; s'il se rapporte aux Grecs, ce qui nous paraît plus probable, il faudrait entendre par cette phrase que les Grecs n'étaient pas dans l'erreur.

[36] Sahak et Mesrop sont les inventeurs de l'alphabet arménien; les autres sont leurs élèves, les "premiers traducteurs" du cinquième siècle.

[37] Après avoir invoqué l'autorité des écritures et des Pères de l'Eglise, après avoir mentionné les images ou statues anciennes, il était naturel de rappeler que l'église arménienne ne s'était jamais opposée à la représentation des images. Jean Damascène dit de même que les prélats et les rois qui ont régné jusqu'à cette époque, tous les conciles tenus jusqu'à cette date, n'ont rien fait ou dit contre les images (Migne,

Thaddée et Isaïe et leurs compagnons qui entraînèrent à leur suite un grand nombre de personnes, tels vous-mêmes. Mais bien que le parti des hérétiques brille pendant un certain temps, il se fane bientôt, car même les premiers péchés sont nés du mensonge, comme chez Adam, car ces paroles ne viennent pas de moi mais des saintes écritures, de l'Ancien et du Nouveau Testament. Si vous voulez servir le Christ Dieu, et aimer ses commandements, étudiez les livres de ceux dont les noms sont écrits ici, et lorsque vous les trouverez ils vous montreront le vrai chemin de Dieu. En voilà assez concernant les images, et ceci suffit à qui veut comprendre.

Quant à ceux qui disent que les pigments sont vils, ils s'accusent de leur propre bouche, car les pigments employés pour l'écriture sont le vitriol, la galle et la gomme, qu'on ne peut pas manger; tandis que les matières employées pour les images sont le lait, les oeufs, l'arsenic, l'azur, le vert de gris, la chaux et autres matières semblables, dont les unes servent pour la nourriture, les autres comme médicament[38]. Mais nous n'appelons pas vil ce que Dieu a donné pour embellir la terre, et nous ne le méprisons pas comme quelque chose de mauvais[39]. Vous dites qu'il vient une odeur des pigments; mais si vous êtes à ce point purs et spirituels, vous devriez vous ouvrir le ventre à l'heure de la prière, vous laver les intestins avec de l'eau bouillante, et entrer ensuite à l'église Ô hommes méchants, d'une méchanceté sans bornes, qui tantôt accusez les pigments, tantôt les images et les peintures, disant qu'elles sont faites de main d'homme et ne sont pas dignes de nous. Les églises aussi sont faites de main d'homme et pourtant elles sont appelées le temple de Dieu, ainsi que Paul le disait à Timothée: "afin que tu saches, dit-il, comment il faut se conduire dans la maison de Dieu, qui est l'église du Dieu vivant, la colonne et l'appui de la vérité"[40].

P.G., XCIV, 1280D–1281A). Les mêmes arguments furent présentés au concile de 787.

[38] Ce passage est intéressant pour la composition de l'encre et des couleurs, mais il laisse à désirer en tant qu'argument, puisque certaines des matières employées pour les couleurs ne peuvent servir ni pour la nourriture ni pour les médicaments. Je transcrit les mots arméniens avec les termes grecs ou latins qui correspondent, d'après le *Dictionnaire Arménien* de G. Avedikian, Kh. Surmélian et M. Avgerian (Venise, 1836). արճասպ (ardjasp) = χάλκανθος; գղտոր (geghtor) = κηκίς; կրիա (kris) = κόμμι; կապիկ (zarik) = ἀρσενικόν; լաժուրդ (lajurd) = lapis lazuli; ժանգար (jangar) = χάλκανθος; բուր (bour) = κονία; կիր (kir) = τίτανος κονία. L'origine de plusieurs de ces termes a été expliquée dans le supplément à un article du Père Alichan sur un traité de peinture (*Handes Amsorya* 1895, pp. 370–371). L'article lui même a été traduit en français par F. Macler, *Documents d'art arméniens* (Paris, 1924), pp. 17–23. Les mots *zarik*, *lajurd* et *jangar* proviennent du persan et ont la forme qu'on trouve dans les écrits anciens. Ainsi nous avons *lajurd*, au lieu de *ladjvard* qu'on trouve plus tard, et qui révèle une influence arabe.

[39] Même pensée dans les discours de Jean Damascène: *P.G.*, XCIV, 1245 D, 1297 B-1300 C, et dans les "Trophées de Damas," Bardy, *loc. cit.*, p. 248.

[40] *I Épitre à Timothée*, III, 15.

Que diras-tu donc à ceci puisque l'église est faite de main d'homme[41]? Car nous connaissons l'invisible par ce qui est visible, et les pigments et les peintures sont le souvenir du Dieu vivant et de ses serviteurs.

Mais vous, enorgueillis par le démon, vous appelez saintes vos propres personnes, et vous ressemblez aux sépulcres blanchis. Celui qui a écrit les proverbes a donc dit la vérité. Il dit: "ne sois pas juste à l'excès, ni sage, afin que tu ne te pervertisses"[42]. Et de nouveau: "une race mauvaise se croit juste"[43]. Ainsi vous vous enorgueillissez et, bouche ouverte, vous dites ce qui ne sied pas. Quant à nous, nous nous hâtons d'entrer à l'église du Christ, de jour et de nuit; priant chaque jour de bonne heure, afin d'accomplir le temps de notre exil, et d'être digne de voir Dieu d'un visage souriant au jour du jugement. Car nous aspirons à sa bonté éternelle, car en lui est la gloire en toute éternité, amen.

Cette apologie des images est-elle réellement de Vrt'anes K'ert'ogh? L'attribution avait paru douteuse à Strzygowski, un des rares savants étrangers qui en ait parlé. Il pensait qu'un pareil écrit ne pouvait guère être antérieur à la querelle iconoclaste[44]. Cet argument n'est plus valable, car il a été amplement démontré que l'opposition aux images s'était manifestée bien avant la grande lutte qui a troublé l'empire byzantin pendant plus d'un siècle[45]. Il suffit de rappeler quelques-unes de ces manifestations. Au début du quatrième siècle le concile d'Elvire interdisait d'orner les églises de peintures[46]. Eusèbe de Césarée, écrivant à Constantia, la

[41] Tous les défenseurs des images ont cité des exemples d'objets vénérés par les iconoclastes, comme la croix, et qui étaient également faits de main d'homme. Ils mentionnent, en plus, les objets vénérés par les Juifs, reprenant et développant ce qui se trouvait déjà dans les discours contre les Juifs. Comparer, par exemple, Jean Damascène, *P.G.*, XCIV, 1245 B–D, 1300 A–C, et Léonce de Chypre, *Ibid.*, 1385 A–B, 1273 A–C. Les arguments de Léonce, et d'autres écrivains du septième siècle, furent repris dans les discours contre les Juifs des siècles suivants, comme celui de Jérôme de Jérusalem (*P.G.*, XCIV, 1409), ou celui qui est attribué à Anastase le Sinaïte, mais où l'on reconnaît maintenant une oeuvre du neuvième siècle (*P.G.*, LXXXIX, 1233). La lettre du pape Adrien à Constantin et Irène renferme une énumération des objets vénérés par les Juifs, qui semble avoir été empruntée à un discours contre les Juifs (Mansi, XII, 1070 A–B). La mention de l'église, qui est également faite de main d'homme, se trouve dans le Discours contre Constantin Copronyme (*P.G.*, XCV, 325 A), et dans la seconde lettre de Grégoire II à Léon III (Mansi, XII, 978 A).

[42] *Ecclésiaste*, VII, 17.

[43] *Proverbes*, XXX, 12.

[44] J. Strzygowski, "Das Etschmiadzin-Evangeliar," *Byzantinische Denkmäler*, I (Vienne, 1891), 78–79.

[45] On trouvera dans l'ouvrage de H. Menges, *Die Bilderlehre des hl. Johannes von Damaskus* (Kallmünz, 1937), une excellente bibliographie de la querelle iconoclaste.

[46] "Placuit picturas in ecclesia non esse debere, ne quod colitur et adoratur in parietibus depingatur" (Mansi, II, 11).

soeur de l'empereur Constantin, refusait de lui envoyer une image du Christ, disant qu'il ne sied pas aux chrétiens de représenter leur Dieu sous la forme humaine, comme le faisaient les païens[47]. Épiphane de Chypre était un ennemi déclaré des images; il avait déchiré dans une église une tenture sur laquelle était représenté le Christ, ou un saint, et dans son Testament il enjoint ses disciples de ne pas ériger d'images dans les églises ou dans les sépultures des saints[48]. Vers 488 l'évêque de Mabboug, Xenaïas (Philoxène), un des chefs du parti monophysite, s'élevait contre les images du Christ et des saints[49]. Au cours du sixième siècle un grave soulèvement, dirigé contre les images, avait éclaté à Antioche et, à Édesse, des soldats révoltés avaient lapidé l'image miraculeuse du Christ[50]. A la fin du siècle suivant le pèlerin Arculf, de passage à Constantinople, avait vu un homme saisir une image de la Vierge et la jeter dans des latrines[51]. Il y avait eu aussi des explosions d'iconoclasme en Occident. Au sixième siècle la peinture du Christ en croix avait excité un tel scandale parmi la population de Narbonne, que l'évêque avait été obligé de la faire recouvrir d'un voile[52]. A Marseille, l'évêque Sérénus faisait enlever et briser toutes les images des églises, s'attirant ainsi les remontrances de Grégoire le Grand[53].

Les tendances iconoclastes étaient encore plus marquées en Arménie, parmi certains éléments de la population. Dans son discours "Contre les Pauliciens," le catholicos Jean d'Odsun (717–728) parle des hérétiques qui s'étaient répandus en Arménie après la mort du catholicos Nerses, et qui furent rejoints par "certains iconoclastes poursuivis par les catholicos des Albanais; car celui qui s'est écarté de la vérité aime à se rapprocher de ses semblables"[54]. Le catholicos Nerses mentionné ici est Nerses II (548–

[47] Migne, *P.G.*, XX, 1545–1549.

[48] Lettre à Jean, évêque de Jérusalem, conservée dans la traduction latine de saint Jérôme (Migne, *P.L.*, XXII, 526–7). Le passage du Testament de saint Épiphane, lu au concile iconoclaste de 754, fut relu au concile de 787 qui le rejeta comme apocryphe (Mansi, XIII, 292 D–296 E). L'authenticité du Testament a toutefois été reconnue même par ceux qui ont contesté celle de la lettre à Jean de Jérusalem. G. Ostrogorsky, *Studien zur Geschichte des byzantinischen Bilderstreites* (Breslau, 1929). Voir aussi P. Maas, "Die ikonoklastische Episode in dem Brief des Epiphanios an Johannes," *Byz. Zeit.*, XXX (1929–30), 279–286, et le compte- rendu de H. Grégoire dans *Byzantion* IV (1927–8), 769–770.

[49] Théophane, *Chronographie*, année 5982; Mansi, XIII, 317. D'autres monophysites, comme Sévère d'Antioche, Pierre le Foulon et les acéphales, sont également considérés comme les adversaires des images par les pères du second concile de Nicée (Mansi, XIII 253, 317); mais à part l'exemple de Xenaïas on ne possède pas de témoignage direct permettant d'attribuer des opinions de ce genre aux monophysites (Fliche et Martin, *Histoire de l'Eglise*, V, 445).

[50] A. Vasiliev, *Histoire de l'Empire byzantin* (Paris, 1932), I, 338.

[51] Bréhier, *La querelle des images*, p. 12.

[52] *Ibid.*, p. 12.

[53] Migne, *P.L.*, LXXVII, 1027–8, 1128–30.

[54] *Domini Johannis Ozniensis Philosophi Armeniorum Catholici Opera*, per J. B. Aucher (Venise, 1834), pp. 88 et 89.

557), et les mesures prises contre les hérétiques au concile de Dvin en 554 nous sont connues par l'encyclique du catholicos et le "Serment d'Union" prononcé par les évêques et les princes[55].

Une lettre du vardapet Jean Mayragometsi incorporée dans l'Histoire des Albanais de Moïse Kaghankatvatsi, et dont nous donnons la traduction, nous fournit de plus amples renseignements sur ces iconoclastes[56].

Au temps où Ukhtanes était encore le catholicos des Albanais (670–689), et après lui Éliazar (682–688), et que des troubles et des hérésies étaient suscités de divers côtés par les savants et les ignorants . . . , la nouvelle nous parvint que certains hommes n'acceptent pas les images, certains ne se font pas baptiser, ne bénissent pas le sel, ne mettent pas la couronne du mariage, sous prétexte que la prêtrise a disparu de la terre. A cause de cela David, évêque de Medzkoghmants, demanda par écrit au vardapet Jean la raison de ceci, et ce dernier lui donna les vraies raisons et dit ainsi. Cette hérésie apparut après les apôtres, et l'iconoclasme se manifesta d'abord chez les Grecs; et à cause de cela il y eut un grand concile à Césarée. On ordonna de peindre les images dans la maison de Dieu. Mais les peintres, enorgueillis, se croyaient supérieurs à tous les autres artistes de l'église et disaient: notre art est clair, car les vieillards et les enfants le comprennent, tandis que peu d'hommes lisent les écritures. Il y eut donc un nouveau concile et, ayant examiné les faits, on rendit justice aux scribes, aux lecteurs et aux interprètes, et on les plaça avant les peintres.[57] Et à partir de cette époque jusqu'à Moïse, catholicos des Arméniens (574–604), cette hérésie n'avait pas reparu. Ensuite, quand le catholicosat des Arméniens fut partagé en deux, il y eut une grande lutte entre Moïse et Théodore, évêque de Karin. . . . Et Moïse réunit les vardapets de sa région et il leur commanda de ne pas communier avec les Grecs qui obéissent au méchant concile de Chalcédoine, car leurs oeuvres sont mensongères, et de n'accepter d'eux ni écrits, ni images, ni reliques.

Alors Théodore donna l'ordre aux évêques qui étaient de sa région de se réunir dans la ville de Karin, et il dit: il nous faut avoir un catholicos; et ils sacrèrent un certain Jean, un stylite, et ils obéirent à la religion chalcédonienne. . . . Ensuite un prêtre nommé Hesu (Josué), et Thaddée, et Grigor, qui étaient de la région de Moïse, s'en allèrent de Dvin au canton de Sot'k'; ils vécurent dans le désert, car ils étaient des moines, et ils commencèrent à enseigner qu'il faut détruire les images peintes dans les églises, et ne pas accepter la communion des prêtres séculiers. Il y eut

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[55] *Livre des Lettres* (Tiflis, 1901), pp. 72–77. Conybeare pensait qu'il s'agissait de Nerses I (*op. cit.*, p. LVIII; Ter Mkhrttschian a bien vu qu'il s'agissait de Nerses II (*op. cit.*, p. 51), mais il n'a pas pu en donner les preuves, le "Livre des Lettres" n'ayant pas encore été publié.

[56] Movses Kaghankatvatsi, *Histoire des Albanais* (Tiflis, 1913), pp. 302–305.

[57] Nous ne saurions dire où l'auteur a trouvé ce qu'il rapporte, et qui doit être considéré comme une pure légende. Les conciles tenus à Césarée, à une date ancienne, sont à Césarée de Cappadoce, concile de 314 environ, connu de Jean d'Odsun: J. Lebon, "Sur un concile de Césarée," *Le Muséon*, LI (1938), 89–132; celui de 372 environ, à Césarée de Cappadoce, au sujet des difficultés créées par la division de la Cappadoce en deux provinces; et à Césarée en Palestine, conciliabule de 334, où les évêques ariens examinèrent les accusations portées contre saint Athanase (*Dictionnaire des Conciles*, Paris, 1847) et concile de 393: E. W. Brooks, "A synod of Caesarea in Palestine in 393," *Journal of Theological Studies*, III (1902), 433–436.

des troubles dans le canton et la nouvelle en parvint au catholicos Moïse qui leur écrivit aussitôt, leur ordonnant de venir en toute hâte auprès de lui. Mais ceux-ci n'obéirent pas à l'ordre et, étant partis de là, ils allèrent vivre dans la province d'Artsakh. Le catholicos ayant demandé aux savants la raison de la conduite de ces hommes, ils répondirent que c'est à cause de l'erreur des Grecs. Ils écrivirent ensuite une lettre disant: que personne n'ose détruire les images qui sont dans les églises. Et à la mort du catholicos Moïse, et pendant le règne de Khosroès en Arménie, le pays fut uni et Abraham siégea comme catholicos (607–615). . . . Quant aux iconoclastes qui allèrent en Albanie, ils troublèrent votre pays. Alors le seigneur de Gardman, ayant saisi les trois hommes qui sont nommés dans cette lettre, les envoya enchaînés chez les Arméniens. Et lorsqu'ils furent devant nous, nous leur demandâmes: pourquoi n'acceptez-vous pas l'image du Dieu incarné? Ils répondirent que cela est étranger aux commandements, et c'est l'oeuvre des idolâtres qui adorent toutes les créatures; quant à nous, nous ne nous prosternons pas devant les images car nous n'en avons pas reçu l'ordre des saintes écritures. Alors, leur ayant parlé des images de l'autel de Moïse, des diverses sculptures du temple de Salomon, et expliqué que nous représentons les mêmes choses dans nos églises; leur ayant donc dit ceci, et d'autres paroles semblables, nous corrigeâmes leur erreur.[58]

Cette lettre a dû être écrite tout au début du catholicosat d'Éliazar, en 682 ou 683, car nous savons par ailleurs que l'évêque David était déjà mort en 684[59]. On peut y distinguer deux parties. L'une se rapporte aux événements contemporains qui ont troublé David, l'autre nous donne l'historique des faits antérieurs, en particulier les agissements des iconoclastes Hesu, Thaddée et Grigor. Ceux-ci quittent Dvin, la capitale de la Persarménie, après l'élection de l'anticatholicos Jean en Arménie byzantine en 591. Ils s'en vont d'abord dans le canton de Sot'k', en Siunik', province orientale de l'Arménie, et ils y commencent leur prédication. Sommés par le catholicos Moïse de revenir à Dvin, ils passent dans la province d'Artsakh et sèment le trouble dans le royaume voisin des Albanais. Ils étaient probablement allés ensuite dans la province d'Ut'i, plus au sud, car ils sont arrêtés par le seigneur de Gardman et envoyés en Arménie. Malheureusement le nom du seigneur de Gardman n'est pas mentionné, mais il ressort des paroles mêmes de Jean que l'arrestation des iconoclastes, et leur renvoi en Arménie, sont antérieurs à l'époque où il écrivait. On ne pourrait d'ailleurs supposer que des hommes, dont la prédication avait commencé avant la mort du catholicos Moïse, entre les années 591 et 604, aient pu être en vie, et actifs, vers 682–683. L'auteur de la lettre, Jean Mayragometsi, avait occupé une situation importante à

[58] On trouve dans la Chronique de Mkhit'ar Ayrevanetsi une allusion au rôle joué par Jean Mayragometsi dans la lutte contre les iconoclastes (Ter Mkrttschian, *op. cit.*, p. 57, n. 1).

[59] L'évêque David meurt pendant le règne du prince Varaz Trdat et le prêtre Israël lui succède (Movses Kaghankatvatsi, *op. cit.*, p. 265). Après son élection Israël se rend d'abord en Arménie auprès du catholicos Sahak (677–703), il est ensuite envoyé en ambassade chel les Huns, en 684 (*Ibid.*, p. 269–270). David est donc mort quelque temps avant 684.

la cour patriarcale au début du catholicosat de Ezr (630–641), mais s'étant énergiquement opposé à la politique d'union avec l'église grecque, il avait été obligé de quitter Dvin, vers 633, et il s'était retiré au monastère de Mayrots, près de la forteresse de Bdjni, non loin de Dvin. Son séjour en ce monastère fut de courte durée. Il dut s'éloigner sur l'ordre du catholicos Ezr, et il trouva un refuge dans le canton de Gardman[60]. L'arrestation des iconoclastes, envoyés en Arménie par le seigneur de Gardman, a donc eu lieu avant l'arrivée de Jean dans ce canton, alors qu'il était encore à Dvin, ou, au plus tard, pendant son court séjour au monastère de Mayrots, vers 633.

Cette lettre confirme plusieurs données de notre traité. D'après Jean Mayragometsi les chefs des iconoclastes sont Hesu, Thaddée et Grigor; or Thaddée est également nommé dans le traité, et l'Isaïe du traité pourrait être identifié avec Hesu, car les deux noms sont souvent confondus dans les textes arméniens. Il s'agit donc du même mouvement, dirigé par les mêmes chefs. Dans son étude sur l'oeuvre littéraire de Vrt'anes K'ert'ogh, le Père Akinian a suggéré que notre traité pourrait être la lettre écrite par les vardapets de l'entourage du catholicos Moïse, dont parle Jean[61]. Ceci nous paraît peu probable puisque l'auteur du traité s'adresse aux adhérents et non pas aux chefs. Aucun des prélats arméniens, dit-il, ne fit rien contre les images et les peintures des églises, "mais seulement l'impie et l'égaré Thaddée et Isaïe et leur compagnons, qui entraînèrent à leur suite un grand nombre de personnes, *tels vous-mêmes*." Nous ne saurions dire si Thaddée et Isaïe continuaient leur enseignement à cette époque, et si le traité doit être placé avant ou après leur arrestation vers 633, mais il faudrait de toute façon le dater sensiblement après les débuts du mouvement, puisque l'hérésie avait eu le temps de se répandre et de gagner de nombreux adhérents.

Le discours "Contre les Pauliciens" nous permet d'établir un *terminus ante quem.* En traçant les progrès du mal en Arménie, Jean d'Odsun dit qu'on était passé de la lutte contre les images à la lutte contre la croix[62]. Or nous savons par ce même discours que les Pauliciens arméniens, différant en ceci des Pauliciens grecs[63], étaient les adversaires de la croix en même temps que des images; tandis que les iconoclastes dont il est question

[60] Mgr. Malachie Ormanian, *Azgapatum* (Constantinople, 1912), I, 697–8.

[61] N. Akinian dans *Handes Amsorya* (1910), p. 38–9.

[62] *Johannis Ozniensis Opera*, p. 78–79.

[63] "Le paulicianisme primitif (668–872) semble ne pas avoir été iconoclaste. Le silence absolu gardé par Pierre (de Sicile) sur la question des images prouve au contraire qu'en principe, et sans doute en pratique, les Pauliciens ne rejetaient pas les images. En revanche, comme leurs descendants directs les Albigeois, ils avaient horreur de la Croix" (H. Grégoire, "Communication sur les Pauliciens" dans *Atti del V Congresso internazionale di studi bizantini* [Rome, 1939], p. 177). Voir aussi Fliche et Martin, *op. cit.*, V, 445.

dans notre traité honoraient la croix, et se prosternaient devant elle. Le traité a donc été rédigé avant le huitième siècle, peut-être même avant 668, si le paulicianisme a apparu vers la même date en Arménie et dans les provinces byzantines[64].

Après avoir placé notre traité dans le cadre historique de l'Arménie il faut examiner le texte même. Plusieurs points de détail militent en faveur d'une date ancienne. Les termes employés pour les couleurs dérivent du persan et non de l'arabe[65]. Il est vrai que les formes persanes pouvaient subsister, et ont subsisté, après la conquête arabe, mais le fait qu'on ne discerne pas encore d'influence arabe a son importance. L'auteur parle de manuscrits de parchemin pourpre. Aucun manuscrit pourpre ne s'est conservé en Arménie, mais si l'on en juge d'après l'usage byzantin, ceux-ci devaient être extrêmement rares après le sixième siècle. La longue liste de sujets représentés dans les églises et les martyria mérite de retenir l'attention. La mention des saints spécifiquement arméniens, à savoir saint Grégoire l'Illuminateur, sainte Hrip'simé et sainte Gayané, prouve que l'auteur a en vue le décor des églises arméniennes, et qu'il ne nous donne pas une liste de sujets empruntée à quelque écrit grec. Malheureusement, en dehors de rares fragments presque indistincts, nous ne savons rien de la peinture arménienne avant la période bagratide[66]. Les sources littéraires ne sont pas non plus d'un grand secours. Jean d'Odsun parle seulement des représentations du Christ et de la croix[67]. En racontant les destructions des Arabes, l'historien Ghévond mentionne la croix, les images du Christ et de ses disciples[68]. Ce choix restreint ne concorde pas avec ce qui est rapporté dans notre traité, mais les oeuvres sculptées nous permettent de compléter notre information sur les représentations figurées en Arménie à une époque ancienne. Des sujets assez variés ont été sculptés sur des pierres tombales, dont certaines remontent au cinquième siècle. En plus du Christ et de la croix, on a souvent figuré la Vierge, seule ou portant l'Enfant, parfois debout, d'autres fois assise ou trônant entre deux anges[69]. On voit aussi des anges, des saintes, des saints tenant une longue croix, comme ceux qui sont mentionnés dans notre traité, saint Jean Baptiste, et, malgré le champ restreint, des compositions comme le baptême, les saintes femmes au sépulcre, le sacrifice d'Abraham et Daniel dans la fosse aux lions[70]. L'étude de ces pierres tombales, et des sculptures sur les

[64] Grégoire, *op. cit.*, p. 176.

[65] Voir note 38.

[66] S. Der Nersessian, *Armenia and the Byzantine Empire* (Cambridge, 1945), p. 110.

[67] *Johannis Ozniensis Opera*, pp. 80–81, 90–91.

[68] Ghévond, *Histoire des guerres et des conquêtes des Arabes*, traduite par G. Chahnazarian (Paris, 1856), p. 98.

[69] Mgr. Garegin Hovsep'ian, *Matériaux et études sur l'histoire de l'art et de la culture arméniennes*, III (New York, 1944), 119–123 et figs. 28, 31, 34, 73, 77, 79, 93–95.

[70] *Ibid.*, figs. 38, 39, 43, 66, 71, 73, 86, 91, 97, 101.

façades des églises,[71] semble indiquer que les représentations figurées étaient d'un usage courant pendant la période qui a précédé la conquête arabe; elles ont cédé le pas au décor ornemental durant les deux siècles de l'occupation arabe, puis sont revenues à l'honneur au neuvième siècle, sous les rois bagratides[72]. Le cycle évangélique de notre traité aurait donc pu exister avant le milieu du septième siècle; tandis que Jean d'Odsun et Ghévond, écrivant tous deux pendant la domination arabe, rapportent ce qui était d'usage à leur époque.

Faut-il prendre à la lettre la remarque de notre auteur que jusqu'alors "personne en Arménie ne savait faire des images, mais on les apportait de chez les Grecs"? S'il est vrai, comme l'affirme l'auteur lui-même, que depuis plusieurs siècles on avait orné les églises de peintures, on ne comprend pas comment il ne s'était pas formé une école de peintres arméniens. D'autant plus que la sculpture de cette époque a un caractère national qui diffère foncièrement du style byzantin. L'auteur généralise peut-être ce qui devait se passer dans des cas spéciaux. Nous savons que des images célèbres étaient parfois apportées de Byzance; telle était l'image du Christ apportée par le patrice Ashot (685–689), et placée dans l'église de Dariunk' qu'il venait de construire, image pour laquelle fut composée une hymne spéciale[73].

Afin de nous assurer que notre traité a réellement été composé au septième siècle, il faudrait aussi le comparer aux écrits grecs et voir s'il ne s'est pas inspiré des nombreuses oeuvres composées pendant la querelle iconoclaste. Dans ces comparaisons nous considérerons surtout la littérature de la première période, et les actes du concile de Nicée de 787 qui renferment de nombreuses citations d'auteurs plus anciens[74].

Le plan général de notre traité, avec ses arguments scripturaires et ses citations des Pères de l'Église, rappelle celui de tous les écrits contre les iconoclastes; mais ce procédé de démonstration, qui s'appuie sur l'autorité des écritures et celle des grands évêques, est la forme habituelle de toutes les oeuvres apologétiques ou dogmatiques. De plus, en examinant de près les arguments et les citations, on se rend compte que les différences sont plus importantes que les analogies, et que la plupart de ces analogies s'expliquent par des emprunts communs à des oeuvres antérieures à la querelle iconoclaste.

Les passages de l'Ancien Testament concernant les chérubins de Moïse, les sculptures du temple de Salomon, la vision d'Ézéchiel, qui ont été cités

[71] En particulier les églises de Ptghavank', Mren et Odsun. *Ibid.*, pp. 13–15, 35–37 et fig. 16, 17, 28. S. Der Nersessian, *op. cit.*, pp. 88–90 et pl. X, 1.

[72] Mgr. Hovsep'ian. *op. cit.*, p. 127.

[73] Ghévond, *op. cit.*, p. 16. Mgr. Ormanian. *op. cit.*, p. 764.

[74] Pour la liste des principales apologies des images voir *Dict. de Théol. Cath.*, article "Images (cultes des)," col. 796.

par tous les iconophiles[75], avaient déjà servi d'argument essentiel pour prouver la légitimité des images dans les discours contre les Juifs, comme ceux de Léonce, archevêque de Néapolis en Chypre[76]. Nous avons vu aussi que Jean Mayragometsi, en résumant le discours qu'il a tenu aux iconoclastes pour corriger leur erreur, mentionne les images de l'autel de Moïse et les diverses sculptures du temple de Salomon.

Lorsque notre auteur se défend d'adorer la matière, il se sert de nouveau des arguments qu'on trouve dans les Discours contre les Juifs, et qui furent repris plus tard par les iconophiles. Nous avons renvoyé à ces passages dans nos notes et nous nous bornerons à en citer quelques-uns. L'auteur arménien écrit: "Nous ne disons pas que les images et les peintures sont le Dieu véritable, mais nous les peignons au nom de Dieu." Léonce de Néapolis avait écrit: *πάλιν δὲ οὐχ οὕτως λέγομεν ἡμεῖς τῷ σταυρῷ, οὐδὲ ταῖς μορφαῖς τῶν ἁγίων · Θεοὶ ἡμῶν ἐστέ · οὐ γάρ εἰσι θεοὶ ἡμῶν, ἀλλ' ὁμοιώματα εἰκόνες Χριστοῦ καὶ τῶν ἁγίων αὐτοῦ, πρὸς ἀνάμνησιν, καὶ τιμήν, καὶ εὐπρέπειαν ἐκκλησιῶν προκείμενα καὶ προσκυνούμενα*[77]. Plus loin notre auteur ajoute: 'Lorsque nous nous prosternons devant le saint évangile ou bien lorsque nous le baisons, nous ne nous prosternons pas devant l'ivoire ou la laque . . . mais devant la parole du Sauveur écrite sur le parchemin." Léonce avait dit de même: *καὶ ὥσπερ σὺ προσκυνῶν τό βιβλίον τοῦ νόμου, οὐ τὴν φύσιν τῶν δερμάτων καὶ τοῦ μέλανος προσκυνεῖς, ἀλλὰ τοὺς λόγους τοῦ θεοῦ τοὺς ἐγκειμένους ἐν αὐτῷ, οὕτως κἀγὼ τῇ εἰκόνι τοῦ χριστοῦ προσκυνῶ, οὐ τῇ φύσει τοῦ ξύλου καὶ τῶν χρωμάτων· μὴ γένοιτο! ἀλλ' ἀψύχῳ χαρακτῆρι χριστοῦ προσκυνῶν, δι' αὐτοῦ, αὐτὸν χριστὸν δοκῶ κρατεῖν καὶ προσκυνεῖν*[78].

À côté des arguments qui rappellent ceux des Discours contre les Juifs il en est d'autres qui sont propres à notre auteur, tel le passage sur la composition des couleurs et de l'encre, ou ce qui est dit à propos de la mauvaise odeur des pigments. De même lorsqu' il contraste les représentations des temples avec celles des églises, notre auteur apporte une note personnelle. Cette opposition, dont le but essentiel était de montrer que la vénération des images différait de l'idolâtrie, apparaît aussi dans les discours de Léonce de Néapolis[79]. Les iconophiles se sont inspirés de ces écrits, en même temps que des Discours contre les païens, ou des homélies comme le sermon sur les Saints Luminaires de Grégoire de Nazianze, dans lesquels on avait longuement développé la différence profonde entre la religion chrétienne et le culte païen. Notre auteur, tout en adoptant cette forme d'argumentation, s'éloigne des modèles grecs, car il se borne à citer les divinités de

[75] *Ibid.*, p. 794.
[76] Migne, *P.G.*, CXIV, 1273A-B, 1381D–1384B; Mansi, XIII, 44, 52.
[77] Mansi, XIII, 53A.
[78] Mansi, XIII, 45B; Migne, *P.G.*, XCIV, 1385A.
[79] Mansi, XIII, 49C-D, 51D-E.

l'Arménie païenne. Il diffère aussi en ceci des autres écrivains arméniens qui, comme Jean d'Odsun, énumèrent les dieux des diverses nations[80].

La partie de la défense qui s'appuie sur l'autorité des sources chrétiennes ne saurait évidemment se retrouver dans les Dialogues entre Juifs et chrétiens, ou entre chrétiens et païens, mais là encore la comparaison du traité arménien avec la littérature de la période iconoclaste révèle des différences significatives. Les représentations anciennes le plus souvent citées par les auteurs grecs sont la prétendue statue de l'hémorroïsse à Panéas, et l'image du Christ à Édesse[81]; elles sont également mentionnées dans le traité arménien. En parlant de la statue de Panéas, notre auteur cite directement Eusèbe, d'après la traduction arménienne faite au cinquième siècle. Cet exemple célèbre devait naturellement se présenter à l'esprit de quiconque voulait s'appuyer sur l'autorité d'une oeuvre ancienne, et nous voyons Jean Damascène et le patriarche Germain s'y référer, indépendamment l'un de l'autre[82]. La mention de l'image d'Édesse diffère par deux points importants de la tradition byzantine. Évagrius, écrivant vers l'an 600, est le premier auteur grec à en parler; Eusèbe, et même Procope ne connaissent que la lettre envoyée par le Christ au roi Abgar[83]. Or Évagrius et, après lui, tous les écrivains byzantins parlent d'une image achiéropoète, produite par l'impression directe du visage du Seigneur sur un linge; tandis que dans notre traité l'image n'a pas une origine miraculeuse, "le pieux roi Abgar l'a fait peindre". L'auteur reste fidèle à l'ancienne tradition de la Doctrine d'Addée, connue en Arménie depuis le cinquième siècle[84]. De plus, alors qu' Évagrius et les autres écrivains grecs rapportent simplement que l'image se trouvait à Édesse, notre auteur en connaît l'emplacement exact. Ses paroles suggèrent une tradition orale: "l'image qui, dit-on, se trouve maintenant dans la grande église d'Édesse". Ce renseignement, ignoré par les Byzantins, nous est également fourni par une source syriaque et un texte latin[85]. La légende de l'image d'Édesse, dont

[80] *Johannis Ozniensis Opera*, p. 80–87.

[81] E. J. Martin, *A History of the Iconoclastic Controversy* (London, 1930), p. 21–2. H. Menges, *op. cit.*, p. 148. K. Schwarzlose, *Der Bilderstreit* (Gotha, 1890), p. 148. E. von Dobschütz, *Christusbilder* (Leipzig, 1899), pp. 187*–190*.

[82] *P.G.*, XCIV, 1373 B–C. Mansi, XIII, 125 D-127 A. Voir aussi l'extrait de la lettre de Germain à Léon III dans la vie de saint Étienne le Jeune, *P.G.*, C, 1085 A.

[83] Steven Runciman, "Some Remarks on the Image of Edessa," *Cambridge Historical Journal*, III (1931), 238–252.

[84] L. Alishan, *Lettre d'Abgar ou histoire de la conversion des Edesséens par Laboubnia, contemporain des apôtres* (Venise, 1868). L'image du Christ fut peinte par Ananie, le courrier du roi Abgar. *Ibid.* p. 6. Moïse de Khorène dit que l'image fut rapportée à Édesse par le courrier Ananie, et "elle s'y trouve jusqu'à ce jour." Dans la Géographie attribuée à Moïse de Khorène l'image est une achiéropoète. *Oeuvres Complètes*, (Venise, 1865), p. 611.

[85] Dobschütz, *Christusbilder*, p. 194*–5*; "Geschichte des Dominus Mâri, c. 800: Und jenes Tuch wurde gebracht und wie eine Quelle der Hilfen niedergelegt in der

l'origine remonte sans doute au siège de 544, comme l'a suggéré Runciman[86], a dû parvenir directement en Arménie, sans passer par des intermédiaires grecs, et la mention de notre auteur est indépendante de celles qu'on trouve dans les écrits iconophiles.

Les passages des Pères de l'Église sont tous empruntés à des auteurs qui avaient été traduits en arménien au cinquième siècle. De ces citations, seule celle de Sévérien de Gabala se retrouve dans les discours de Jean Damascène[87]; les deux passages de Jean Chrysostome n'ont été cités ni par Jean Damascène ni au second concile de Nicée, bien que le témoignage de Chrysostome ait été maintes fois invoqué. Par ailleurs les citations dont les iconophiles se sont le plus souvent servies, comme les paroles de saint Basile: "l'honneur fait à l'image rejaillit sur le prototype," ont été négligées par notre auteur. De même pour les arguments tirés du Nouveau Testament; au lieu des passages des Épîtres de St. Paul cités par les écrivains byzantins, notre auteur rapporte les paroles de l'apôtre aux Athéniens à propos de l'autel du dieu inconnu, paroles dont le rapport avec le culte des images n'est pas facile à saisir, et qui lui sont probablement venues à l'esprit parce qu'elles se trouvaient dans le discours de saint Jean Chrysostome cité un peu plus tôt[88].

Notre traité ne renferme aucune allusion au dogme christologique qui, à partir du concile de 754, forme le point central de toutes les discussions. La plupart des arguments servent à réfuter les accusations d'idolâtrie et d'adoration de la matière, ce qui caractérise aussi la première période de la querelle iconoclaste. Mais, dès cette époque, les iconophiles grecs invoquaient le dogme de l'incarnation pour prouver la légitimité des images[89]. Par exemple Jean Damascène écrit: "Autrefois Dieu incorporel et incirconscrit n'était jamais représenté. Mais maintenant, quand Dieu a été vu revêtu de la chair et conversant avec les hommes, je fais l'image du Dieu que je vois"[90]. Lorsque notre auteur explique qu'on peint l'image du Christ "au nom de Dieu, tel qu'il apparut," son but est de montrer que l'image est un "souvenir" et non Dieu lui-même, et par là ses paroles se rapprochent de celles de Léonce ou de Jean de Thessalonique[91]. Plus loin,

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Kirche von Urhâî bis auf den heutigen Tag." *Ibid.*, p. 134**: "Tractatus ... translatus in latinum a domino Smira archiatrali. ... Qui linteus adhuc vetustate temporis permanens incorruptus in Mesopotamia Syrie apud Edissam civitatem in domo maioris ecclesie habetur repositus."

[86] S. Runciman, *op. cit.*, p. 244.

[87] Migne, *P.G.*, XCIV, 1409 A.

[88] Migne, *P.G.*, LI, 72. Ces paroles de saint Paul se trouvent citées, en même temps que des passages des épitres, dans l'homélie *In SS. Patres et Prophetas* du pseudo-Athanase (*P.G.*, XXVIII, 1072 C), mais l'auteur, tout en y faisant appel pour démontrer la légitimité des images, ne donne pas d'explications.

[89] G. B. Ladner, "Origin and Significance of the Byzantine Iconoclastic Controversy," *Medieval Studies*, II (1940), pp. 143-146.

[90] Migne, *P.G.*, XCIV, 1245 A.

[91] Mansi, XIII, 53 A, 164 D.

lorsque les iconoclastes arméniens sont comparés aux Manichéens qui "considèrent comme une apparence le Seigneur qui a vraiment pris corps," l'auteur n'a pas développé sa pensée en insistant sur la réalité du corps du Christ après l'incarnation.

Nous voyons donc que notre traité entre dans le cadre des événements historiques. La présence d'un groupe d'iconoclastes en Arménie dès la fin du sixième siècle et l'étendue du mouvement iconoclaste sont attestées par deux sources indépendantes, et les noms des chefs mentionnés dans notre traité se retrouvent dans la lettre de Jean Mayragometsi. Il n'y a rien dans le traité qui indique une date postérieure au septième siècle; bien au contraire plusieurs passages suggèrent qu'il a dû être écrit avant la fin de ce siècle. On ne trouve pas non plus des indices probants d'un rapport direct entre le traité et la littérature de la période iconoclaste; les analogies s'expliquent pour la plupart par des emprunts communs aux Discours contre les Juifs. Ces écrits représentent un genre littéraire qui remonte aux premiers siècles du christianisme, mais ceux qui appartiennent au septième siècle diffèrent des oeuvres plus anciennes par la place importante faite à la défense des images. Ceci s'explique aisément. Le développement du culte des images devait fatalement provoquer les accusations d'idolâtrie; d'autre part on peut observer une différence dans l'attitude même des Juifs. Après une période de tolérance, où on avait représenté dans les synagogues les figures humaines et animales, les Juifs étaient revenus à une interprétation plus stricte de la loi mosaïque. Cette tendance rigoriste s'était manifestée en Palestine vers la fin du cinquième siècle et au début du sixième, et elle "se traduisit par une véritable campagne de destruction de toutes les images représentant des animaux ou des hommes. Les récentes découvertes établissent de la manière la plus évidente qu'à une époque donnée les représentations d'êtres animés qui se trouvaient sur les sculptures et dans les mosaïques des synagogues de Palestine furent intentionellement détruites; on en a la preuve directe à Capharnaüm . . . on constate le même acharnement iconoclaste à Noarah"[92]. Des faits analogues ont pu se produire dans d'autres colonies juives, d'où le caractère nouveau des Dialogues entre Juifs et chrétiens. Ces Dialogues, que nous connaissons surtout par les passages cités par Jean Damascène et au

[92] J. B. Frey, "La question des images chez les Juifs," *Biblia*, XV (1934), 298. M. Paul Alexander, qui a consacré une importante étude à l'oeuvre littéraire du patriarche Nicéphore, pense que le caractère nouveau des écrits contre les Juifs apparaît après le *De opificio mundi* de Jean Philoponus, écrit entre les années 529 et 543, et où la théorie symbolique des images est encore considérée comme une caractéristique des païens. Je le remercie de m'avoir communiqué la copie manuscrite de ce travail inédit, et de m'avoir signalé plusieurs textes importants de la période antérieure à l'iconoclasme. Je tiens à remercier également M. Milton Anastos qui m'a beaucoup aidée dans mes recherches.

concile de 787, devaient être assez nombreux[93]. Le patriarche Germain, écrivant à Thomas de Claudiopolis, exprime ses regrets de ne pas avoir sous la main les oeuvres où ses aînés avaient flétri les Juifs qui accusaient les chrétiens d'idolâtrie[94]. Dans son *Pratum Spirituale* Jean Moschus parle d'un certain Cosmas Scholasticus, de l'entourage de Jean l'Aumonier, patriarche d'Alexandrie (610–619), qui avait consacré tous ses efforts à convertir les Juifs, écrivant lui même des traités et engageant ses amis, comme Jean Moschus, à les convaincre par des discours et des écrits[95]. Ceci devait se passer avant 614, puisque Jean Moschus quitta Alexandrie vers cette date[96]. Léonce de Néapolis faisait aussi parti du cercle de Jean l'Aumonier, et ses cinq discours contre les Juifs ont pu être composés au début de son activité littéraire, alors qu'il se trouvait encore à Alexandrie[97].

Le discours de Jean de Thessalonique contre les Juifs et les païens appartient aussi à la première moitié du septième siècle, car il a été démontré que ce Jean est l'auteur des Actes de saint Démétrius, qui fut évêque de Thessalonique peu après 610 et avant 649, et non pas son homonyme qui assista au concile de 680[98]. Outre le long extrait lu à Nicée, nous avons un passage cité par Jean Damascène, et on lui a également attribué le fragment intitulé *De Disputatione Judaei et Christiani*, qui fut lu à Nicée après le premier extrait[99]. Anastase le Sinaïte, dont l'activité littéraire se place dans la seconde moitié du septième siècle, avait aussi écrit des dialogues contre les Juifs. Le discours qui porte son nom n'est guère antérieur au neuvième siècle, mais dans un de ses écrits exégétiques il parle de son second livre contre les Juifs[100].

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[93] On trouvera la meilleure vue d'ensemble dans le *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique*, à l'article "Juifs (controverses avec les)." Un recueil de Dialogues de la bibliothèque de Turin, no. 200, renferme plusieurs textes inédits: Krumbacher, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Literatur* (Munich, 1897), p. 51.

[94] Migne, *P.G.*, XCVIII, 168 B.

[95] Migne, *P.G.*, LXXXVII.3, 3040 D–3041 A.

[96] S. Vailhé, "Jean Mosch," *Echos d'Orient*, V (1902), pp. 107–116.

[97] Au septième concile l'évêque de Costantia, Constantin, déclare que Léonce avait vécu sous l'empereur Maurice, mais il a été démontré qu'il était encore en vie sous Constance II. Nous savons peu de choses sur sa vie, sauf qu'il était né en Chypre et avait été éduqué par son compatriote Jean l'Aumônier. La période de sa plus grande activité littéraire se place entre les années 611 à 641. (H. Gelzer, "Ein griechischer Volksschriftsteller des 7. Jahrhunderts," *Historische Zeitschrift*, LXI (1889), 1–38. H. Delehaye, "Saints de Chypre," *Analecta Bollandiana*, XXVI (1907), 246).

[98] J. Laurent, "Sur la date des églises de Saint Démétrius et de Sainte-Sophie à Thessalonique" *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, IV (1895), 424–5. M. Jugie, "La vie et les oeuvres de Jean de Thessalonique," *Echos d'Orient*, XXI (1922), 296–7. *Dict. de Théol. Cath.*, article "Jean de Thessalonique," col. 821.

[99] Mansi, XIII, 164–8; Migne, *P.G.*, XCIV, 1409 B–C. *Dict. de Théol. Cath.*, *loc. cit.*, col. 821.

[100] Migne, *P. G.*, LXXXIX, 1203–1272; Bardenhewer, *op. cit.*, V (1932), 43. Voir aussi les "Trophées de Damas," écrites vers 680.

Ces Dialogues entre Juifs et chrétiens étaient connus en Occident aussi bien qu'en Orient. Nous en avons la preuve pour les discours de Léonce de Chypre et ceux de Jérôme de Jérusalem, qui vivait dans la première moitié du huitième siècle[101]. Ce furent les légats du pape qui apportèrent à Nicée l'ouvrage de Léonce, et c'est sur leur demande qu'on en lut un long extrait[102]. Jérôme de Jérusalem est cité dans la lettre du pape Adrien à Constantin et Irène[103]. Nous avons aussi des preuves indirectes. Grégoire II, écrivant au patriarche Germain, dit que si quelqu'un interprète d'une manière judaïque les paroles de l'Ancien Testament on lui répondra comme au Juif, et il poursuit en nommant tous les objets que les Juifs auraient dû continuer à vénérer[104]. Cette énumération, et la forme même des phrases, suivent de très près le discours de Léonce de Chypre[105]. Dans la lettre du pape Adrien qui vient d'être mentionnée, on est surpris de voir un développement sur la vénération des images interrompue par ces mots. "Dis-moi, ô Juif, y a-t-il rien sur la terre, après qu'elle fut créée par Dieu, qui ne soit pas fait de main d'homme?" Vient ensuite une longue liste d'objets vénérés par les Juifs, exactement comme dans les Dialogues entre Juifs et chrétiens[106].

Les Arméniens, qui suivaient de près la production littéraire de l'empire byzantin, ont dû également connaître ces écrits, soit par des traductions[107], soit dans la langue originale, et l'auteur de notre traité s'en est inspiré

[101] P. Batiffol, "Jérôme de Jérusalem d'après un document inédit," *Revue des Questions Historiques*, XXXIX (1886), 248–255.

[102] Mansi, XIII, 44 A, 53 D.

[103] Mansi, XII, 1070 E. Ce passage ne se trouve pas dans le *Dialogus de sancta Trinitate inter Judaeum et Christianum* du même auteur (*P.G.*, XL, 848–860), mais il a été cité également par Jean Damascène (*P.G.*, XCIV, 1409 B–C). Le texte d'Adrien diffère un peu de celui de Jean Damascène et suit de plus près celui d'un manuscrit de Paris, coté autrefois Regia 2951, transcrit en note dans la *P.G.*, XCIV, 1409.

[104] Mansi, XIII, 98 B.

[105] Mansi, XIII, 52 C–D. Eric Caspar a relevé la ressemblance entre le début du passage de Grégoire II, signalé dans la note précédente, et les paroles du patriarche Germain dans sa lettre à Thomas de Claudiopolis ("Papst Gregor II und der Bilderstreit," *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, LII [1933], 32–36). Pour expliquer cette parenté et celle d'autres passages, il pense que Grégoire a repris en partie ce que Germain lui avait écrit dans la lettre qui ne nous est pas parvenue. Il a rejeté l'hypothèse d'une source commune. "Eine vierte Möglichkeit, dass die textlichen Übereinstimmungen durch Benützung von χρήσεις (testimonia), patristischen Stellensammlungen zur Streitfrage . . . sowohl durch Germanus wie durch den Papst unabhängig voneinander sich erklären, scheidet für diese frühzeit des Bildenstreits wohl aus" (*op. cit.*, p. 33, n. 14). Mais si Grégoire II s'est servi des discours de Léonce, comme l'indique la suite du passage, c'est cette dernière hypothèse qu'on devrait accepter.

[106] Mansi, XII, 1070 A.

[107] Nous ne possédons pas de traduction arménienne des écrits de Léonce de Chypre ou de Jean de Thessalonique, mais des dialogues anciens entre Juifs et Chrétiens

tout comme les iconophiles grecs et les papes Grégoire II et Adrien. Il les a suivis dans les citations empruntées à l'Ancien Testament, et aussi, en partie, dans la discussion concernant la matière et les objets faits de main d'homme. Mais il faudrait voir s'il y avait aussi des modèles anciens pour les arguments spécifiquement chrétiens, car même si les analogies avec les écrits des iconophiles nous ont paru moins importantes que les différences, il n'en est pas moins vrai qu'il existe un certain nombre de traits communs.

Les dialogues anciens entre Juifs et chrétiens renferment des citations du Nouveau Testament et des Pères de l'Eglise, mais la plupart servent à démontrer l'accord des deux Testaments. Pour prouver aux Juifs la légitimité des images, on devait faire appel, avant tout, à l'Ancien Testament puisque le témoignage des écrivains chrétiens ne pouvait pas les convaincre. Seul Jean de Thessalonique se rapporte à l'autorité de saint Méthode, de saint Athanase et de saint Basile[108]. Ce discours de Jean aurait fait parti, d'après le Père Jugie, d'une série d'homélies sur l'évangile, car l'*incipit* du fragment lu à Nicée "laisse entendre que l'orateur a prononcé précédemment un discours sur la tentation de Jésus-Christ au désert. . . . Du reste ce n'est pas un morceau détaché, c'est tout un livre de notre saint Père Jean, évêque de Thessalonique, que Nicolas, évêque de Cyzique, présente aux membres du concile"[109].

Si ces fragments sont en réalité empruntés à des homélies, donc à des écrits destinés à des chrétiens, cela nous permettrait de supposer que l'apologie des images n'était pas réservée aux discours contre les Juifs, et que, par conséquent, on avait pu faire appel au témoignage du Nouveau Testament et des docteurs. Jean Damascène a transcrit un passage du huitième sermon de Siméon le Stylite le jeune, mort en 596, intitulé περὶ εἰκόνων, mais l'authenticité de ce texte n'est pas établie[110]. Quant à la lettre adressée à l'empereur Justin, où saint Siméon demande la punition des Samaritains qui ont osé profaner dans une église l'image du Fils de Dieu et de sa sainte mère, elle ne renferme pas une apologie des images à proprement parler[111]. Au septième concile on lut un extrait de la *Laudatio omnium Martyrum*, oeuvre du diacre Constantin, *chartophylax* de l'église de Constantinople[112]. Au cours des longs discours échangés entre les païens et les chrétiens, ceux-ci se défendent d'adorer les idoles, comme le font les

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avaient été traduits (Bardenhewer, *op. cit.*, III, 53, et le texte publié par Conybeare dans *The Expositor*, Ser. 5, 5 (1897), pp. 300 et suiv., et 443 et suiv.)

[108] Mansi, XIII, 165 B.

[109] M. Jugie, *op. cit.*, *Echos d'Orient*, XXI (1922), 296.

[110] Migne, *P.G.*, XCIV, 1409 C–1412 A. H. Delehaye, "Les Saints Stylites," *Studia Hagiographica*, XIV (Bruxelles-Paris 1923), LXXIV–LXXV.

[111] Mansi, XIII, 161 A–B.

[112] Mansi, XIII, 185 A–188A. Pour la date de Constantin voir la préface de Mai reproduite dans *P. G.*, LXXXVIII, 477.

païens, et ils expliquent la différence entre les images du Christ et celles des divinités païennes[113].

Ces écrits indiquent que la question de la légitimité des images avait préoccupé les écrivains byzantins avant la période inconoclaste, mais il faudrait trouver ailleurs les oeuvres auxquelles les iconophiles et l'auteur de notre traité ont pu emprunter les arguments spécifiquement chrétiens. Pareille recherche dépasse les cadres de ce travail, et de notre compétence, nous nous bornerons donc à quelques remarques. Les *Quaestiones ad Antiochum ducem* du pseudo-Athanase renferment des questions sur les images. En expliquant pourquoi on vénère les images, alors qu'il est défendu par Dieu d'adorer les idoles, l'auteur répète les arguments des discours contre les Juifs. Mais il rappelle, en outre, l'histoire d'un vieillard que le démon voulut empêcher de vénérer l'image de la Vierge[114]. Plus loin il explique pourquoi on vénère la croix, et non la lance ou l'éponge[115].

Ce recueil de questions semble avoir été formé d'une manière assez arbitraire et il est difficile d'en déterminer la date[116]. La traduction arménienne aurait pu nous aider si nous savions quand elle a été faite[117]. Une de ces questions a été citée par saint Jean Damascène, dans son troisième discours, par conséquent cette partie a été rédigée avant le milieu du huitième siècle[118]. Un fragment, provenant des *Quaestiones in scripturam sacram*, renferme une réfutation de l'idolâtrie, à la manière de Léonce de Chypre, mais cette réfutation est suivie d'un passage du troisième discours contre les Ariens de saint Athanase, passage qui fut également lu au septième concile[119]. Nous avons donc dans ces *Quaestiones* un exemple de défense, où l'auteur invoque le témoignage d'un Père de l'Église et d'une légende démontrant l'importance des images[120].

A partir du cinquième siècle commencent à se développer les chaînes et

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[113] Mansi, XIII, 188 A.

[114] Migne, *P.G.*, XXVIII, 621 A.D.

[115] *Ibid.*, 624 A–B. Voir aussi la question XL.

[116] G. Bardy, "La littérature patristique des 'Quaestiones et Responsiones' sur l'Écriture sainte," *Revue Biblique*, XLII (1933), 328–332.

[117] La traduction arménienne commence avec la seizième question (G. Zarphanalian, *Traductions des anciens*, Venise 1889, p. 284). Certaines oeuvres de saint Athanase ou du pseudo-Athanase furent traduites au cinquième siècle, d'autres au huitième. La note manuscrite qui donne une liste partielle de ces traductions ne mentionne pas les questions à Antiochus (*Ibid.*, p. 287–8).

[118] Migne, *P.G.*, XCIV, 1365 C–1368 A.

[119] Migne, *P.G.*, XXVIII, 709. Mansi, XIII, 69 B–C. Le passage en question du discours contre les Ariens se trouve dans *P.G.*, XXVI, 332 A–B. Parmi les *Spuria* de saint Athanase se trouve une homélie dramatique, *In SS. Patres et Prophetas*, dont la dernière partie renferme une conversation entre *Ecclesia et Unigenitus* se rapportant aux images, avec nombreuses citations du Nouveau Testament (*P.G.*, XVIII, 1072–1073.).

[120] Cette légende a été racontée aussi au septième concile. Mansi XIII, 193 A–C.

les florilèges, et les recueils des *Quaestiones* se rapprochent de plus en plus de ces compilations. "Les auteurs plus récents étudient leurs devanciers, ils ne se donnent plus la peine d'expliquer par eux-mêmes le texte sacré; ils se demandent ce qu'ont dit les anciens, et ils s'en inspirent quand ils ne les copient pas littéralement"[121]. Ces recueils et les chaînes se sont sans doute enrichis pendant la période iconoclaste de passages se rapportant aux images, mais certains de ces passages peuvent être antérieures à l'iconoclasme. Ainsi le diacre Cosmas présenta au septième concile un manuscrit de l'Ancien Testament avec scholies, provenant de la bibliothèque patriarcale, d'où on avait essayé d'effacer les scholies se rapportant aux images; et le patriarche Taraise déclara que cela avait été fait par les patriarches iconoclastes[122].

On pourrait aussi chercher dans les oeuvres de polémique, en particulier celles qui s'adressent aux monophysites. Les Phantasiastes sont constamment nommés par les pères du septième concile parmi les anciens adversaires des images[123]. On rappelle l'opposition aux images de Xenaïas de Mabboug, et on attribue les mêmes sentiments à Sévère d'Antioche et à Pierre le Foulon[124]. Il est vrai que les oeuvres connues à ce jour ne conservent pas le souvenir de discussions concernant les images, mais nous ne possédons pas l'ensemble de ces écrits. Quoique les membres du septième concile soient venus à Nicée munis de témoignages anciens, tout ce qui avait été apporté ne fut pas lu. On croit entendre un ton de lassitude dans la réponse du patriarche Taraise au moine Étienne, *ἐνεπλήθημεν, καὶ ἠρκέσθημεν,* lorsqu' à la fin de la cinquième session celui-ci déclare qu'il a encore près de quinze écrits qu'il voudrait lire[125]. On est surpris de ne trouver aucune citation des discours de Jean Damascène, bien que le rôle qu'il avait joué pendant la première période de la querelle iconoclaste ait été hautement apprécié par le concile[126]. On ne trouve pas non plus de citations de George de Chypre, qui a dû prendre une part active dans la défense des images, puisqu'il fut anathématisé par le concile iconoclaste avec Jean Damascène et le patriarche Germain, et honoré par le septième concile[127].

Enfin, il faut tenir compte du fait que les iconoclastes détruisirent un grand nombre d'oeuvres favorables aux images. L'évêque de Phocée rapporte que plus de trente manuscrits furent brûlés dans sa ville[128]. D'autre membres du concile montrent des manuscrits mutilés. On avait

[121] G. Bardy, *op. cit.*, *Revue Biblique*, LII (1933), 352.

[122] Mansi, XIII, 182 A-D.

[123] Mansi, XII, 1031 E; XIII, 157 E, 196 D, 317 C.

[124] Mansi, XIII, 180 D–184 C.

[125] Mansi, XIII, 196 D.

[126] Mansi, XIII, 357, 400 C.

[127] *Ibid.* Il est considéré par le concile de Nicée parmi les trois que la Trinité a non pas enlevés, comme l'avait dit les iconoclastes, mais glorifiés.

[128] Mansi, XIII, 184 E–185 A.

été jusqu'à découper les pages d'un manuscrit d'Évagrius, où cet auteur racontait le siège d'Édesse et l'aide miraculeuse apportée par l'image du Christ[129]. On aurait peut-être pu trouver parmi ces oeuvres détruites, ou mutilées, des apologies anciennes qui auraient expliqué les analogies qu'on observe d'une part, entre les écrits des iconophiles eux-mêmes, et, d'autre part, entre ces oeuvres et notre traité.

Le texte arménien, dont la langue et le style rappellent les oeuvres de l'école dite hellénophile du septième siècle, a bien été rédigé à cette époque, mais nous ne saurions affirmer qu'il est l'oeuvre de Vrt'anes K'ert'ogh tant qu'une étude linguistique approfondie n'en aura pas fourni les preuves irréfutables. Il importe de signaler, toutefois, que des connaisseurs comme le Père Akinian et Mgr Tourian n'ont pas douté de cette attribution. Vrt'anes qui savait bien le grec, qui avait été en ambassade à Constantinople[130], aurait été à même de connaître les oeuvres byzantines. A défaut de Vrt'anes on pourrait songer à Jean Mayragometsi qui, comme nous le savons par sa lettre et par ce que rapporte plus tard l'historien Mkhit'ar Ayrevanetsi, avait pris une part active dans la lutte contre les iconoclastes arméniens. L'auteur de notre traité s'est inspiré des oeuvres grecques, mais il a adapté sa défense aux circonstances particulières de l'iconoclasme arménien, et au groupe spécial auquel elle était destinée. Les iconoclastes, ayant eu gain de cause pendant un certain temps à Byzance, ont pu faire disparaître les oeuvres de leurs adversaires. En Arménie, où l'église officielle ne s'est jamais montré défavorable aux images, mais où les tendances iconoclastes ont été fort marquées parmi certaines sectes hérétiques[131], un traité comme le nôtre a été copié et recopié. C'est ainsi,

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[129] Mansi, XIII, 189 D. Autres exemples de mutilations rappelés ou montrés: *Ibid.*, pp. 184–192.

[130] N. Akinian, *op. cit.*, *Handes Amsorya*, 1910, p. 9. D'après Samuel d'Ani ce voyage à Constantinople aurait eu lieu en 589, lorsqu'il y eut "un nouveau trouble à cause du concile de Chalcédoine. Les vardapets Grigor et Vrt'anes vont en Grèce, n'ayant rien trouvé là ils reviennent en maudissant" (M. F. Brosset, *Collection d'historiens arméniens*, III, 395). L'historien Kirakos rapporte que ce concile entre Arméniens et Grecs fut convoqué par l'empereur Maurice, mais il ne donne pas de date (Kirakos Gandsaketsi, *Histoire*, Venise 1865, p. 28). Le patriarche Photius dit également que ce concile eut lieu pendant le règne de Maurice et du catholicos Moïse, mais comme il ajoute que le général arménien Mouchegh Mamikonian était déjà revenu de la Perse à ce moment là, il faudrait dater le concile après 591 (Lettre au patriarche Zacharie, *P.G.*, CII, 706. Voir aussi Mgr. Ormanian, *op. cit.*, I, 579–580).

[131] Il n'est pas aisé de voir si ces iconoclastes appartenaient à une secte hérétique déterminée. Deux phrases de notre traité renferment peut être une allusion à leurs croyances. Les iconoclastes sont comparés aux Manichéens et Marcianistes qui considèrent comme une apparence le Seigneur qui a vraiment pris corps, ce qui ferait supposer qu'ils avaient des tendances docétistes. Plus loin il est dit qu'ils considèrent leur personne comme sainte. Ceci suggère une survivance du Manichéisme, où les Élus étaient appelés "justes" (F. C. Burkitt, *The Religion of the Manichees*, Cambridge, 1925, p. 46). Cette croyance dans la sainteté des Élus repa-

raît, sous une forme un peu différente, chez les Pauliciens (Conybeare, *The Key of Truth*, p. LI, CXXXI). Le chef des T'onrakiens (secte hérétique du dixième siècle qui se rapproche du Paulicianisme) se considérait comme le Christ (*Livre des Lettres*, p. 500).

Jean Mayragometsi rapporte que les iconoclastes interdisaient à leurs fidèles d'accepter la communion des prêtres séculiers; s'il faut entendre par là les prêtres mariés, cette interdiction suggère une aversion pour le mariage, ce qui, de nouveau, rapproche nos iconoclastes des Manichéens et des Marcionites (Burkitt, *op. cit.*, p. 82–3). Les hérétiques mentionnés au début de la lettre de Jean, avec les iconoclastes, n'acceptent pas le baptême, ils ne bénissent pas le sel et ne mettent pas la couronne du mariage. Ne pas accepter le baptême pourrait signifier ne pas accepter le baptême pendant l'enfance. Les Marcionites préféraient le baptême à l'age mûr (Burkitt, *op. cit.*, p. 83), de même les hérétiques arméniens poursuivis par Nerses II. Au concile de 554 on les accuse de donner "le sceau d'annulation aux enfants non-baptisés, les vouant ainsi à la mort éternelle s'il leur arrivait de mourir avant d'avoir été baptisés" (*Livre des Lettres*, p. 73). Le baptême à l'age mûr semble avoir été également la coutume chez les Pauliciens; les T'onrakiens disaient "nous n'avons pas hâte d'être baptisés, car le baptême est la mort" (Conybeare, *op. cit.*, p. XXXIV et 148). La bénédiction du sel était une coutume très ancienne en Arménie. Aux jours de fête et aux funérailles, le prêtre mettait du sel bénit dans la bouche des animaux, avant de les immoler. L'opposition signalée par Jean Mayragometsi reparaîtra plus tard chez les Pauliciens (Conybeare, *op. cit.*, p. XXXIX et 115). L'église s'efforça de préserver cette coutume; il en est question dans le huitième canon du concile de Dvin de 720, où l'on engage les fidèles à ne pas négliger la bénédiction du sel (Johannis Ozniensis Opera, p. 60–61). Enfin dans le discours synodal de ce même concile, le catholicos Jean d'Odsun réprimande ceux qui ne célebrent pas le mariage selon les règles, et plusieurs canons sont consacrés aux usages qu'on doit respecter (*Opera*, p. 26–29, 58–59, 62–63).

Les erreurs qu'on essaya de corriger au concile de 720, et dont certaines sont probablement dues à l'influence des Pauliciens condamnés dans le 32e canon, se voient déjà parmi les hérétiques dont parle Jean Mayragometsi. On se rappelle que d'après Jean d'Odsun les précurseurs des Pauliciens étaient les hérétiques poursuivis par Nerses II, auxquels se joignirent les iconoclastes. Ces hérétiques sont appelés par Nerses II, et les historiens, des "Nestoriens Khujiks." D'après l'encyclique et le "Serment d'Union," c'étaient des commerçants, venus du Khujistan, c'est à dire de la région au sud de la Perse qui correspond à l'ancienne Susiane. Ils prétendaient être des chrétiens mais ils s'adonnaient à des pratiques honteuses, trompant les gens simples et les induisant à les suivre (*Livre des Lettres*, pp. 72–77). Leurs croyances et coutumes, telles qu'elles sont rapportées, ne présentent aucun rapport avec le Nestorianisme, et leur surnom s'explique probablement par le fait qu'ils étaient originaires de la Perse où les Nestoriens étaient nombreux. On a pensé que ces hérétiques étaient des Messaliens; on les a aussi rapprochés des Julianistes. Michel le Syrien rapporte que l'hérésie de Julien d'Halicarnasse pervertit "l'esprit des gens simples en certains lieux, dans le pays des Romains, des Perses, des Indiens, des Koušites (c'est-à-dire les habitants du Khujistan), des Himyarites, des Arméniens" (ed. J. B. Chabot, vol. II.2, p. 250), nous savons aussi par le témoignage de Michel le Syrien, et celui d'autres auteurs, que l'hérésie de Julien d'Halicarnasse avait gagné de nombreux adhérents en Arménie (*Barhebraei Chronicon Ecclesiasticum*, ed. J. B. Abbeloos et T. J. Lamy, I, 300–302; E. Ter-Minassiantz, *Die armenische Kirche in ihren Beziehungen zu den syrischen Kirchen* (Leipzig, 1904), 52–55, 70–91; R. Draguet, *Julien d'Halicarnasse*, Louvain, 1924, p. 260; M. Jugie, *Theologia Dogmatica Christianorum Orientalium*, vol. V, 527–543; *Chronique de Michel le Syrien*, ed. Chabot, pp. 492–500

mais grâce aussi au hasard, que la plus ancienne apologie des images adressée à des chrétiens qui se soit conservée, est une oeuvre arménienne du septième siècle.[132]

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pour le récit et les actes du concile entre Syriens et Arméniens réuni pour mettre fin à l'hérésie julianiste).

Les iconoclastes arméniens se rattachaient probablement aux Julianistes et ils semblent avoir aussi conservé certaines croyances des Manichéens, qui étaient encore assez nombreux en Arménie au cinquième siècle. Une phrase de la lettre de Jean demeure obscure, celle où les docteurs de la cour patriarcale imputent l'action des iconoclastes à "l'erreur des Grecs." Mais si dans l'enseignement des iconoclastes il y avait eu le moindre rapport avec la doctrine de Chalcédoine, Jean Mayragometsi n'aurait pas manqué de le signaler en termes violents. Il faudrait peut-être voir dans cette phrase l'expression de son antipathie pour les Grecs et la pensée que tout trouble dans l'église arménienne était due à l'influence des Byzantins.

[132] Cet article est une communication présentée à l'Ecole libre des Hautes-Études de New-York, séminaire byzantino-slave, en décembre, 1944.

L'ORIGINE ET LE NOM DES CROATES ET DES SERBES

Par Henri Grégoire

J'ai l'ambitieux dessein de résoudre un vieux problème passablement actuel, on en conviendra. Que sont ou qui sont les Croates et les Serbes? D'où sont-ils venus occuper les régions qu'ils habitent aujourd'hui au nord-ouest de la péninsule balkanique? Comment se fait-il que ces deux peuples slaves, presqu'impossibles à distinguer, à différencier sur le plan ethnique ou linguistique, et presqu'impossibles à unir sur le plan politique, portent des noms nationaux qui, évidemment, n'ont rien de slave? Enfin, depuis quand Croates et Serbes sont-ils installés dans les pays que nous appelons Croatie et Serbie? Est-ce la poussée avare qui les a introduits dans la Péninsule, pendant le troisième tiers du VIe siècle après Jésus-Christ, avec les autres tribus slaves qui prirent alors la place, dans nombre de provinces, des populations romanisées et hellénisées? Ou bien, Croates et Serbes étaient-ils absents de cette première migration, de cette première invasion, et n'ont-ils paru, parmi les Slaves déjà établis au Sud du Danube, que soixante ans plus tard, en tout cas sous le règne d'Héraclius comme le dit expressément l'empereur Constantin Porphyrogénète dans son *De administrando imperio?*

Il serait facile, mais fatigant de faire l'histoire de cette interminable controverse. Les notes ajoutées au présent article[1] permettront au lecteur curieux de reconstituer sans peine la bataille savante, riche en péripéties, qui s'est livrée autour des chapitres serbes et croates de l'impérial compilateur, depuis la publication du *De administrando imperio* par le Ragusain Anselme Banduri. Je rappelle seulement quelques épisodes, ou si l'on veut les principales périodes, de cette lutte. Au début, il va sans dire que le

[1] Les trois adversaires classiques de l'historicité sont E. Dümmler, *Sitzungsberichte der Wiener Akademie*, XX (1856), 357 sqq., F. Rački, *Književnik* I (1864), 36 sqq. et *Rad Jugosl. Akad.*, LII (1880), 141 sqq., parmi les historiens, et au nom de la linguistique V. Jagić, *Archiv für slavische Philologie*, XVII (1895), 47 sqq. Ils firent triompher la théorie de l'arrivée des Serbo-Croates, pêle-mêle avec les autres Slaves, pendant les vingt dernières années du VIe siècle. Voyez p. ex. K. Grot, *Izvěstija Konstantina Bagrjanorodnago o Serbach i Chorvatach* (1880), V. Klajić, *Povest Hrvata* I (1899), p. 30 sqq. et *Rad Jugosl. Akad.*, CXXX (1897), 11 sqq. et les ouvrages de K. Jireček, St. Stanojević, F. Šišić. Enfin, la réaction, c'est-à-dire le retour à la foi dans le Porphyrogénète, est représentée, comme nous le disons plus loin dans le texte, par N. Županič, L. Hauptmann, D. Anastasijević (voyez ses articles dans la *Narodna Enciklopedija* de Stanojević III (1928), 607 sqq. et IV (1929), 81 sqq.), M. Barada, "Seoba Hrvata i Srba," *Nastavni Vjestnik*, kn. XLII, pp. 5–20. Dans son histoire de Byzance, p. 63, G. Ostrogorsky dit justement: "Es wird mit Recht darauf hingewiesen, dass für die Verwerfung des allerdings mit legendarischen Details ausgeschmückten, aber in seinem Kern durchaus glaubhaften Berichtes Konstantins VII keine genügenden Gründe vorliegen."

récit et les assertions de Constantin VII furent crus à la lettre. En revanche, les progrès de l'histoire critique du monde slave, puis ceux de la linguistique slave, furent peu favorables au crédit d'une narration qui fut déclarée fabuleuse, ou tout au moins romancée, et ce qui est plus grave, "scientifiquement impossible." Dümmler concède encore que ces chapitres contiennent des fragments représentant une tradition digne de foi. Mais les linguistes comme Jagić furent catégoriques dans leur rejet absolu de la chronologie constantinienne. Croates et Serbes, pour lui, sont des Slaves comme les autres, venus avec les autres dans les Balkans à la fin du VIe siècle. En particulier, il fut de mode de nier que Croates et Serbes provinssent d'une Croatie et d'une Serbie Blanche, c'est à dire septentrionale, transcarpathique. Le classement des langues slaves était décidément contraire, affirmait-on dogmatiquement, à l'hypothèse d'une telle migration, puisque les Slaves du Sud et ceux du Nord constituaient linguistiquement deux blocs entièrement distincts. Mais le témoignage indépendant des géographes arabes finit par s'imposer à un sceptique comme Lubor Niederle.[2] Le savant auteur des *Antiquités Slaves*, persuadé de l'existence de cette Croatie septentrionale qu'il avait d'abord niée, fut contraint de rouvrir le dossier d'une affaire qu'on croyait classée. Toutefois, Niederle avait subi trop complètement l'influence de Jagić pour retrouver la foi dans le Porphyrogénète. Son dernier mot sur la question croate ne brille pas par la clarté: on peut l'appeler le testament de l'école sceptique, en dépit d'une importante concession sur la Croatie Blanche, qu'il a d'ailleurs la plus grande peine à concilier avec la théorie de Jagić.

Ce sont les Yougoslaves, il faut le reconnaître, qui se sont les premiers dégagés d'une hypercritique stérile, et qui ont peu à peu restitué sa valeur au témoignage du Porphyrogénète, allant même, comme il arrive souvent en pareil cas, jusqu'à l'excès contraire, je veux dire, jusqu'à la croyance dans la vérité textuelle et littérale, et presque dans l'inspiration, des chapitres serbo-croates du *De administrando imperio*. Županič[3] par exemple, comme nous le verrons, trouve de l'histoire vraie dans ce que le Porphyrogénète nous raconte de plus fantaisiste, notamment sur l'émigration des Serbes, d'abord concentrés, après leur émigration vers le Sud, dans l'étroite enceinte de la petite ville macédonienne de Serblia (Serbia), Serfidje, puis quittant cette ville pour remonter en Serbie propre. M. L. Hauptmann,[4] dans une série d'articles intelligents et hardis, romance, au

[2] Lubor Niederle, *Slovanské Starožitnosti*, Díl. II, *Původ a Počátky Jižních Slovanů* (1906), Chap. 5: *O Příchodu Chorvatů a Srbů na Balkan*, pp. 244–280.

[3] N. Županič, "Les Serbes à Srbčiste (Macédoine)," *Byzantion*, IV (1927–1928), 277–280.

[4] Il suffirait de citer L. Hauptmann, "Seoba Hrvata i Srba," *Jugosl. Istor. Časopis*, III (1937), 30 sqq. et le même: "Kroaten, Goten und Sarmaten," dans *Germanoslavica* III, 1935, pp. 95–127; 315–353. Mais grâce à M. F. M. Pokorney, je puis citer encore l'exposé très utile de Jos. Mal, *Probleme aus der Frühgeschichte der Slowenen* (Ljubljana, 1939).

contraire, les récits du Porphyrogénète; mais son point de départ est tout de même la chronologie constantinienne, la date relativement tardive de l'invasion croate. Sa thèse principale, à laquelle il semble tenir passionnément, est l'origine caucasienne des Croates, qui ne se seraient slavisés que lors d'un séjour prolongé au bord de la Vistule qu'ils auraient quittée vers 630 pour envahir les Balkans.

Il était naturel que les byzantinistes proprement dits, auxquels il appartient après tout de déterminer la valeur de la source principale, prissent enfin la parole dans cette controverse qui semble avoir quelque peu dégénéré sous l'influence de partis-pris politiques et nationaux. Mon ami G. Ostrogorsky vient de se prononcer en quelques lignes pour l'historicité foncière des informations constantiniennes sur les Croates et les Serbes, mais aussi contre les fantaisies caucasiennes de L. Hauptmann. Je suis heureux de me rallier à son avis. J'estime qu'en gros, le témoignage du Porphyrogénète est valable. Certes, il n'a guère enregistré, en ce qui concerne la migration croate et la migration serbe, qu'une tradition assez vague et enrichie d'ailleurs de détails légendaires. Mais le fond de cette tradition, d'après nous, peut se vérifier au moyen d'une série de textes qui n'ont jamais été, chose étrange, comparés entre eux suivant la bonne méthode. Il résulte de cette vérification que la tradition recueillie par le Porphyrogénète est en somme historique. Serbes et Croates représentent la dernière vague, ou si l'on veut le dernier échelon de l'invasion slave. Ils sont venus dans les Balkans au moment où les Avares, ébranlés par leur échec de 626 devant Constantinople voyaient se soulever contre eux les peuples tributaires, Bulgares et Slaves, menés par Kuvrat et Samo, au cours des années 30 et 40 du VIIe siècle. Et quant aux objections linguistiques de Jagić, il est bon de dire qu'aux yeux des linguistes modernes, elles ne sont qu'un fantôme qui ne doit pas arrêter l'historien[5].

Je vais successivement reproduire, ou tout au moins résumer exactement et complètement le témoignage du Porphyrogénète. J'examinerai ensuite les informations en quelque sorte synoptiques de trois historiens byzantins (le Patriarche Nicéphore, Théophane le Confesseur, le Copte Jean de Nikiou) sur le soulèvement des Bulgares contre les Avares à l'époque d'Héraclius et sur le rôle historique de Kouvrat. En troisième lieu j'analyserai le récit des *Miracula Sancti Demetrii* sur une révolte de divers peuples contre les mêmes Avares, sous la direction d'un chef nommé Kouver et à

[5] Mon ami Roman Jakobson m'affirme que, dans l'état présent de la linguistique slave, non seulement il est impossible de déduire des différences qui existent entre le groupe polono-sorabo-tchéco-slovaque d'une part, le slovène et le serbo-croate et le bulgare d'autre part, aucune conséquence utilisable pour la chronologie des migrations slaves, mais que certaines ressemblances frappantes entre les langues slaves du Nord et celles du Sud pourraient être invoquées pour et non pas contre l'historicité du Porphyrogénète.

une date qui coïncide exactement avec celle de Kouvrat. Je passerai ensuite au témoignage confirmatif d'autres sources, notamment de la fameuse liste des rois bulgares et de la chronique franque du Pseudo-Frédégaire. Je montrerai que toutes ces sources, en général indépendantes les unes des autres, reflètent les mêmes événements, et qu'en combinant ces textes, on peut retracer d'une manière plus plausible, et plus cohérente qu'on ne l'a fait jusqu'ici, l'histoire des révolutions de l'empire avare, à la faveur desquelles une partie des Croates et des Serbes ont pu quitter le centre de l'Europe, franchir le Danube et s'installer dans les Balkans avec l'assentiment de l'empereur grec.

L'originalité du présent mémoire se réduit en somme à peu de chose. Son seul mérite est de démontrer que le récit du Porphyrogénète sur la migration des Croates et de leur éponyme Chrobatos ou Chrovatos n'est autre qu'une version à peine divergente de l'histoire "bulgare" de Koubratos ou Kouvratos. Quant à Kouver, le Kouver des *Miracula Sancti Demetrii*, en affirmant son identité avec Kouvrat, je me trouve d'accord avec deux hautes autorités, Th. Uspenskij et Lubor Niederle. Il est vrai que l'opinion de ces deux savants a été généralement ignorée, et que moi-même, je n'ai retrouvé ces devanciers, pourtant illustres, qu'après avoir reconnu la vérité en étudiant sans parti-pris les *Miracula* et leur chronologie. Mais personne, jusqu'à présent, n'avait vu qu'il y a lieu d'identifier les *trois* personnages, d'ailleurs homonymes, et qui, d'après les sources, ont joué le même rôle, à la même époque. La dernière partie de notre article sera consacrée à la question étymologique. Elle devait être examinée, puisque c'est le caractère évidemment iranien du nom de Chrovatos qui a été le point de départ des aventureuses théories de Hauptmann. Mon identification de l'éponyme des Croates avec un chef bulgare au nom iranien explique d'une manière satisfaisante l'origine de cette appellation étrangère d'un peuple slave. On verra que, selon toute apparence, les Croates du Nord et du Sud ont conservé jusqu'aujourd'hui le nom d'un puissant souverain qui, pendant quelques décades, régna sur les Slaves, les Bulgares et autres tribus asservies au Khagan des Avares. L'étymologie iranienne de ce nom d'homme ne prouve rien quant à l'origine du peuple lui-même. Je finirai par une conjecture sur le nom de ces Serbes qu'il me paraît presqu'impossible de séparer des Croates à l'époque étudiée: je veux dire que "Serbes" n'est autre qu'un sobriquet dans le genre de ceux qui ont été donnés parfois, par leurs voisins ou par leurs maîtres, à quelques tribus slaves. D'ailleurs, la polyonymie des Slaves est une sorte de règle ou de loi. Il n'a pas cessé d'être vrai aujourd'hui que Serbes est un autre nom de Croates, puisque la seule définition possible de ces deux termes est, pour Serbes: Croates orthodoxes, et pour Croates: Serbes catholiques. Personne, je l'espère, ne se formalisera si je m'aventure à supposer que l'épithète de Serbes, loin d'évoquer comme le nom de Croates un puissant souverain,

un Charlemagne ou un Lothaire de l'Europe Centrale, est un terme péjoratif dans le genre de *bifulcus* sous lequel les Avares désignaient leurs sujets slaves. Mais n'anticipons point: sur ce point tout au moins, cette synthèse initiale ménagera l'intérêt de curiosité.

I. Le témoignage du Porphyrogénète:

Chrobatos et Porga affranchissent leurs peuples de la domination avare et, à l'invitation de l'empereur Héraclius (610–641), *occupent les régions dévastées du Sud du Danube. Ils se convertissent au Christianisme et l'empereur Héraclius les pourvoit d'un clergé envoyé à sa demande par le Pape de Rome.*

Ce titre est déjà en résumé tout le témoignage du Porphyrogénète sur la migration croate. Quant à la migration serbe, suivant Constantin, elle s'est produite vers la même époque, et il ne semble pas que l'empereur ait possédé sur elle, sauf un détail, une tradition différente de la tradition croate reproduite dans le *De administrando imperio.*

Voici quelques citations textuelles:

Au Chapitre XXX (p. 143–145, éd. Bonn) on lit:

Les Croates (Χρωβάτοι) habitaient alors au delà de la Bavière (Βαγιβαρείας) où sont aujourd'hui les Croates blancs (Βελοχρωβάτοι). Une tribu se détacha d'eux, à savoir cinq frères, Kloukas, Lobelos, Kosentzes, Mouchlo, Chrobatos et deux soeurs, Touga et Bouga, et avec leurs gens ils vinrent en Dalmatie et trouvèrent les Avares en possession de cette terre. Après quelques années de guerre entre Croates et Avares, les Croates l'emportèrent, et, des Avares, les uns furent par eux massacrés, les autres forcés à la soumission. Depuis lors, donc, ce pays a été dominé par les Croates. Mais il existe encore en Croatie des descendants des Avares que l'on peut reconnaître pour tels. Le reste des Croates demeure du côté de la France (Φραγκία, en réalité l'Allemagne) et on les appelle aujourd'hui Belochrobati (Βελοχρωβάτοι), c'est à dire Croates blancs. Ils ont un prince à eux et sont soumis à Othon, le grand roi de France [Allemagne] et de Saxe, et ne sont point baptisés. Ils ont des alliances matrimoniales et des amitiés avec les Turcs [Hongrois]. Des Croates qui se sont rendus en Dalmatie s'est détachée une branche qui a occupé l'Illyricum et la Pannonie. Eux aussi avaient un prince indépendant, entretenant une correspondance amicale avec le prince de Croatie. Pendant quelque temps, les Croates de Dalmatie restèrent soumis aux Francs, comme ils y avaient été habitués précédemment dans leur pays d'origine. Mais les Francs se montrèrent si cruels envers eux, que, tuant les enfants à la mamelle des Croates, ils les jetaient aux chiens; et les Croates, ne pouvant supporter ce traitement de la part des Francs, s'insurgèrent contre eux, tuant les chefs qu'ils avaient reçus d'eux. Aussi vint-il contre eux du pays des Francs une grande armée. La guerre s'engagea et dura sept ans, et finalement, à grand' peine, les Croates l'emportèrent et massacrèrent tous les Francs, ainsi que leur prince. appelé Kotzilin. Désormais ils furent leurs propres maîtres, régis par leurs propres lois, et demandèrent le saint baptême au Pape de Rome. Des évêques leur furent envoyés qui les baptisèrent sous leur prince Porinos. Et leur pays fut divisé en onze zoupanies.

Je m'arrête un instant pour commenter ce passage qui semble être resté en partie incompris. Tout d'abord il est clair que l'histoire des cinq

frères et des deux soeurs est d'un type éponymique très connu et qu'elle a surtout pour but de rendre compte de noms de lieux qui se rencontraient dans des régions différentes, sous des formes analogues ou identiques: ce qu'on expliquait, souvent justement, mais parfois à tort, par la migration des mêmes personnes ou des mêmes tribus. Ces sept noms sont en tout cas fort intéressants pour la détermination de ce que Constantin ou sa source entend par Croatie Blanche. Lovelos rappelle Lublin, Kosentzes Košice, Bouga le fleuve Bug. Je laisse de côté ici les autres noms, bien que Kloukas fasse songer à Cracovie ou à Glogau[6]. Et d'ailleurs, toute la légende est du même type que celles de Kiev, de Prague et de Cracovie. Si d'autre part l'on note que, comme nous le verrons tout à l'heure, une partie au moins des Serbes viennent des bords de la Vistule, il est clair que la Croatie Blanche de Constantin située "par-delà de la Bavière," comprend la Bohême et une partie de la Pologne plus, très certainement, des régions habitées par les ancêtres des actuels et très actuels Serbes de Lusace.

On aura retenu comme particulièrement intéressant le passage relatif à la colonisation par les Croates de l'Illyricum et de la Pannonie. Il s'agit évidemment des Slaves du lac Balaton. Le Porphyrogénète, quand il parle de la révolte des Croates contre l'oppression franque, a-t-il en vue les Croates de Dalmatie ou ceux de Pannonie? Presque tout le monde a cru qu'il s'agit des premiers, mais il est clair, selon nous, qu'il ne peut s'agir que des seconds. Selon le Porphyrogénète lui-même, les Croates de Dalmatie étaient chrétiens depuis Héraclius. Or les événements qui sont racontés dans ce chapitre doivent être datés d'une époque beaucoup plus tardive. Dümmler et d'autres critiques croient que Kotzilin désigne un margrave franc du IXe siècle, Cadalo, et quant à "Porinos" il l'identifie

[6] Quelle que soit la localité de la Croatie du Nord que la tradition rattachait à l'éponyme Κοσέντζης, il est assuré que ce sont les nombreuses localités yougoslaves du nom de Kazaze (Kasezi, Kaseze) qui ont déterminé le choix de ce nom propre. Ce nom a été diversement interprété. Cf. L. Hauptmann, "Die Herkunft der Kärntner Edlinge," *Vierteljahrsschrift für Sozial-und Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, XXI (1928), 272, et avant lui P. Lessiak, "Edling-Kasaze, ein Beitrag zur Ortsnamenkunde und Siedlungsgeschichte der oesterreichischen Alpenländer, *Carinthia* I (1913), 81 sqq. Voyez aussi J. Mal, *Probleme aus der Frühgeschichte der Slowenen, passim.* Cf. P. Skok, qui a étudié *Kasezi* etc. et *Mohliči-Muhlici* (considérés tous deux comme non-slaves) dans *Etnolog*, VII, 79 sqq.; le même, "Južni Sloveni i turski narodi," *Jugosl. Istor. Časopis*, II (1936), en tête; le même enfin, "Ortsnamenstudien zum *De administrando imperio*," *Zeitschrift für Ortsnamenforschung*, IV (1929), 213–244. Je dois mettre le lecteur en garde contre la note de Mikkola intitulée *Avarica* dans l'*Archiv für slavische Philologie*, XLI (1927), 158–159, qui, contrairement au témoignage du Porphyrogénète, prétend transformer les sept éponymes en chefs avares. La plupart du temps il est incapable d'indiquer même un seul rapprochement à moitié plausible, tandis que l'explication par la toponymie slave est plus que satisfaisante, évidente dans la majorité des cas.

avec un chef croate nommé Borna[7]. Ces deux identifications nous paraissent historiquement et linguistiquement impossibles. Et d'autre part Kotzil(in) est naturellement Kocel, le prince slave si connu qui régnait au IXe siècle sur les Slaves du Balaton, tandis que Porinos est évidemment le fameux Pribina, son père. Ces deux chefs étaient tous deux Slaves, mais ils avaient reçu l'investiture des Francs; et d'autre part c'est sous Pribina et Kocel que les Slaves du Balaton furent christianisés par les évêques allemands, ou si l'on veut par l'église de Rome. Nous avons donc dans ce chapitre, avec quelques confusions, en somme peu graves (Kocel est pris pour Pribina et Pribina pour Kocel) le souvenir d'événements historiques parfaitement datés et un témoignage indépendant et en général

[7] L'identité de Porinos et de Pribina ou Privina, celle de Kotzil et de Kocel sont évidentes. Lorsque nous avons examiné sans aucun parti pris ce chapitre au Séminaire slavo-byzantin de notre *Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire Orientales et Slaves*, en novembre 1944, les deux identifications ont été faites indépendamment et spontanément par MM. R. Jakobson, M. Szeftel, J. Bromberg et moi-même. En parcourant la bibliographie nous avons bientôt remarqué que depuis près d'un siècle les historiens ont fermé les yeux à l'évidence. Le coupable est E. Dümmler, qui a rejeté l'équation Kocel-Kotzilis sous prétexte que le Kotzilin du Porphyrogénète devait être un prince slave. Mais l'objection ne tient pas, Kocel avait beau être slave, il était protégé des Francs et pouvait passer pour imposé ou institué par eux. Le nom que nous écrivons Kotzel ou Kocel est écrit Chezil ou Chozil dans les documents contemporains. Cf. E. Dümmler, *Geschichte des ostfränkischen Reiches*, II, 382, n. 2: *Chozil dux* (889), *Chezil dux* (876–880). Pour Pribina cf. *id.*, II, 24, et n. 1: Priwino, Briwinus. Dümmler est l'auteur des deux malheureuses identifications Kotzilin = Kadolah, Porinos = Borna [reproduites, mais sans conviction, par K. Grot, "Izvěstija Konstantina Bagrjanorodnago o Serbach i Chorvatach" dans les *Zapiski imp. russk. geograph. obšč. po otd. etnographii*, IX (1882)], Leopold Krause, *Res Slavorum imperiorum occidentalis et orientalis confinis habitantium, Saec. IX*, pars I, 1854, avait bien vu que Kotzilin = Kocel. Et Dümmler lui-même s'est chargé de faire la critique, ou même la satire, de ses identifications. Cf. E. Dümmler, "Über die älteste Geschichte der Slawen in Dalmatien (549–928)," *Sitzungsberichte der Wiener Akademie, Phil.-Hist. Klasse*, XX (1856), 391. Tout en gardant la foi dans son Borna, il note: "Es leuchtet ein wie unbegründet diese ganze, offenbar aus croatischem Munde stammende Erzählung ist: unter Porinus, d. h. Borna soll jener Abfall erfolgt sein, und doch bestieg nach seinem Tode im Jahre 821 sein Neffe Ladaslav den Thron nur mit Zustimmung des Kaisers Ludwig als seines Oberlehnsherrn und noch über ein halbes Jahrhundert verging, ehe die Croaten sich wirklich aus ihrer Verbindung mit den Franken lösten, die sich allmählich und unvermerkt schon gelockert hatte. Die angebliche Grausamkeit der Franken, die in so grellen Farben gemalt wird, und der siebenjährige (soll heissen fünfjährige) Krieg mit ihnen beruhen auf einer Verwechselung der pannonischen Slovenen mit den dalmatischen Croaten, die um so leichter vor sich gehen konnte, da ja Borna selbst in jenen Kämpfen freilich auf fränkischer Seite (!) eine wichtige Rolle spielte." Quant au "margrave" Kadolaus-Kadolah il observe: "Der Tod Kotzilin's, d. h., des Markgrafen Kadolaus, wurde zwar durch ein kaltes Fieber und nicht durch das Schwert herbeigeführt, allein er fiel doch in die Zeit des Krieges und zudem könnte eine Erinnerung an das gewaltsame Ende seines Vorgängers Erich mitgewirkt haben."

méconnu jusqu'à présent, extrêmement précieux pour l'histoire d'une population slave qui, au temps du Porphyrogénète, avait disparu, submergée par l'invasion hongroise.

Mais voyons les autres textes du même Porphyrogénète sur la migration croate.

Au chapitre XXXI, répétant ce qu'il a dit au chapitre XXX, il ajoute de nombreux détails:

Il faut savoir que les Croates qui aujourd'hui habitent les cantons de la Dalmatie viennent des Croates surnommés païens et blancs qui, eux, habitent par delà la Turquie (ou Hongrie) et ont pour voisins parmi les Slaves, les Serbes non baptisés. . . . [*Je supprime une étymologie enfantine du nom des Croates.*] Ces mêmes Croates se réfugièrent auprès de l'empereur des Romains, Héraclius, avant que les Serbes cherchassent asile auprès du même empereur, au temps où les Avares avaient expulsé de ces pays les *Romani* . . . qui habitaient dans les régions appelées aujourd'hui Croatie et Serbie. Ces *Romani* ayant été chassés par les Avares au temps de l'empereur Héraclius, ces pays étaient demeurés déserts. Or donc, sur l'ordre de l'empereur Héraclius les Croates combattirent et chassèrent de là les Avares. Puis, sur l'ordre de l'empereur Héraclius, ils s'établirent dans ce même pays des Avares où ils habitent aujourd' hui. Et les susdits Croates avaient a cette époque comme prince le père de Porga. L'empereur Héraclius envoya à Rome chercher des prêtres d'où il tira un archevêque, un évêque, des prêtres et des diacres par lesquels il baptisa les Croates. Et les Croates avaient à cette époque pour prince Porga.

Texte embarrassé s'il en fut, alourdi de répétitions (Héraclius est mentionné cinq fois en quelques lignes, toujours à propos des mêmes faits), encombré de détails puérils que nous avons rougi de traduire, et qui se termine par une double mention d'un certain Porga, lequel semble inconnu d'ailleurs. Pourquoi le nom du père de Porga n'est-il pas donné? Sans doute, parce que le texte est corrompu et qu'un nom propre a disparu. Ce nom propre, heureusement, nous a été conservé au chapitre précédent: car, selon le Porphyrogénète, celui des cinq frères qui a dirigé la migration des Croates proprement dits et qui a présidé à la colonisation de la Croatie du Sud, est évidemment Chrovatos. C'est ce nom qui a disparu dans le passage qui vient d'être cité. Il faut lire: "et les Croates avaient à cette époque comme prince le père de (Chrovatos), Porga." On pourrait aussi, il est vrai, supposer une autre restitution: "ces mêmes Croates avaient à cette époque comme prince (Chrovatos), le père de Porga." Mais la dernière phrase, dont le texte paraît sain, est contraire, croyons-nous, à cette hypothèse. Il est évident, en effet, que cette dernière phrase, comme il arrive souvent dans le traité *De administrando imperio*, n'est qu'une vedette, une sorte de note, marginale à l'origine, reproduisant une phrase importante du texte. Au moment du baptême qui a suivi immédiatement la migration, le chef des Croates était Porga, père de Chrovatos (celui-ci vraisemblablement étant mineur). Retenons ce très important détail, et continuons notre examen des témoignages du Porphyrogénète où, d'ailleurs,

il n'y a plus grand'chose de bon à glaner, du moins dans le cadre de nos recherches actuelles.

Au chapitre XXXI, l'auteur insiste sur l'indépendance du prince de Croatie qui n'a jamais été soumis au prince de Bulgarie, mais qui dépend directement de l'empereur byzantin. Cette affirmation plusieurs fois répétée, réfute à toute évidence une prétention contraire du prince bulgare qui peut-être n'était pas sans fondement. Viennent ensuite des détails sur la Grande Croatie ou Croatie Blanche: "il faut savoir que la Grande Croatie, appelée aussi la Croatie Blanche, est restée sans baptême jusqu' aujourd'hui, de même que ses voisins, les Serbles. Elle fournit moins de cavalerie et moins d'infanterie que la Croatie baptisée, parce qu'elle est constamment pillée par les Francs, les Turcs et les Petchénègues. Elle ne possède d'autre part ni sagènes, ni condoures, ni navires de commerce, car elle est éloignée de la mer. De leur pays, en effet jusqu'à la mer, il y a trente jours de marche, et la mer, où ils descendent en trente jours est appelée la Mer des Ténèbres."

Nous n'insistons pas sur ce dernier passage dont le sens est clair. Tandis que la Croatie balkanique devait théoriquement à l'Empire 60 000 cavaliers, 100 000 fantassins, 80 sagènes et 100 condoures, du moins jusqu'au règne de Miroslav inclusivement (après quoi l'importance de cette contribution militaire et navale fut considérablement réduite), le Porphyrogénète n'arrive pas à découvrir, dans les documents officiels, trace "d'une contribution effective à l'effort militaire de Byzance," comme on dirait aujourd' hui, de cette énigmatique Croatie septentrionale. Pourtant, l'empereur tenait à maintenir vis-à-vis d'elle des prétentions traditionnelles. Je déduis de ce passage qu'à l'époque où écrit le Porphyrogénète, la Croatie du Nord, après une longue éclipse, reparaissait sous la forme d'un Etat païen jeune et vigoureux: c'est pourquoi le Sacré Palais ne pouvait se résoudre à l'effacer de la liste théorique des vassaux de Byzance. Nous verrons quelque jour ce qu'il faut penser de l'identité réelle de cet Etat.

Mais tâchons d'abord de dégager du texte du Porphyrogénète ses idées sur le "peuple frère" des Serbes ou Serbles. Constantin classe comme Serbes outre les Serbes proprement dits dont il retrace l'histoire au chapitre XXXII, les Zachloumes (chapitre XXXIII) les Tervouniates et Kanalites (chap. XXXIV) les Dioclétiens ou habitants de Dioclie (chap. XXXV) et enfin les Pagani ou Arentani (chap. XXXVI). Dans tous ces chapitres, l'auteur se réfère à ce qu'il a dit plus haut, au chapitre XXXIII à propos des Zachloumes; il dit par exemple: "Le pays des Zachloumes était habité primitivement par les *Romani* . . . comme il a été dit dans l'histoire des Croates. . . . Ce pays ravagé par les Avares, ses habitants avaient complètement disparu et les Zachloumes qui y habitent maintenant sont des Serbes, provenant de ce prince (ou chef) qui s'est réfugié auprès de l'empereur des

Romains Héraclius." Dans ce même chapitre XXXIII on lit la précieuse notice dont Dümmler lui-même reconnaît qu'elle représente probablement une tradition digne de foi.

"Il faut savoir que la famille du proconsul et patrice Michel, fils de Vousevoutzès, prince des Zachloumes, est venue des non-baptisés habitant sur le fleuve Visla, de ceux qui sont surnommés Διτζίκη." Avant de commenter ce passage je reproduis les expressions des chapitres XXXIV–VI au sujet de l'origine des Serbes. "Ceux qui habitent le pays des Tervouniates et Kanalites sont issus des Serbes non-baptisés et ils habitent là, depuis le prince qui s'est réfugié auprès de l'empereur Héraclius, et qui venait de la Serbie non-baptisée, jusqu'au règne du prince de Serbie, Vlastimer. (Suivent d'autres noms de princes). Au chapitre XXXV, rappel de l'histoire des Croates et répétitions textuelles de la phrase du chapitre XXXIII. Chapitre XXXVI: les *Pagani* viennent des Serbes non-baptisés depuis ce prince qui s'est réfugié auprès de l'empereur Héraclius."

On remarquera que, dans tous ces passages, ce prince qui est venu de Serbie auprès d'Héraclius est anonyme. On peut hésiter aussi, mais pas longtemps, sur le sens de la préposition ἐκ. Il est certain qu'elle doit se traduire "depuis" et non "de." Le Porphyrogénète savait que les Serbes étaient venus du Nord vers le même temps que les Croates et dans les mêmes conditions qu'eux. Mais la tradition serbe, à la différence de la tradition croate, ne comportait pas d'éponymes. Je suppose que la raison en est que les deux peuples à l'origine n'en faisaient qu'un. Dans son chapitre XXXII, intitulé "au sujet des Serbes et du pays qu'ils occupent aujourd'hui," le Porphyrogénète a néanmoins essayé de formuler la préhistoire des Serbes d'une manière un peu différente de sa propre version de l'histoire croate:

"Il faut savoir que les Serbes proviennent des Serbes non-baptisés, appelés aussi Blancs, qui habitent au delà de la Turquie [Hongrie], au lieu appelé chez eu (ou: par eux) Boiki, avec quoi voisine aussi la Francie, de même que la Grande Croatie païenne (non baptisée) appelée aussi la Blanche. C'est donc là qu'habitaient dès l'origine ces Serbes. Or deux frères, ayant hérité de leur père le gouvernement de la Serbie, l'un, prenant avec lui la moitié de son peuple, se réfugia auprès d'Héraclius, empereur des Romains. . . ."

La fin de l'histoire ne nous intéresse pas ici. C'est une pure légende; mais la première partie ne vaut guère mieux, du moins en ce qui concerne les deux frères anonymes et le partage de la nation en deux moitiés. Cela est purement étiologique. Au point de vue géographique, la détermination de l'habitat des Serbes du Nord reproduit ce qui a été dit de la patrie des Croates avec une seule différence. Les Croates, on l'a vu, habitent par delà la Bavière (Βαγιβαρεία), tandis que les Serbes du Nord habitent un

pays appelé Boiki. Or, Boiki ou Boimi[8], car rien n'est plus difficile à distinguer en minuscule grecque du Xe et XIe siècle que le μ et le κ, ne peut signifier que la Bohême. Le Porphyrogénète situe donc Croates et Serbes du Nord dans la même région: Bohême et parties voisines de la Pologne et de l'Allemagne actuelle. Ceci résulte des éponymes cités plus haut, qui rappellent Lublin et le Bug, ainsi que de la mention "au delà de la Bavière" (tout cela à propos des Croates), tandis que les Serbes qui sont en Bohême, comme on vient de le voir, sont aussi sur la Vistule, comme il est dit au chapitre XXXIII. On lit dans ce passage fameux, traduit plus haut, que la famille du patrice et proconsul Michel provient "des Serbes non-baptisés habitant auprès du fleuve Visla, du peuple surnommé Ditziki[9]." Texte capital, et dont on n'a pas tiré encore tout ce qu'il

[8] L. Niederle, *Sl. Starožitnosti*, II, 1, 250 sqq. Je renvoie à ces pages pour l'histoire de la controverse, laquelle est sans objet. D'abord Βαγιβάρεια est clairement la Bavière (Baivaria, Baibari dans Jordanes). Il faut, à propos de la ridicule identification avec Babia Gora, répéter avec Roesler, "Zeitpunkt der slavischen Ansiedlung an der unteren Donau," *Sitzungsberichte* de l'Académie de Vienne, 1873, LXXIII, 121–122: "Wundern muss man sich, wie man aus dem klaren Bagibaria-Baiern ein Babia Gora hat machen können, aus dem Namen eines notwendigerweise Constantinus bekannten Landes, den Namen eines Berges in den Karpathen den ausser den Umwohnern im X. Jahrhundert kein Sterblicher auf der Welt wissen konnte: und man muss fragen, wie hätte ein Grieche das Wort Bajivareia anders schreiben sollen als wie es Constantinos schrieb; jede neugriechische Grammatik konnte hierüber den nötigen Aufschluss geben." L'assimilation de *Boiki* (la Bohême) avec la tribu galicienne des *Boiki* est du même ordre, fantaisiste ou puéril, que *Babia Gora*. Hélas, d'illustres érudits, manquant de bon sens, s'y sont laissé prendre. Aussi est-il réconfortant de lire le tout dernier travail sur la question, celui de P. Skok dans la *Zeitschrift für Ortsnamenforschung*, IV (1929), 213–244, intitulé: "Ortsnamenstudien zum De administrando imperio des Kaisers Constantin Porphyrogennetos." Il y reprend (pp. 223 et 224) la question des noms géographiques *Boiki* et *Bagibaria*. Pour *Bagibaria* sa conclusion est la même que la nôtre: la forme grecque est une simple graphie pour *Baivaria* qu'il rapproche de *Baibari* dans Jordanes, *Getica*, 138/18. Il s'agit évidemment de la Bavière. Quant à *Boiki*, il admet comme nous qu'il est désormais "ausgemacht, dass damit Böhmen gemeint ist." Mais il voudrait corriger *Boiki* en *Boioi*, ce qui me semble impossible. Il ne s'est pas avisé de la correction, paléographiquement beaucoup plus simple que nous avons proposée, de *Boiki* en *Boimi*.

[9] Ditzike. Voyez l'histoire de la controverse dans Niederle, op. cit., p. 276, surtout note 5. J'ai reconnu la nécessité de la correction Διτζίκη et proposé à notre séminaire l'explication *Ljadĭskiĭ*, immédiatement acceptée par M. R. Jakobson. Nous avions été devancés par P. Skok dans ses "Ortsnamenstudien zum De administrando imperio des Kaisers Constantin Porphyrogennetos," *Zeitschrift für Ortsnamenforschung*, IV (1929), 213–244. P. 227, il a reconnu comme nous que Διτζίκη est en réalité Λιτζίκη, c'est-à-dire *Lendĭskaja* (*Rĕka*), car il pense, à cause de la correction de Meursius, qu'il s'agit d'une épithète de la Vistule, alors que, d'après le texte du Porphyrogénète non corrigé, l'adjectif doit être masculin, et désigne le peuple des *Lenžanin*, en ancien hongrois *Lengyen* (hongrois moderne Lengyel), donc les Polonais. Il rapproche très heureusement un texte de Thomas, archidiacre de Salone, éd. Rackij, p. 25: "De partibus Poloniae qui Lingones appellabantur."

contient en puissance. Le grand mystère est le nom de Διτζίκη qui, tel quel, n'est pas identifiable. Mais il est bien clair que c'est une simple erreur de graphie. Au lieu de Διτζίκη il faut lire Λιτζίκη, et tout s'éclaire. Ouvrons, en effet, la Chronique de Nestor, et nous y verrons que les Polonais habitent une terre appelée *Ljadĭskaja zemlja*. *Ljadĭskij* n'est autre qu'un adjectif tiré du nom générique des Polonais, nom que le Porphyrogénète connaît, avec sa nasale primitive (Λενζανῆνοι p. 75, Λενζένινοι, p. 166). M. R. Jakobson a immédiatement reconnu avec moi l'identité de Λιτζίκη et de Ljadĭskij, sans savoir encore que, dès 1934, cette identité avait été brillamment démontrée par M. P. Skok. Mais il faut ajouter que le véritable texte du Porphyrogénète n'est pas celui que cite M. Skok: ὅτι ἡ γενεὰ τοῦ ἀνθυπάτου καὶ πατρικίου Μιχαὴλ τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ Βουσεβούτζη τοῦ ἄρχοντος τῶν Ζαχλούμων ἦλθεν ἀπὸ τῶν κατοικούντων ἀβαπτίστων εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν Βίσλας τὸν ἐπονομαζόμενον Διτζίκη. . . . Τὸν ἐπονομαζόμενον est une correction de Meursius, mais les manuscrits donnent τοὺς ἐπονομαζομένους, avec l'accusatif (au lieu du génitif que l'on attendait), par une négligence syntaxique toute naturelle dans un tel document. Le fleuve Vistule n'a besoin d'aucune épithète, mais il était intéressant de savoir comment s'appelaient les Slaves de la Vistule. Ils s'appelaient Λιτζίκη *Ljadĭskie*.

Le résultat auquel nous sommes arrivés est très important. Au moins d'après une version de la tradition recueillie par le Porphyrogénète, les Serbes du Nord sont en réalité des Polonais. Confrontons cette donnée—au moins en passant—avec le fameux passage de Nestor, p. 5, où il est question des Moraves, des Croates, des Serbes, des Choroutaniens. Ce texte, lui aussi, doit être examiné avec soin. M. Jakobson pense avec raison qu'il a été gâté par un copiste. Il mentionne en tout cas les Slaves du Danube qui occupaient, dit-il, ce qui s'appelle aujourd'hui la Hongrie et la Bulgarie. C'est de là que les Slaves se seraient répandus partout. Les uns venus sur les bords de la rivière Morava se sont appelés Moraves, d'autres Tchèques. Sont aussi Slaves les Croates Blancs, les Serbes et les Choroutaniens. Les "Welches" (ou Francs) ayant envahi les Slaves du Danube et s'étant installés parmi eux et les tyrannisant, ces Slaves allèrent habiter sur la Vistule où ils prirent le nom de Ljach, etc.[10]

On constate que la version de la chronique est un peu différente de celle du Porphyrogénète, mais dans l'une comme dans l'autre les Polonais de la Vistule, les Ljachs, sont rapprochés des Croates Blancs et des Serbes.

Résumons tout ce qui précède:

Malgré le caractère en partie légendaire de la source du Porphyrogénète, celui-ci s'est fait l'écho d'une tradition qui paraît bonne, c'est-à-dire historique. Serbes et Croates sont l'arrière-garde de l'invasion slave. Sous Héraclius, les uns et les autres sont venus du Nord, d'une Croatie Blanche appelée encore Grande Croatie ou Croatie non-baptisée, et d'une

[10] A. Šachmatov, *Povĕstĭ Vremennykh Lĕt* (Petrograd, 1916), p. 5–6.

Serblie ou Serbie à laquelle Constantin applique les mêmes épithètes, d'une Serbie voisine de la Croatie, septentrionale et à vrai dire se confondant avec elle, tout au moins pour les Byzantins.

Nous soupçonnons qu'à l'origine, Croates et Serbes étaient deux noms pour un même peuple. En tout cas, le Porphyrogénète (ou son informateur), tandis qu'il connaît le nom du chef de la migration croate, ignore le nom du chef de la migration serbe. Je crois donc qu'il n'y a eu qu'une migration, la serbo-croate, conduite par un certain Chrovatos, dont le père (ou le fils?) s'appelait Porga. Les Croates appelés aussi Serbes— se seraient affranchis de la domination avare et, après la défaite de ce peuple, auraient occupé, à l'invitation de l'empereur Héraclius, le pays au Sud du Danube, précédemment ravagé par les Avares. Ils se seraient convertis au christianisme et l'empereur Héraclius leur aurait envoyé un clergé.

Les derniers adversaires de la thèse de l'historicité du Porphyrogénète quant à la migration croate du temps d'Héraclius, et notamment feu Stanojević,[11] n'avaient plus, en somme, qu'un seul argument: le silence des historiens et chroniqueurs autres que le Porphyrogénète. Personne, sinon lui, disait Stanojević, ne fait la moindre allusion à cette migration du peuple de Chrovatos au sud du Danube.

C'est faux: car nous allons passer du domaine des traditions orales, conservées pendant trois siècles et consignées par écrit vers 950 seulement, à des témoignages historiques, contemporains ou remontant à des sources contemporaines, sur un personnage, homonyme parfait de Chrovatos, et qui vécut incontestablement à la même époque que le chef éponyme des Croates.

II. *Kouvratos ou Krovatos, prince bulgare (hun ou onogoundoure), neveu d'Organa, vient à Constantinople auprès d'Héraclius, y reçoit (vers 619) le baptême avec son oncle, fait alliance avec l'empire, attaque les Avares (vers 635), les défait dans maintes batailles et finalement prend parti pour Martine, veuve d'Héraclius (641): ce qui excite contre lui la colère des Byzantins partisans de Constantin III.*

Deux chroniqueurs du IXe siècle, le Patriarche Nicéphore et Théophane le Confesseur, nous ont conservé le récit, en partie légendaire, des migrations des cinq fils de Kouvratos, fondateur de la Grande Bulgarie, dont l'Etat aurait été partagé sous l'empereur Constant II (ou Constantin III), petit-fils d'Héraclius. Il est possible de reconstituer la source de Nicéphore

[11] Dans un compte rendu de l'article de M. Barada, "Seoba Hrvata i Srba," compte rendu publié peu de temps avant sa mort dans le *Jugosl. Istor. Časopis* I (1935), 547-551, Stanojević reste fidèle à la théorie de Jagić, Niederle et Jireček. Il ne trouve guère à opposer à ce partisan du Porphyrogénète qu'un seul argument (p. 549): "Comment, dit-il, de cette migration tardive des Serbes et des Croates, le patriarche Nicéphore et Théophane ne disent-ils pas un seul mot?"

et de Théophane, qui est certainement de la fin du VIIe siècle, et qui est confirmée partiellement par le géographe arménien Ananias de Shirak (vers 679).[12] D'autre part, Nicéphore le Patriarche, en deux passages de sa chronique, nous donne d'assez intéressants détails sur le règne et le rôle de Kouvrat lui-même et de son oncle Organa. Un chroniqueur égyptien de la seconde moitié du VIIe siècle, Jean de Nikiou dont la chronique écrite en grec et en partie en copte nous a été conservée seulement par une version éthiopienne faite sur l'arabe, complète de la manière la plus heureuse et la plus vivante la biographie de Kouvrat, et ce témoignage, lui aussi, est contemporain.[13] Commençons par les notices de Nicéphore et de Jean de Nikiou. D'après Nicéphore, en l'an 619, un chef Ounogoundoure ou bulgare serait venu à Constantinople auprès de l'empereur Héraclius, y aurait reçu le baptême avec tous les siens, et l'empereur lui aurait conféré la dignité de patrice. Vers 635, d'après le même Nicéphore, Kouvratos, neveu d'Organa, prince des Ounogoundoures, se souleva contre le Khagan des Avares et chassa de son pays les gens des Avares en les accablant d'outrages. La même notice continue: "Il envoya une ambassade à Héraclius et conclut avec lui un traité d'amitié qui fut respecté des deux côtés jusqu'à la fin de la vie de l'un et de l'autre. L'empereur lui envoya des dons et lui conféra la dignité de patrice." On a parfois prétendu que les deux passages de Nicéphore, malgré leurs dates tout à fait différentes, se réfèrent à un seul et même événement, sous prétexte que la mention de la dignité de patrice est un doublet et qu'aucun nom n'est cité à propos de l'année 619. Mais le contrôle du texte de Jean de Nikiou permet de tout remettre au point. Voici la traduction littérale de ce passage: "Kouvrat,

[12] Tous ces textes ont été plus d'une fois rapprochés et ont fait l'objet d'études nombreuses. Nous renvoyons volontiers à l'excellente étude de J. Moravcsik dans les *Ungarische Jahrbücher*, X (1930), 53–90, "Zur Geschichte der Onoguren," plus critique que Zlatarski dans sa grande histoire des Bulgares. On y trouvera toutes les références aux sources et aux travaux antérieurs, notamment à ceux de Marquart. Voyez aussi Steven Runciman, *History of the First Bulgarian Empire*, pp. 1–21. Ce premier chapitre est intitulé: "The five sons of King Kubrat."

[13] Nicéphore (d'après Migne, *P.G.*, C, 894, car je n'ai pas sous la main l'édition de Boor (à l'année 619):

Χρόνος δὲ τις παρῴχετο καὶ ὁ τῶν Οὔννων τοῦ ἔθνους κύριος τοῖς ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἄρχουσι καὶ δορυφόροις ἅμα εἰς Βυζάντιον εἰσῄει, μυεῖσθαι δὲ τὰ χριστιανῶν βασιλέα ἐζήτει. Ὁ δὲ ἀσμένως αὐτὸν ὑπεδέχετο καὶ οἱ Ῥωμαίων ἄρχοντες τοὺς Οὐννικοὺς ἄρχοντας καὶ τὰς ἐκείνων γαμετὰς οἱ τούτων αὐτῶν τῷ θείῳ λουτρῷ ἐτεκνώσαντο σύζυγοι. Οὕτω τε τὰ θεῖα μυηθεῖσι δώροις βασιλικοῖς καὶ ἀξιώμασιν ἐφιλοτιμήσατο· τῇ γὰρ ἀξίᾳ τοῦ πατρικίου τὸν ἡγεμόνα τοῦτον τετίμηκε καὶ πρὸς τὰ Οὐννικὰ ἤθη φιλοφρόνως ἐξέπεμπε.

Et plus loin, après l'an 635:

Ἀπὸ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν ἐπανέστη Κοὐβρατος ὁ ἀνεψιὸς Ὀργανᾶ ὁ τῶν Οὐνογουνδούρων κύριος τῷ τῶν Ἀβάρων Χαγάνῳ καὶ δν εἶχε παρ' αὐτῷ λαὸν περιυβρίσας ἐξεδίωξε τῆς οἰκείας γῆς. Διαπρεσβεύεται δὲ πρὸς Ἡράκλειον καὶ σπένδεται εἰρήνην μετ' αὐτοῦ, ἣν περ ἐφύλαξαν μέχρι τέλους τῆς ἑαυτῶν ζωῆς, δῶρά τε γὰρ αὐτῷ ἔπεμψε καὶ τῇ τοῦ πατρικίου ἀξίᾳ ἐτίμησεν (col. 915).

Enfin, col. 929 sqq., commence l'histoire de fils de Kouvrat.

prince des Huns et neveu d'Organa, dans sa jeunesse avait été baptisé et élevé à Constantinople dans le sein du christianisme: il avait grandi à la Cour Impériale, il était uni d'une étroite amitié avec l'empereur Héraclius et cette amitié dura jusqu'après sa mort, car, comblé de ses faveurs, il témoigna un dévouement plein de gratitude à ses enfants et à sa veuve Martine. En vertu du saint et vivifiant baptême qu'il avait reçu, il vainquit tous les Barbares et tous les païens. On disait qu'il soutenait les droits des fils d'Héraclius (sous-entendu: et de Martine) et qu'il était opposé à Constantin (c'est à dire le père de Constant II). A la suite de ces rumeurs l'armée et le peuple byzantin se soulevèrent." Tout ce passage se lit à la fin de la chronique de Jean de Nikiou: c'est un des derniers événements qu'il raconte. La valeur de cette information est donc très grande. Or, Jean atteste que Kouvrat, toujours vivant à la fin de la régence de Martine et au moment de la révolution qui renversa ses fils du pouvoir, c'est à dire en 641, était venu à Constantinople tout jeune. Ceci nous force d'accepter la date de 619, donnée par Nicéphore pour la visite des princes Ounogoundoures et pour leur baptême. Il est naturel que Kouvrat, lorsque beaucoup plus tard, révolté contre les Avares, il envoya une ambassade à Héraclius, ait reçu, à son tour, le titre de patrice qui avait été donné à son oncle vingt-deux ans auparavant.

Or ce chef ounogoundouro-bulgare, allié d'Héraclius, converti au christianisme et vainqueur des Avares, porte un nom non seulement voisin de celui de l'éponyme des Croates, d'après le Porphyrogénète, mais même identique à lui, puisque Théophane l'appelle, avec la métathèse, Krovatos (Crovatus dans la traduction latine du bibliothécaire Anastase).[14] On est donc tenté d'identifier deux personnages évidemment contemporains, parfaitement homonymes, et dont le rôle historique, un soulèvement victorieux contre l'empire avare, est daté de la même époque. Il va de soi que Nicéphore et Jean, partiellement confirmés par Théophane et Ananias de Shirak, nous donnent l'histoire de Kouvrat, tandis que le Porphyrogénète n'a conservé qu'un reflet lointain et déformé de sa véritable figure. Mais, si flou que soit le témoignage du Porphyrogénète, il a gardé un détail très précieux qui est la meilleure preuve de l'identité. A côté du personnage principal, l'éponyme croate, il cite un de ses parents converti au christianisme, Porga, dont nous avons vu que sa relation de famille avec Chrovatos n'est pas claire mais qui semble être son père. Comment ne pas être frappé d'un nom fort semblable, celui d'Organa, oncle de Kouvratos pour Nicéphore et Jean de Nikiou? Il est difficile, en effet, de ne pas

[14] Les différentes formes du nom de Kouvrat (Κούβρατος). Jean de Nikiou: Quetrades, chef des Moutanes (Huns), neveu de Kuernâkâ. Nicéphore a Κούβρατος et Κοβρᾶτος, Théophane Κροβᾶτος, *Crobatus* dans la version latine d'Anastase (ce qui rejoint Χροβάτος!), Ananias de Širak (le pseudo-Moïse de Chorène, le géographe arménien du VIIe siècle) Chudbadr et Chubraat. Voyez plus loin, note 34.

identifier Organa et Porga. Quant à la forme authentique du nom, *a priori* il faut préférer Organa, puisque la graphie sans P initial est garantie par l'accord de Nicéphore et de Jean. J'ajoute qu'en examinant la liste des rois bulgares,[15] on peut trouver dans ce curieux document une preuve supplémentaire de l'identité que nous postulons. A côté de Kurt, qui est évidemment Kouvrat, on lit le nom de son prédécesseur Ernik (Ernach), qui pourrait être une simple graphie d'Organa, puisque Jean de Nikiou présente la même métathèse, et que chez lui l'oncle de Kouvrat s'appelle effectivement Kuernâkâ.

En fait, il n'y a qu'une différence sérieuse entre la tradition rapportée par le Porphyrogénète et les faits historiques rapportés par les chroniqueurs byzantins et rappelés par la liste des rois bulgares. Pour ces derniers "témoins," Organa et Kouvratos sont des princes bulgares (alias Ounogoundoures ou Huns). Pour le Porphyrogénète, Porga et Chrovatos sont les chefs d'une tribu slave. C'est probablement cette différence qui aura empêché jusqu'à présent tous les critiques d'apercevoir l'identité d'Organa-Kouvratos et de Porga-Chrovatos. Mais, cette différence est négligeable. Le Porphyrogénète, écrivant plus de trois siècles après les faits, reproduit une tradition conservée chez les Croates de Croatie et qui devait surtout expliquer leur migration et leur nom national. Le chef de la révolte croate contre les Avares, le conducteur de la grande migration, a très bien pu être d'origine bulgare. Ce n'est pas ici le lieu de citer des précédents et des analogies. Mais nous serions impardonnables de ne pas faire état de l'histoire et de la légende de Samo. En 623/624, un marchand franc de ce nom prit la tête d'une insurrection slave contre les Avares, et régna pendant 35 ans sur l'Etat qui naquit de cette révolte. Or, deux siècles et demi plus tard, en 870, les auteurs de la *Conversio Carantanorum* enregistrant une tradition vivante en Carinthie ne parlent de Samo que comme d'un prince indigène: *natione slavus*.[16] Si Kouvrat, chef bulgare,

[15] Dans l'*Imennik*, Irnik ou Ernik est le second roi des Bulgares au-delà du Danube. On lui prête un règne fabuleusement long, 105 ou 150 ans, et les critiques le rapprochent d'Ernach, fils d'Attila. Il est suivi de Gostun, qui ne règne que deux ans. Puis vient Kurt (Kouvrat), qui règne soixante ans. Il me semble, puisqu' Isperikh = Asparukh, qu'Irnik-Ernach pourrait correspondre à Organa-Ornaka. Quant au Gostun de la liste bulgare, il faut le rapprocher du *Χάτζων* des *Miracula S. Demetrii*. Cf., sur l'Imennik, St. Runciman, *History of the First Bulgarian Empire* (1930), p. 273 (bibliographie).

[16] Sur Samo, cf. le travail à peu près définitif de J. Mikkola, "Samo und sein Reich," *Archiv für slavische Philologie*, XLII (1928), 77–97.—*Fredegarii Chron.*, IV, 48, 68 (*M. G. H., SS. Rer. Mer.*, II, ed. Bruno Krusch), *De Conversione Bagoariorum et Carantanorum libellus* (a. 871). *Vita S. Vergilii*, lectio 3. Il est très remarquable que plusieurs auteurs (notamment Niederle), en rapprochant les textes et les faits relatifs à l'ébranlement de l'Empire avare, aient presque deviné la vérité. Voyez p. ex. Niederle, I, fasc. 4 (1925) p. 83: "Il faut se souvenir qu'au VIIIe et au IXe siècle la puissance des Avares était déjà brisée . . . qu'elle était ébranlée dès la première moitié

au cours de ses guerres contre les Avares a pris la tête, entr'autres, de tribus slaves qu'il a affranchies et menées au delà du Danube, il est naturel que son souvenir ait persisté plus ou moins déformé non seulement chez ses frères de race, mais encore chez les descendants d'autres nations qui lui avaient obéi quelque temps et qu'il avait sauvées de l'esclavage. Nous allons voir d'ailleurs qu'effectivement, dans l'empire avare, de nombreux Slaves et beaucoup de Bulgares ont vécu avec d'autres éléments ethniques sous la domination des Khagans. Mais les textes qui le prouvent ne prendront toute leur valeur qu'à la lumière de notre troisième témoignage parallèle.

III. *Kouver, vraisemblablement prince bulgare, agréé par le Khagan des Avares pour gouverner en Pannonie une partie de ses sujets appartenant à des races diverses (Bulgares, Romains, Grecs et Slaves), se révolte contre les Avares vers 640 (donc sous Héraclius) les vainc en plusieurs combats, mène au Sud du Danube son peuple composite, envoie une ambassade à l'empereur et finit par être traité en ennemi à Constantinople et à Thessalonique.*

Tout ce que nous savons de Kouver ou Kouber (Κοῦβερ), nous le savons par un texte hagiographique grec, les *Miracula Sancti Demetrii*. Il est déplorable que ce texte capital ne soit pas encore publié d'une manière complète et scientifique. En somme, nous en sommes toujours réduits à l'édition du P. Corneille de Bye, Bollandiste, dans les A.A.S.S., t. IV d'Octobre publié à Bruxelles en 1780, il y a cent soixante-cinq ans; cette édition est reproduite textuellement dans la *Patrologie grecque* de Migne, tome CXVI, colonne 1081–1426. L'abbé A. Tougard, dans son livre *De l'histoire profane dans les Actes grecs des Bollandistes*, Paris, 1874, a réimprimé les parties les plus importantes de ce document, et ajouté au texte des Bollandistes plus de vingt pages (notamment p. 150–170) tirées

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du VIe siècle par la révolte de Samo (623), par la défaite des Avares devant Constantinople (626), par la sécession des Croates et du Bulgare Kouvrat pendant les années 636–641." Ailleurs, II, 1,232 nous lisons: "En 623 au nord-ouest de l'empire avare Tchèques et Slovaques se révoltent sous Samo . . . . Peu après, semble-t-il, deux peuples slaves des bords de la Save, les Croates et les Serbes, se sont également avec succès débarrassés de la domination avare. Mais, pour l'empire byzantin, l'événement le plus important fut la révolte toute semblable qui eut lieu à l'Est, lorsque sur le bas Danube, entre 635 et 641, le prince bulgare Kouvrat, qui avait adopté le Christianisme, visiblement à l'instigation et avec l'appui de l'empire, réussit à battre le Khagan et à se débarrasser, lui et les Slaves établis sur le bas Danube, de la suprématie avare." Dans ces deux passages tout est parfait; la chronologie est impeccable. La seule chose que Niederle n'ait point vue, c'est qu'il n'y a aucune raison de distinguer Kouvrat du chef éponyme des Croates. Il est d'autant plus extraordinaire que Niederle n'ait pas fait l'identification, que l'historien tchèque, avec une intuition que nous admirons, avait reconnu l'identité de Kouvrat avec Kouver. Or, Kouver, d'après les *Miracula*, vécut, régna, lutta, émigra dans les régions mêmes où passèrent les tribus croates, sujettes du Khagan, puis émancipées du joug avare: Pannonie, pays balkaniques au Sud du Danube.

du manuscrit de Paris qui avait servi à De Bye.[17] Le martyr S. Démétrius, patron et protecteur militant de la métropole thessalonicienne, passait pour son défenseur attitré contre toutes les invasions et tous les assauts des Barbares, notamment contre les attaques des Avares, des Bulgares et des Slaves. Le recueil des Miracles de S. Démétrius, qui, dans les manuscrits, suit sa Vie et son martyre, abonde en détails précis sur divers sièges et autres périls que Thessalonique eut à subir au VIe et au VIIe siècle.

Le recueil des *Miracula* n'est pas tout entier de la même main. Il est l'oeuvre de trois rédacteurs au moins. Nous ne nous occuperons guère ici que de la première et de la seconde légende. La première est attribuée, sur la foi d'une déclaration formelle de l'auteur, à l'évêque Jean de Thessalonique (date, 610–649; différent de celin qui signa au Concile de 681),[17bis] lequel a dû se servir, pour la composer, de documents remontant con-

[17] Les deux articles les plus importants sur la chronologie des Miracles de S. Démétrius sont ceux de J. Laurent dans la *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, IV (1895), 424–431, et d'A. Pernice, "Sulla data del libro II dei Miracula S. Demetrii Martyris," dans *Bessarione*, VI, 2 (1901–1902), 181–187. Le R. P. H. Delehaye, dans son article "Les Recueils antiques de Miracles de Saints," *Analecta Bollandiana*, 1925, p. 57, adopte les conclusions de l'historien italien: l'auteur du premier livre serait l'évêque Jean qui vécut au premier tiers du VIIe siècle, l'archevêque de 681. L'auteur du second livre anonyme vécut pendant la seconde moitié du VIIe siècle. Il faut rapprocher quelques observations pertinentes, mêlées des erreurs, de O. Tafrali, *Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Epigraphie Byzantines* (1913), pp. 1–39. Il faut rendre justice à M. A. Pernice, l'érudit historien d'Héraclius, qui n'a pas hésité à identifier Kouver avec Kouvrat: "L'identità di questo racconto (l'histoire de Kouvrat) con quello del'agiografo e così evidente che è superfluo fermarsi a richiamare l'attenzione sui minimi particolari comuni alle due narrazioni, a partir del nome del protagonista, che ci si presenta con una sola differenza di desinenza, fino alla nomina di Cuber a patrizio romano."

[17bis] Voyez plus haut, note 17. Il paraît aujourd'hui extrêmement invraisemblable, pour ne pas dire impossible, que l'évêque Jean, donné comme l'auteur de la première légende, soit celui de 681. V. encore: L. Petit, *Echos d'Orient*, IV (1900–1901), 213; M. Jugie, *Dict. Théol. Cath.*, VIII (1924), coll. 819–825, *s. v.* Jean, no. 71; le même, "La vie et les oeuvres de Jean le Th.," *Echos d'Orient*, XXI (1922), 293–307; *Patrol. Or.*, XIX (1926), 345–349. L'opinion, rapportée dans la note précédente, du P. Delehaye, paraît trancher la question. Or, la chronologie tardive qui a fait dès le début écarter l'identité de Kouver-Kouvrat ne repose en somme que sur cette conjecture malheureuse. Le premier éditeur, le Bollandiste Corneille de Bye, avec une admirable candeur, s'exprime comme suit à ce sujet. Nous citons d'après Migne, *P.G.*, *Series graeca* CXVI (1864), 1364, note 82: "Principis hujus, qui, quemadmodum e capitis praesentis titulo (supra in nota 74 recitato) intelligitur, Bulgarus exstitit, mentionem nuspiam apud scriptores alios invenio; Cubrati quidem, genere Bulgari, qui sub Heraclio seu saeculo septimo ad mediam sui partem nondum provecto, contra Avarum Chaganum rebellavit, ac cum populo, quem ab eo acceperat, sedibus patriis relictis, ad Romanos seu Heraclium secessit, sanctus Nicephorus, patriarcha Constantinopolitanus, in Breviario historico, Parisiis anno 1648 edito, pag. 16 mentionem fecit. Verum etsi ita non pauca, sane Cubrato, quae mox infra auctor noster anonymus Cubero, Nicephorus ascribat, satque praeterea Cubrati et Cuberi nomina affinia sint; quo minus tamen hic cum illo unus idemque dicatur, aetatis, qua ambo florue-

temporains et authentiques. Dans cette première légende, des faits miraculeux ou autres, survenus autour de l'an 597, comme les troubles de la tyrannie de Phokas, sont dits récents. Cette première légende énumère trois invasions et attaques en force, toutes repoussées par l'intervention miraculeuse du saint. Les barbares de la première invasion sont anonymes, ceux de la seconde sont des Slaves. L'une et l'autre doivent être antérieures au grand siège de 597 (chapitre XIII à XV), en tout cas au règne de Maurice. (Ici l'auteur raconte comment le Khagan des Avares, mécontent de l'empereur Maurice, excita 100 000 Slaves à faire campagne contre Thessalonique, devant les murs de laquelle ils parurent le dimanche 22 septembre. Il résulte du contexte que cette attaque fut exécutée non point par des Slaves danubiens, mais par des Slaves déjà installés dans les Balkans).

Mais passons à la question controversée, et essentielle pour nous, de la chronologie des événements racontés dans la deuxième légende. L'énorme divergence entre les divers systèmes chronologiques proposés au sujet de ces événements explique le fait que, malgré leur prodigieux intérêt, les *Miracula Sancti Demetrii* n'ont pas été jusqu'à présent utilisés par les historiens comme ils le méritaient. Dans cette seconde légende, dont l'auteur est inconnu, il ne se rencontre pas un seul nom d'empereur,[18] bien que l'intervention personnelle d'un basileus (ou de plusieurs basileis) soit fréquemment mentionnée. En second lieu, rien n'indique que les diverses attaques racontées dans la seconde légende se succèdent dans un ordre chronologique. C'est probablement la présomption contraire d'une suite chronologique continue qui a fait triompher pendant longtemps et, en somme, jusqu'aujourd'hui, ce qu'on appelle la chronologie tardive, c'est à dire un système qui, datant l'histoire de Kouver des années 70 ou 80 du VIIe siècle, au plus tôt, a fait rejeter son identification avec Kouvrat; d'autant plus que cette erreur s'ajoutait an πρῶτον ψεῦδος, l'identification de l'évêque Jean avec celui de 681.

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runt, diversitas impedit. Cubratus enim, uti ex jam dictis liquet, saeculo septimo floruit; Cuberus autem saeculo octavo et quidem verosimillime multum jam provecto, nisi forte quis velit, quae mox de Cubero, auctor noster anonymus subjungit, perperam abs hoc iis affici notis chronicis, ex quibus, ut saeculo octavo multum jam promoto evenerint, consectarium fit, quemadmodum in Adnotatis ad not. praeced. jam docui."

[18] On a déploré plus d'une fois l'absence de tout nom d'empereur dans les récits de la deuxième légende, notamment dans les chapitres 4 et 5. M. Zlatarski prétend que l'empereur du chapitre 4 (histoire de Perbound) s'appelait Léon (pour lui, c'est Léon III). Il tire cette indication d'une version slave du recueil d'un hagiographe grec tardif, Jean Stavrakios, chartophylaque de Thessalonique. Mais l'argumentation de M. Zlatarski ne tient pas. Car Stavrakios ne mentionne pas seulement Léon: il lui donne aussi des épithètes qui ne conviennent qu'à Léon VI le Sage. Il nous paraît évident que Stavrakios a commis ici une confusion chronologique, et qu'il a introduit dans l'histoire de Perbound le nom de l'empereur Léon VI qu'il trouvait dans la troisième légende écrite après 904.

Nous ne pouvons ici faire tout le travail critique que d'autres nous ont promis depuis longtemps et qui comporterait tout d'abord une édition scientifique des *Miracula*, puis une étude approfondie de tous les traits de moeurs et de tous les renseignements qu'ils contiennent sur l'histoire politique, militaire, navale, sur l'ethnographie, sur les institutions. Mais ce travail n'est pas indispensable à notre dessein actuel. Nous n'avons besoin que de dater l'histoire de Kouver qui figure au chapitre V de la deuxième légende. Ce récit vient après une série d'événements de guerre; d'abord une grande attaque des Slaves par la voie de mer, ensuite une autre entreprise des Slaves macédoniens qui appelèrent à la rescousse le Khagan des Avares. Puis vient l'épisode de Perbound, chef slave, mis à mort par l'ordre de l'empereur et que diverses tribus, notamment les Slaves du Strymon, du Rhynchinos, les Sagoudates et les Drogoubites, voulurent venger en bloquant la ville et en l'affamant; puis une expédition de l'empereur ou du moins de l'armée impériale contre les Slaves du Strymon, qui demandent la paix. Et c'est seulement après tous ces événements, je le répète, que vient l'histoire de Kouver.

Je pense, pour ma part, que l'épisode de Perbound dérange l'ordre chronologique des événements. En effet, il y a lieu de distinguer, dans la deuxième légende, d'une part les épisodes où les Slaves ne paraissent que comme des alliés des Avares, comme leur avant-garde, récits où le Khagan est toujours à l'arrière-plan, où c'est lui, en somme, qui organise toutes les offensives et qui intervient lui-même en cas d'échec de ses alliés, et, d'autre part, toute l'histoire de Perbound où tout se passe comme s'il n'y avait plus d'Avares, où, évidemment, les Slaves balkaniques, ayant crû en force et en dignité, sont presqu'unifiés sous un prince de leur race qui porte même le titre de roi (ῥήξ). Or, nous savons qu'en effet, après 640, les Avares, très affaiblis, ont disparu de l'horizon proprement balkanique. Autre fait important et qui a échappé à beaucoup de critiques, parce que l'épisode de Perbound, comme nous l'avons dit, n'a été publiée que par Tougard: l'empereur, à cette époque, est occupé de la guerre contre les Arabes, ce qui donne un terminus post quem, 634.[19]

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[19] Pour dater l'histoire de Perbound (chap. IV de la deuxième légende), nous avons trois éléments. L'empereur auquel les habitants demandent du secours ne peut venir à leur aide immédiatement parce qu'il doit combattre d'abord les Arabes. *Secundo*, le siège de Salonique a lieu pendant une année marquée de la cinquième indiction. Et *tertio*, après ce siège, l'empereur envoie son armée soumettre les Slaves du Strymon. La chronologie de l'histoire de Perbound ne nous importe que si nous admettons que l'histoire de Kouver (chapitre V) s'est passée après les événements racontés dans le chapitre IV, ce qui n'est même pas probable. Pour dater l'histoire de Kouver, nous ne devons, en bonne méthode, nous servir que des données de ce chapitre. Signalons seulement, pour les chercheurs, les difficultés que présente le chapitre IV. A cause des Arabes, le *terminus post quem* est 634. Donc, l'empereur ne peut être Héraclius: car 634 correspond à la septième et à huitième indiction, et

Mais d'autre part, l'épisode de Kouver, bien qu'il vienne après l'épisode de Perbound, se rattache non à celui-ci, mais aux événements où les Avares jouent un rôle. Cela résulte clairement du prologue de l'histoire qui constitue un récit indépendant.

Voici en effet ce que dit de la grande invasion l'auteur de la légende. Je traduis:[20]

Plus haut, comme vous l'avez vu, ô Amis du Christ, nous avons partiellement raconté l'histoire du chef des Slaves nommé Chatzon et des Avares, et nous avons dit qu'ils avaient ravagé presque tout l'Illyricum, à savoir ces provinces: les deux Pannonies, les deux Dacies, également la Dardanie, la Moesie, la Prévalitane, le Rhodope, toutes ces provinces donc et de plus la Thrace et toute la région qui s'étend jusqu'au long mur de Byzance, y compris toutes les villes et cités de ces pays; et ayant ravagé toutes ces contrées, ils déportèrent la population toute entière dans les pays situés près de la rive du Danube, de l'autre côté vers la Pannonie, dans la province dont la métropole ancienne s'appelle Sirmium. Or donc, c'est dans ces lieux, comme on l'a dit, que le susdit Khagan des Avares installa tout ce peuple captif comme s'il devait être désormais sujet à son autorité.

Nous reprendrons tout à l'heure la citation, dont la suite est un des textes les plus frappants et les plus instructifs sur l'histoire des invasions et des migrations avaro-slaves. Je veux à présent me borner à l'identification de cette formidable invasion avaro-slave qui aurait dépeuplé tant de provinces. Or, ce qui est dit dans ce chapitre des *Miracula* rappelle d'une manière saisissante toute une série de témoignages. Énumérons-les!

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il n'y aura plus de cinquième indiction sous son règne. Quant aux expéditions de l'armée impériale contre les Slaves du Strymon, nous n'en connaissons que deux, celle de Constantin III (alias Constant II) vers 658–659 et celle de Justinien II en 688. Il serait tentant de songer à cette dernière campagne, que la publication par M. Vasiliev dans *Speculum*, XVIII (1943) no. 1, pp. 5–6, d'un édit de Justinien II de Septembre 688 vient de rappeler à notre attention. Malheureusement ce texte où l'empereur rend grâces à son allié le martyr Démétrius qui l'a aidé à vaincre l'ennemi commun, est d'une deuxième indiction, tandis que d'après le récit de l'hagiographe la victoire impériale devrait suivre un siège arrivé pendant une cinquième indiction. La même difficulté se présente à propos de l'expédition de Constantin III, trente ans auparavant, à moins que la date de celle-ci, comme l'ont prétendu plusieurs critiques, ne soit inexacte. Cf. G. Ostrogorsky, *Geschichte des byzantinischen Staates*, p. 74, note 1. Voyez, dans ce volume de *Byzantion*, pp. 199–124, notre article sur l'édit de Justinien, et la solution probable que nous proposons.

[20] Voici ce texte d'après Tougard, p. 186, chap. 110:

Ὡς ἴστε, φιλόχριστοι, ἐν τοῖς προτέροις τὴν τῶν Σκλαβίνων ἤτοι τοῦ κληθέντος Χάτζονος καὶ τῶν Ἀβάρων καὶ ἐν μέρει ἐκθεσιν ἐποιησάμεθα, καὶ ὅτι περ τὸ Ἰλλυρικὸν σχεδὸν ἅπαν, ἤγουν τὰς αὐτοῦ ἐπαρχίας, λέγω δὴ Πανονίας δύο, Δακίας ὡσαύτως δύο [Δαρδανίαν, Μυσίαν, Πρέβαλιν, Ῥοδόπην καὶ πάσας ἐπαρχίας ἔτι μὴν καὶ Θράκην, καὶ τὰ πρὸς τὸ Βυζάντιον μακρὸν τεῖχος] καὶ λοιπὰς πόλεις τε καὶ πολιτείας ἐκπορθήσαντες, ἅπαντα τὸν αὐτὸν λαὸν εἰς τὸ ἐκεῖθεν πρὸς Πανονίαν μέρος τὸ πρὸς τῷ Δανουβίῳ ποταμῷ, ἡστινος ἐπαρχίας πάλαι μητρόπολις ὑπῆρχεν τὸ λεχθὲν Σιρμεῖον ἐκεῖσε οὖν, ὡς εἴρηται, τὸν ἅπαντα λαὸν τῆς αἰχμαλωσίας κατέστησεν ὁ λεχθεὶς χάγανος, ὡς αὐτῷ λοιπὸν

Jean d'Éphèse, Histoire ecclésiastique, Livre III, 25: "Lorsque l'empereur Tibère succéda à Justin (26 septembre 578) il fut de tous côtés entouré de guerres, surtout de la part des maudites tribus des Slaves et des Avares . . . qui ne lui donnèrent pas un instant de repos."

Mais le *locus classicus* de Jean d'Ephèse n'est pas celui-là. Plus loin, en effet, l'auteur parle d'une autre invasion, la grande (celle de 581), qui battit son plein en 584. Voici ce qu'il dit:[21]

Trois ans après la mort de Justin, sous le règne du victorieux Tibère (581), la maudite nation des Slaves se mit en campagne, parcourut toute l'Hellade, les provinces de Thessalie et de Thrace, ravagea quantité de villes et de propriétés, dévasta, brûla, réduisit les populations en esclavage. . . . Cela dura quatre ans, pendant que l'empereur était occupé de la guerre de Perse et que toutes ses armées étaient en Orient. Ce qui fait que les Slaves eurent les mains libres, s'installèrent comme en pays conquis et s'y répandirent selon la volonté divine. Ils dévastèrent, brûlèrent, firent des prisonniers jusqu'aux murs extérieurs de la capitale, enlevant par exemple les troupeaux impériaux, des milliers de têtes. Et aujourd'hui encore, l'an 584 (d'après l'ère syrienne employée par Jean d'Ephèse, l'an 895) ils sont établis et installés dans les provinces romaines . . . tuant, brûlant, pillant, enlevant l'or, l'argent, les troupeaux de chevaux . . . ayant appris à faire la guerre mieux que les Romains". . . .

Les textes parallèles ne manquent pas. Jean de Biclar[22] comme Jean d'Ephèse donne deux dates ou même trois. Il met à la cinquième année de Tibère l'invasion de l'Illyrie et de la Thrace, à la première année du même empereur la course des Avares à travers la Thrace jusqu'au long mur, et une invasion des Slaves, dans la Thrace aussi, dès la dixième année de Justin: "*Sclavini in Thracia multas urbes Romanorum pervadunt quas depopulatas vacuas reliquere. . . . Avares Thracias vastant et regiam urbem a muro longo obsident. . . .*"

Les fragments 47 et 48 de Ménandre disent à peu près la même chose. Fragment 47: "la quatrième année de Tibère, le peuple des Slaves, au nombre de 100 000, se jeta sur la Thrace, qu'il saccagea ainsi que beaucoup d'autres provinces."

[21] Ioannes Ephes., *H.E.*, VI, 25, éd. Brooks, textus p. 327 sqq., versio p. 248 sqq.: de populo Sclavinorum et de vastatione quam in Thracia anno tertio regni regis Tiberii sereni fecerunt. . . .

Hellada totam et regiones Thessalonicae (*lege* -censium?) et totius Thraciae percurrerunt . . . et in ea iam tempus 4 annorum impavide considunt. (versio p. 249:) usque ad murum exteriorem . . . (textus p. 328:) usque adhuc etiam, quod est a. 895 (= 584 p. Chr.), se collocant et considunt. VI, 30, textus p. 335 sqq. (vers. p. 255): de Sirmio urbe magna Gepidarum, quam. . . Avares ceperunt (ex Mich. Syr. II, 361 sqq. add.), pp. 341/3 (259/61) (capita 45–49): Avares, Sclavia, Langobardi. p. 341_{25}, (259_{25}): φόσσα extra Hadrianopolim (ex Mich. Syro add.), p. 342_{14} (260_{11}) 'ntjo 342_{21} 'jmchos, 1. Anchialos (Mich. Syr.).

[22] Jean de Biclar, ed. Mommsen, *M. G. H., AA.*, XI, 215.

Fragment 48: "Tandis que la Grèce était pillée par des Slaves et que des périls successifs de partout s'accumulaient contre elle, Tibère qui n'avait point de forces capables de combattre, ne fût-ce que contre un seul détachement de ses adversaires . . . envoie une ambassade au prince des Avares."[23]

Evagrius, à propos des mêmes événements, écrit: "Les Avares s'avancèrent deux fois jusqu'à ce qu'on appelle le long mur, prirent Singidunum, Anchialos, toute l'Hellade et d'autres villes et forteresses, réduisant les peuples en esclavage, détruisant et brûlant tout pendant que la masse de notre armée était occupée en Orient."[24]

Ce dernier passage est important parce que, comme on voit, il confirme la première invasion mentionnée par Jean d'Ephèse et Jean de Biclar. La combinaison de ces trois textes va nous permettre de dater assez précisément les événements racontés dans les *Miracula*. Le récit hagiographique présente avec ces témoignages historiques des coïncidences textuelles: les plus caractéristiques concernent l'invasion de la Thrace jusqu'au long mur et la mention de Sirmium. Il est inutile d'insister. Les dévastations et les déplacements de populations dont parlent les *Miracula* ont commencé vers 578–579 et ont atteint leur point culminant en 584. Reprenons maintenant le chapitre V des *Miracula*.[25]

C'est à partir de ce temps-là que les captifs (transportés au Nord du Danube) mêlés aux Bulgares, aux Avares et à d'autres peuples païens, ayant eu des enfants des unions contractées avec ces peuples, crûrent et se multiplièrent, donnant naissance à une nation immense, infinie. Quant à leurs fils, ils reçurent de leurs pères un carac-

[23] Ed. de Boor, *Excerpta de Legationibus*, I, 1, 208, I, 2, 469. On trouvera les textes de Ménandre et leur commentaire dans Niederle, ouvrage cité, pp. 205 et 206.

[24] Evagrius, livre VI, chap. 10. Cf. Niederle, p. 209, note 3.

[25] *Ἐξ ἐκείνου οὖν ἐπιμιγέντες μετὰ Βουλγάρων καὶ Ἀβάρων καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ἐθνικῶν, καὶ παιδοποιησάντων ἀπ' ἀλλήλων, καὶ λαοῦ ἀπείρου καὶ παμπόλλου γεγονότος, παῖς δὲ παρὰ πατρὸς ἕκαστος τὰς ἐνεγκαμένας παρειληφότες καὶ τὴν ὁρμὴν τοῦ γένους κατὰ τῶν ἠθῶν Ῥωμαίων, καὶ καθάπερ ἐν τῇ Αἰγύπτῳ ἐπὶ τοῦ Φαραὼ ηὐξάνετο τὸ τῶν Ἑβραίων γένος, οὕτω καὶ ἐν τούτοις κατὰ τὸν ὅμοιον τρόπον διὰ τῆς ὀρθοδόξου πίστεως καὶ ἁγίου καὶ ζωοποιοῦ βαπτίσματος ηὔξετο τὸ τῶν χριστιανῶν φῦλον, καὶ θάτερος θατέρῳ περὶ τῶν πατρίων τοποθεσιῶν ἀφηγούμενος, ἀλλήλοις πῦρ ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις τῆς ἀποδράσεως ὑφῆπτον. Χρόνων γὰρ ἐξήκοντα ἤδη που καὶ πρὸς διαδραμόντων, ἀφ' ἧς εἰς τοὺς αὐτῶν γεννήτορας ἡ παρὰ τῶν βαρβάρων γεγένηται πόρθησις, καὶ λοιπὸν ἄλλος νέος ἐκεῖσε λαὸς ἀνεφαίνετο, ἐλευθέρους δὲ τοὺς πλείστους αὐτῶν ἐκ τοῦ χρόνου γεγονέναι, καὶ λοιπὸν ὡς ἴδιον ἔθνος προσέχων ὁ Ἀβάρων χάγανος, καθὼς τῷ γένει ἔθος ὑπῆρχεν, ἄρχοντα τούτοις ἐπάνω κατέστησε, Κούβερ ὄνομα αὐτῷ, ὅστις ἔκ τινων τῶν ἀναγκαιοτέρων προσοικειουμένων αὐτῷ μαθὼν τὴν τοῦ τοιούτου λαοῦ τῶν πατρῴων πόλεων ἐπιθυμίαν, ἐν σκέψει γίνεται, καὶ ἀνάστατον λαμβάνει τὸν πάντα Ῥωμαίων λαὸν μετὰ καὶ ἑτέρων ἐθνικῶν . . . καὶ ἀνάστατοι καὶ ἀντάρται, καθὰ λέλεκται, τοῦ χαγάνου γίνονται, ὥστε ἐγνωκότα τὸν αὐτὸν χάγανον διῶξαι ὄπισθεν αὐτῶν, καὶ συμβαλόντων αὐτῶν καὶ ἐπὶ πέντε ἢ ἓξ πολέμους καὶ ὑπ' ἀμφοτέροις παρ' αὐτῶν ἠττηθέντος, μετὰ τοῦ ὑπολειφθέντος αὐτοῦ λαοῦ φυγῇ χρησάμενος ἐν τοῖς ἐνδοτέροις πρὸς ἄρκτον ἄπεισι τόπους, ὡς λοιπὸν μετὰ νίκης περάσαντα τὸν αὐτὸν Κούβερ μετὰ τοῦ εἰρημένου σὺν αὐτῷ παντὸς λαοῦ τὸν προαφηγηθέντα Δάνουβιν ποταμόν, καὶ ἐλθεῖν εἰς τὰ πρὸς ἡμᾶς μέρη, καὶ κρατῆσαι τὸν Κεραμήσιον κάμπον. . . .*

tère conforme a leur origine et le désir instinctif de la terre romaine. De même que sous Pharaon en Égypte s'accrut la race des Hébreux, de même, ou d'une manière très analogue, dans la captivité pannonienne, une nation chrétienne pullula grâce à la foi orthodoxe et au sacré et vivifiant baptême. Pareillement, par les récits que les exilés se faisaient du sol natal de leurs ancêtres, ils allumaient mutuellement dans leurs coeurs le désir de la fuite. Or, lorsque, depuis le temps où leurs ancêtres avaient été victimes de la part des barbares de la grande dévastation, soixante années environ et davantage se furent écoulées et qu'un nouveau peuple, un peuple différent se fut formé, le Khagan des Avares s'apercevant que par l'effet du temps la majeure partie (des anciens captifs) était devenue un peuple libre et formant désormais une nation à part, suivant l'usage de sa propre nation, il mit à la tête de ce peuple nouveau un prince du nom de Kouber (ou Kouver). Celui-ci ayant appris par des entretiens avec ses familiers que ses sujets avaient la nostalgie des cités d'où ils étaient originaires, examina ce qu'il avait à faire, rassembla toute la masse des exilés romains ainsi qu'une partie des païens ou, pour employer les expressions de l'exode mosaïque, les prosélytes, avec leurs armes et bagages; et tous ensemble se révoltent, s'insurgent contre le Khagan avec ce résultat que le Khagan, lorsqu'il eut connaissance de leur sécession, se mit à leur poursuite. Mais ils en vinrent aux mains; et après cinq ou six batailles, le Khagan, vaincu chaque fois par ses anciens sujets, fut forcé de s'enfuir avec la partie de la nation qui lui restait fidèle. Il se rendit dans les régions intérieures de son empire vers le septentrion, de sorte que finalement le prince Kouver, victorieux, passa le Danube avec toute sa nation et vint aussi dans nos régions (c'est à dire dans les régions voisines de Thessalonique) où il occupa la plaine Céramésienne.[26]

C'est donc là qu'ils s'installèrent. Et là, ceux-là surtout qui appartenaient à la foi orthodoxe, éprouvaient le plus vif désir de revoir leurs anciennes patries, les uns Thessalonique, d'autres Constantinople. d'autres les autres villes de la Thrace.

Une seconde fois j'interromps la citation pour un bref commentaire. Si nous ajoutons soixante ans à la date de la grande invasion (578 à 585) nous obtenons 638 à 645.[27] Or, d'après Nicéphore, c'est effectivement vers

[26] On dit d'ordinaire que ce nom de lieu est inconnu ailleurs. Cependant Tafel, *De Thessalonica* XCVIII, l'identifiait avec le Ceramie de la table de Peutinger entre Monastir et Prilep. Les savants qui ont mentionné cette identification l'ont parfois rejetée sous le prétexte, allégué par Uspenskij, que ce lieu ne se trouve pas sur le chemin qu'ont dû suivre les Bulgares après leur passage du Danube! J'avoue que je ne comprends pas cette objection. Il me semble au contraire que nous devons être profondément reconnaissants à l'auteur des *Miracula* de nous avoir fourni un précieux point de repère géographique. La plaine céramésienne ne peut être que la plaine de Monastir, qui par sa fertilité devait attirer les immigrés et d'où les fils et petits-fils de "Romains" et de "Grecs", issus des anciens captifs de Macédoine, de Thrace, de Constantinople, ainsi que les Slaves et les Bulgares pouvaient rayonner dans toutes les directions, vers les grandes villes d'Andrinople, de Byzance et de Thessalonique, vers la Grèce propre et surtout vers les terres ravagées et dépeuplées de la Yougoslavie actuelle. Voyez Th. Uspenskij, *Izvěstija Russkago Archeologičeskago Instituta v Konstantinopolě*, XIV (1909), 52-54.

[27] Le calcul des soixante ans. C'est l'élément le plus sûr dans toute cette controverse chronologique. Heinrich Gelzer, dans son excellent travail sur les *Miracula*, "Die Genesis der byzantinischen Themenverfassung," Leipzig 1899 (*Abh. d. Kgl. Sächs. Ges. d. Wiss., Phil.-hist. Kl.* 18, Nr. 5), a très bien vu qu'il faut compter les soixante années à partir des invasions de la fin du VIe siècle, mais c'est Niederle, suivi par

635 que l'empire des Avares fut ébranlé par la révolte de Kouvrat contre le Khagan. Ces événements, je veux dire la désagrégation de l'empire avare, après l'échec décisif de 626, sont heureusement très bien connus, bien qu'aucune source prise en elle-même ne donne un tableau complet des faits. Je rappelle que c'est vers 623 que le processus commence. Alors une partie des Slaves de Bohême, de Slovaquie (et d'ailleurs) mirent à leur tête le marchand franc Samo et fondèrent un royaume indépendant, *teste Pseudo-Fredegario.*[28]

Mais il y a un autre texte encore, très précieux et qui se trouve dans la même chronique du Pseudo-Frédégaire. Je veux parler de la mention vers la même époque d'une lutte acharnée dans l'empire avare pour le choix d'un Khagan. Les Bulgares avaient leur candidat. A la suite d'une véritable guerre intestine, un parti de révoltés bulgares dut quitter l'empire avare et se réfugia en pays franc, puis en pays slave, avec son chef nommé Alciocus.[29] L'épisode est fameux, mais ces luttes entre Bulgares et Avares pour le Khaganat n'ont pas toujours été mises en relation, comme on doit le faire, pensons-nous, avec la révolte de Kouvrat-Kouver.

Je reprends les *Miracula*, mais non pour traduire littéralement la fin de l'histoire de Kouver. Je note seulement quelques détails et expressions remarquables. Kouver et ses conseillers, une fois en territoire d'empire,

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Uspenskij dans l'article cité des *Izvěstija* qui, en les comptant à partir du début plutôt que de la fin de la grande invasion, a conclu que la migration de Kouver est de la fin du règne d'Héraclius.

[28] D'après Frédégaire, Samo régna heureusement trente-cinq ans, c'est à dire jusqu'en 659. C'est en 631/632 qu'il battit les Francs à Wogastiburc et que le roi des Sorbes (Surbiorum), nommé Dervanus, devint son vassal (Chronicon IV, §72, p. 157).

[29] *Fredegarii Chronicon*, IV, §72, p. 157: "Eo anno in Abarorum cuinomento Chunorum regnum in Pannia surrexit viaemens intentio, eo quod de regnum certarint, cui deberetur ad succedendum. Unus ex Abares et alius ex Bulgaris collicta multitudine, uterque in invicem impugnarint. Tandem abaris Burgarus superant Burgaris superatis etc." Il n'y a aucun doute qu'Alciocus, qui échappa à un guet-apens en Bavière sous le roi Dagobert et se réfugia ensuite chez les Winedi auprès de leur chef Wallucus est le même qu'Alzeco, un Bulgare réfugié chez les Lombards, dont nous parle Paul Diacre. J'insiste sur cette identification parce qu'elle est une des évidences que les historiens bulgares s'obstinent à méconnaître. Malheureusement Zlatarski, qui rejette l'équation Alciocus = Alzeco comme l'équation Kouvrat-Kouver, est suivi par Runciman qui dit (p. 21): "The name Alzeco is suspiciously like Alciocus, but that proves nothing." En tout cas, la guerre intestine entre Bulgares et Avares pour la conquête du Khaganat n'est autre que la révolte de Kouvrat-Kouver. Il résulte de ce texte de Frédégaire que les Bulgares ne furent pas partout, ni complètement victorieux. Et le récit des *Miracula*, malgré les cinq ou six batailles gagnées par Kouver-Kouvrat, fait assez voir que malgré leur succès les rebelles jugèrent expédient de mettre le Danube entre eux et les Avares. L'histoire d'Alzeco se lit chez Paul le Diacre V, chapitre 29. La chronique de Frédégaire met en 630/631 le soulèvement des Bulgares et les luttes pour le Khaganat.

commencent à craindre pour le pouvoir de celui qui voulait demeurer "le prince et le Khagan du nouveau peuple".[30]

Si en effet ses sujets s'en allaient, les uns à Constantinople les autres à Thessalonique, d'autres en Thrace ou en Grèce, le peuple de Kouver s'évanouirait et le prince et Khagan perdrait toute autorité effective. C'est pourquoi Kouver demanda à l'empereur de garantir son pouvoir et de s'opposer à la dispersion de ses sujets. Mais pour cela il fallait les ravitailler. Kouver demanda donc que la tribu slave des Dregovići, installés depuis longtemps sans doute en Macédoine, fût chargée de fournir des vivres aux hommes de Kouver. Mais les choses se gâtèrent bientôt, car Kouver prépara un coup de main sur la ville de Thessalonique où il envoya un de ses hommes du nom de Mavros, qui se donna comme transfuge et profita de sa connaissance des quatre langues: grec, latin, bulgare et slave. Le danger était assez grand pour nécessiter l'intervention personnelle de S. Démétrius qui démasqua et fit arrêter le traître Mavros. Kouver lui-même n'apparaît pas directement dans cette histoire. Visiblement les gens de Thessalonique ne subirent qu'un contre-coup assez lointain de l'occupation d'une partie des Balkans par le chef barbare, mais chrétien et soi-disant allié de l'Empire, d'une population mixte et polyglotte.

A quelle époque se passent ces intrigues? Vers la fin, Kouver, quelque temps en excellents termes avec l'empire, est considéré en somme comme un ennemi à Constantinople et à Thessalonique. Or, précisément, c'est ainsi que finit Kouvrat lorsqu'il devint suspect à l'empereur Constantin III (ou Constant II) pour avoir essayé de maintenir sur le trône Martine, la veuve impopulaire d'Héraclius. Les ressemblances entre Kouvrat et Kouver sont donc plus que frappantes: ressemblance de nom, identité d'époques, religion pareille, rôle militaire et politique semblable ou similaire, et cela jusqu'à la fin.

Comment se fait-il qu'en dehors de Niederle et de Th. Uspenskij[31] presque personne n'ait admis qu'il s'agissait du même personnage? La "distinction" remonte au premier éditeur des *Miracula.* Le savant bollandiste Corneille de Bye, faisant preuve d'une érudition remarquable pour l'époque (1780), ne manque pas de rapprocher Kouver de Kouvrat. Mais en même temps qu'il rapproche, il interdit d'identifier, pour des raisons chronologiques. De Bye, en effet, s'est figuré que l'attaque de Kouver

[30] D'après les *Miracula*, tandis que les divers éléments du peuple composite ramené par Kouver veulent regagner leurs villes d'origine, des conseillers perfides s'opposent à cette dispersion et recommandent que Kouver lui-même garde sous son autorité ce peuple mixte dans l'état où il était sorti de captivité et qu'il devienne leur prince et leur khagan. C'est ce qu'un ambassade va proposer à l'empereur. Cf. Tougard, p. 190, ch. 112. Les *Miracula* se servent des termes de χάγανος, d' ἄρχων et de πρῶτος pour désigner le pouvoir de Kouver. Les mêmes termes serviront aussi pour les rois bulgares danubiens: nouvelle preuve de l'identité de Kouver et de Kouvrat.

[31] Sur l'article d'Uspenskij, voyez plus haut notes 26 et 27.

contre Salonique devait se dater du début du règne de Constantin VI (741–775). Nous avons énuméré plus haut tous les savants, dont les plus considérables sont Tafel et Šafařik, qui se sont décidés pour des dates tardives. Il faut espérer que cette chronologie manifestement fautive fera place désormais à celle que Gelzer[32] avait établie en "combinant" comme nous l'avons fait les invasions des années 580 et suivantes et les soixante ans pendant lesquels s'est formé le nouveau peuple de Kouver. La chronologie naturelle et certaine, qui doit être acceptée désormais par tous, non seulement ne fait aucun obstacle à l'identification de Kouvrat et de Kouver, mais l'impose impérieusement. On se demande pourquoi l'historien bulgare a écarté si catégoriquement l'identification Kouver-Kouvrat. Kouvrat est un roi bulgare d'origine bulgare, fondateur de la Grande Bulgarie, et cette grande Bulgarie, Zlatarski et beaucoup d'autres la placent non sur le Danube, mais du côté de la mer d'Azov. C'est seulement le fils de Kouvrat, Asparuch, qui serait venu s'installer sur le Danube. C'est avec une sorte d'irritation que M. Zlatarski déclare quelque part que l'Oriental Kouvrat n'a rien à voir avec la Pannonie ou les Balkans. A quoi nous répondons qu'aucune source ne limite aux parages de la mer d'Azov la zone d'influence de Kouvrat; que ses relations étroites et anciennes avec les empereurs byzantins et ses luttes victorieuses contre les Avares nous le montrent au contraire très occupé des affaires de l'Europe Centrale, dont les Avares étaient la principale puissance. S'il fut en quelque sorte le Charlemagne de la Grande Bulgarie, on ne saurait oublier que les Bulgares ne vivaient pas seulement au bord de la mer d'Azov, mais qu'ils étaient nombreux dans l'empire avare, si nombreux qu'ils pouvaient imposer à cet empire un souverain de leur race et qu'ils finirent par l'ébranler, presque par le détruire de l'intérieur. Il est impossible de prendre à la lettre l'histoire des migrations des cinq fils de Kouvrat,[33] cette histoire

[32] Voyez la note 27.

[33] Sur les migrations des fils de Kouvrat, voyez plus haut, note 12, surtout le travail de Moravcsik. On n'a pas insisté comme on aurait dû sur le caractère nettement iranien de trois au moins des noms des princes bulgares. En dehors de Kouvrat et d'Asparukh-Isperikh, il y a encore Mourtag. Car d'après nous ce n'est pas Omourtag, qu'il faut écrire, le *o* initial étant l'article grec, qui précède "Mourtag" dans les inscriptions dites protobulgares. Les formes sans o initial sont fréquentes chez les historiens et dans les synaxaires. Dans ces conditions il est impossible de ne pas rapprocher Mourtag de Mourdagos, qui se trouve dans une inscription grecque de la Russie méridonale. Cf. M. Vasmer, *Die Iranier in Südrussland* (1923, p. 45). Quant à l'historicité des cinq fils et de leur migration, je la crois, comme Runciman qui l'appelle "a fairy tale", douteuse ou du moins partielle. On ne saurait nier l'existence et la date d'Asparukh qui a dû succéder plus ou moins directement à Kouvrat et s'installer au Sud du Danube inférieur. De même le nom de Baïan ou Batbaïan est historique, mais la tradition elle-même avait oublié les noms des autres fils, et il est tout à fait inutile de chercher à expliquer par une migration la présence de Bulgares en Pannonie, puisque, nous l'avons vu surabondamment, les Bulgares étaient

qu'on rencontre chez Théophane et chez Nicéphore et à laquelle on trouve une allusion dans le géographe arménien.[34] Cette histoire est en partie légendaire et a pour but, comme toutes les histoires semblables, de rendre compte de l'existence simultanée dans des régions très diverses de peuples du même nom.

Comme nous l'avons déjà dit d'ailleurs, l'identité de Kouvrat et de Kouber est probable *a priori*. Seule, une chronologie manifestement erronée a permis aux historiens bulgares de scinder les deux personnages. On trouve constamment chez eux, à ce sujet, la référence à un travail définitif, encore cité par M. Dujčev, de N. Milev, "Kubrat ot istorijata i Kuber v Čudesate na Sv. Dmitrija Solunski," *Periodičesko Spisanie*, 1910, pp. 557–586.[35] Mais cet article ne prouve rien: la chronologie rectifiée des *Miracula* nous défend d'user du médiocre subterfuge de Milev-Zlatarski, d'après lequel Kouver serait l'un des fils de Kouvrat. Cet expédient prouve d'ailleurs combien M. Zlatarski lui-même est persuadé de la similitude du rôle joué par ces deux figures historiques qui, à la vérité, n'en font qu'une.

Je me propose dès à présent d'étayer leur identification par des preuves supplémentaires. D'abord, les *Miracula S. Demetrii* attribuent à Kouver

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nombreux dans ce pays un bon demi siècle avant la "dislocation de la Grande Bulgarie." De même nous savons très bien comment les Bulgares se sont réfugiés dans l'Italie lombarde. Ils n'y ont pas été amenés par un fils de Kouvrat, mais par Alciocus-Alzeco, réchappé du guet-apens bavarois comme nous l'avons vu plus haut, puis réfugié chez les Winedi. Ce qu'on lit chez Zlatarski, où Kouver est détaché de Kouvrat et Alzeco différencié d'Alciocus uniquement pour fournir des noms à deux fils anonymes du "fairy-tale," c'est proprement du "roman romancé." Déjà Zeuss, toujours plein de bon sens, avait reconnu l'identité d'Alciocus et d'Alzeco (Zeuss, *Die Deutschen u.s.w.* p. 717) et cette identité est acceptée par Krusch, éditeur de Frédégaire.

[34] M. Honigmann me communique la précieuse note suivante. La géographie arménienne attribuée, avec certitude, par Patkanian à Ananias de Širak (Anania Širakac'i) connaît déjà la fuite de Aspar-hruk, fils de Chubraath, prince des Ołchontor (Ounogoundoures), de la montagne des Bulgares vers l'île danubienne de Peucé. Cf. Anania Šir. Geogr. p. 17, 4–7, et 25, 25. La seconde fois Aspar-hruk est appelé fils de Chudbadr. Cf. J. Marquart, *Die nichtslavischen (altbulgarischen) Ausdrücke in der bulgarischen Fürstenliste*, p. 17, note 6 = T'oung Pao, XI (1910) p. 66; fc. *Izvěstija Russk. Arch. Instituta v Konstantinopolě*, XV (1911) et dans *Hippolytus Werke*, vol. IV (*Die griech. christl. Schriftst.*, XXXVI, Leipzig, 1929), p. 430, n. 1.

[35] Il s'agit du *Periodičesko Spisanie na Bŭlg. Knižnovno Družestvo*. En somme Milev n'a qu'un seul argument. Les soixante ans doivent se compter non du début de l'invasion slave mais du moment où les Avares ont pu ramener dans leur pays une grande masse de captifs. Or, il est clair d'après les récits des historiens que nous avons cités que ce déplacement de populations a dû se faire pendant les premières années de l'invasion massive de la période 579–584. Par conséquent le soulèvement coïncide bien avec la fin du règne d'Héraclius, et avec le règne de Kouvrat. Il est curieux que Zlatarski n'ait tenu aucun compte de l'article décisif de Pernice.

les titres de protos[36] et de Khagan qui étaient ceux des Khans bulgares. Ensuite, la fameuse liste des rois bulgares, où Kouvrat figure, lui donne le nom de Kurt qui, en somme, est plus près de Kouver que de Kouvrat. Nous avons déjà rapproché les noms d'Organa (Kuernaka chez Jean de Nikiou) et d'Ernik (Ernach), l'un des prédécesseurs de Kurt dans l'Imennik "protobulgare." Si d'autre part nous trouvons dans la liste des rois bulgares au moins une allusion à ce séjour qui fut pendant quelque temps celui de Kouver et de ses hommes appelés dans les *Miracula* des *Keramesiani*, adjectif dérivé de la plaine macédoine de Keramesion, on renforcera encore l'identité Kouvrat-Kouver. Or, presque personne n'a pris garde jusqu'à présent au nom d'un des successeurs d'Asparuch qui porte un nom identique à Keramesios: Κορμέσιος (Théophane), Kormišoš d'après la liste bulgare.

Il est temps de conclure: Chrovatos, Kouvrat et Kouver sont bien la même personne. Mais que signifie ce nom et quelle est son origine?

On a remarqué depuis longtemps[37] qu'un nom propre tout à fait pareil figurait dans les inscriptions grecques de la Russie méridionale, au moins deux fois sous la forme Chorathos ou Chorouathos. Ce nom est sûrement iranien. Il a une étymologie transparente ("celui qui possède des amis sûrs"). Voyez Ferdinand Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*. Il est tout à fait normal qu'un chef bulgare ait porté un nom iranien. Le fils et successeur de Kouvrat est Asparuch, et le nom d'Asparuch est tout aussi iranien que Choroathos. Comment se fait-il qu'un chef bulgare au nom iranien figure dans une triple tradition, non seulement comme roi des Ounogoundoures et des Bulgares avant leur installation définitive sur le Bas-Danube, comme chef d'un exode bulgaro-gréco-latino-slave de Pannonie dans les Balkans, et comme chef éponyme des Croates? Cela non plus n'est pas difficile à expliquer. Dans les trois séries de textes que nous venons d'étudier Chrovatos-Koubrat-Kouver s'oppose au Khan des Avares, et après l'avoir vaincu, et même avant, gouverne, à sa place, une partie considérable de la population très mêlée de l'empire avare. Kouvrat-Chrovat ayant commandé à la fois à des tribus slaves, à des tribus bulgares et à des populations grecques de langue latine, il n'est point étonnant que

[36] Sur Protos, toutes les références se trouvent dans l'article de Dujčev, *Byzantion*, XIII (1938), 216.

[37] Max Vasmer, *Untersuchungen über die ältesten Wohnsitze der Slaven:* I. *Die Iranier in Südrussland* (1923), p. 56. C'est Pogodin qui a retrouvé dans Χοράθος le nom des Croates. "Aber," dit Vasmer, "der Name der Kroaten hat keine slavische Etymologie und sieht wie ein Lehnwort aus." Notre théorie explique de la manière la plus simple l'identité d'un nom propre iranien et du nom d'un peuple slave. Ce ne sont pas seulement les trois noms de princes bulgares, Kouvrat, Asparukh et Mourtag que l'on retrouve dans des inscriptions grecques de Tanaïs et d'Olbia, mais encore le nom de la race princière bulgare de Doulo, connue par l'*Imennik*. Cf. Doulas, dans une inscription de Tanaïs.

son nom ait survécu dans des documents d'origine slave, d'origine bulgare et d'origine byzantine.

Mais revenons au peuple croate et à son "double", le peuple serbe, aux deux Croaties et aux deux Serbies. On ne dira plus, je l'espère, comme feu Stanojević, que la migration croate n'est attestée que par le Porphyrogénète. Kouver-Kouvrat s'installe au Κεραμήσιος κάμπος, après avoir, évidemment, traversé toute la Serbie. Et les Slaves sont en nombre considérable dans son armée internationale. Ce *trek* est évidemment celui dont le Porphyrogénète a capté le très lointain écho: c'est proprement le "Dolazak Hrvata," l'arrivée des Croates. Partout où ce nom de Croate s'est maintenu comme ethnique ou comme toponyme, à Corbetha en Saxe, en Bohême, dans les Carpathes, en Carinthie et ailleurs,[38] il rappelle l'existence et l'extension de ce *regnum Cobrati*, "éphémère" peut-être en un sens, mais qui a duré, tout de même, plus longtemps que l'empire de Charlemagne ou celui de Lothaire. Or, la Lotharingie, la Haute et la Basse, et la Lorraine sont à Lothaire ce que la grande Croatie, la Croatie Blanche, les tribus croates du Nord et la Croatie yougoslave sont à Kouvrat. Quant à l'étymologie du nom des Serbes, le Porphyrogénète n'aurait-il pas raison lorsqu'il pose l'équation Σέρβ(λ)ος = *servus?* Ne s'agit-il pas tout simplement d'une épithète péjorative donnée par ses voisins à tout ou partie du peuple croate, et qui, le sens primitif une fois oublié, aurait été adopté et retenu par des groupes slaves du Nord et du Sud, lorsque les événements politiques les amenèrent à se différencier, plus ou moins profondément, de leurs congénères? L'étymologie du Porphyrogénète a longtemps passé pour puérile et peu scientifique. De nos jours, les linguistes l'ont eue en particulière aversion sous prétexte qu'un *v* ne saurait, dans le domaine slave, se transformer dans la muette labiale correspondante (*b*). Mais ce n'est pas de cela qu'il s'agit. Le changement de *v* en *b* est un phénomène inter-roman, comme le mot français *corbeau* suffit à le montrer. La forme slave peut n'être qu'un simple emprunt au bas latin[39].

Mais je n'insiste pas sur ce point très secondaire. Je voudrais, en terminant, évoquer cette Grande Croatie dont tout le centre s'est effondré

[38] Sur les diverses tentatives faites pour expliquer le nom des Croates voyez Niederle, t. II, pp. 484–486. Les deux inscriptions sont dans Latyšev, *Inscriptiones antiquae orae septentrionalis Ponti Euxini*, II, no. 430 et 445. Cf. Pogodin, *Sbornik statej po arch. i etn.* (1902), p. 164.

[39] Le nom des Serbes: Niederle, t. II, p. 486 sqq. De deux choses l'une: ou le nom des Serbes est celui d'une tribu de race inconnue, mentionnée par Pline comme habitant la région du Don: Maeotici, Vali, Serbi, Arrecchi (Livre VI, 7, 19) cf. Ptolémée (Livre V, 9, 12) μεταξὺ δὲ τῶν Κερανίων ὀρέων καὶ τοῦ Ῥᾶ ποταμοῦ Ὀρινᾶοι καὶ Οὐάλοι καὶ Σέρβοι. Ou ces Serbes n'ont rien de commun avec les nôtres, comme le croyait Zeuss et nous pouvons sérieusement penser à ressusciter l'étymologie du Porphyrogénète.

sous l'assaut de la marée magyare, mais dont la vaste périphérie a gardé en maints endroits, comme il arrive aux pays de marche, le nom de l'empire de Kouvrat. Comment ne pas songer à la Romania politique, dont on pourrait reconstituer aujourd'hui l'immense domaine, même si tous les documents historiques qui l'attestent avaient disparu, rien qu'en collectionnant les noms de lieu et de peuple qui de la Wallonie à la Valachie, en passant par les Roumanches de Suisse, de la frontière écossaise jusqu'au pays de Roum, jusqu'à l'Anatolie de la conquête seljoucide, ont conservé comme pétrifiée, la gloire du nom romain.[40]

NEW YORK.

[40] Sur le nom de Roum appliqué à l'Asie Mineure et à d'autres régions, cf. le remarquable article de P. Wittek dans les *Mélanges Boisacq*.

UN EDIT DE L'EMPEREUR JUSTINIEN II

Daté de Septembre 688

Par Henri Grégoire

A. A. Vasiliev nous a donné dans *Speculum* (January, 1943, pp. 1–13) une *edition princeps*, pour ainsi dire, de l'édit de l'empereur Justinien II, portant donation d'une saline à l'église de S. Démétrius à Thessalonique. Cette édition est basée sur "some new and important material . . . . a note from the papers of the German philologist Purgold and a drawing of the inscription in its reconstructed shape which was supplemented with an excellent photograph made at Madison, Wisconsin." L'empereur Justinien II, en faisant cette donation, déclare vouloir reconnaître le secours que lui a accordé le saint mégalomartyr Démétrius dans divers combats contre l'ennemi commun. Il s'agit naturellement des Slaves macédoniens contre lesquels Justinien II combattit, nous le savons par Théophane, en cette même année 688. (Cf. les sources énumérées par Vasiliev, *loc. cit.*, p. 8, texte et notes 1 et 2). Je pense qu'on nous saura gré de reproduire, dans cette revue, exclusivement consacrée aux études byzantines, un texte amélioré sur quelques points de l'édit désormais fameux de Justinien II. En voici d'ailleurs une traduction française:

1. Donation divine (c'est-à-dire, impériale) libéralement faite au saint et tout glorieux martyr Démétrius par le maître de l'Univers entier, Flavius Justinien, l'empereur couronné de Dieu et pacificateur, de la saline de notre cité gardée de Dieu

2. de Thessalonique, au temps de Pierre, son très saint archevêque (un ornement, occupant la place d'environ douze lettres). "Au nom du seigneur et maître Jésus Christ, notre Dieu et Sauveur, l'autocrate bienfaiteur pacifique Flavius

3. Justinien, fidèle basileus en Jésus Christ Dieu. Donation au vénéré temple du saint et tout glorieux mégalomartyr Démétrius, dans lequel reposent ses saintes reliques. Notre premier souci toujours

4. étant de maintenir les saintes églises de Dieu, nous voulons qu'à ces églises aillent toutes les choses qui contribuent à leur réconfort et pourvoient à leur entretien: par là, en effet (ornement occupant quatre lettres environ)

5. nous sommes convaincus que le Dieu qui nous a couronné, lui aussi, sera satisfait et se fera à jamais le défenseur de notre piété, nous procurant surabondamment des victoires sur les ennemis. Or donc, étant arrivé

6. dans cette cité des Thessaloniciens, et ayant éprouvé, après l'aide et la protection, dans les combats, du Dieu qui nous a couronné, l'alliance du saint mégalomartyr

7. Démétrius dans les différentes batailles que nous avons gagnées sur ses ennemis, qui sont aussi les nôtres, nous avons estimé juste, puisqu'aussi bien il s'est fait notre allié,

8. de l'en récompenser par les dons de la gratitude et en conséquence: *DONAMUS* à son vénéré temple, où reposent aussi ses saintes reliques, qui aux absents mêmes dispensent manifestement son

9. secours, toute la saline sise et adjacente en(sic) cette grande ville des Thessaloniciens, avec tous les droits

10. qui lui appartiennent depuis l'origine, afin que le susdit vénérable temple possède ladite saline à partir du mois de septembre de la présente deuxième indiction et que dans tous les

11. temps à venir perpétuellement il en soit le possesseur et le maître et qu'il l'exploite entièrement à son propre bénéfice, avec affectation à l'éclairage, à la rétribution

12. du clergé cher à Dieu et de tout le service sacré, ainsi qu'à la réparation du susdit vénéré temple, ce même glorieux temple, ni son clergé

13. cher à Dieu, ne devant d'aucune manière fournir, ou être censé fournir aucune contribution au titre de la saline donnée par notre Sérénité (ornement comportant quatre lettres), fournir, dis-je, aucune contribution à

14. des personnages militaires, parce que, comme il a été dit, c'est pour l'éclairage et l'entretien du clergé cher à Dieu et pour d'autres besoins ecclésiastiques que nous avons libéralement accordé

15. toute cette saline entièrement franche et libre (de charges), afin que le saint mégalomartyr Démétrius, voyant ainsi son service continuellement assuré, intercède perpétuellement

16. auprès du Dieu qui nous a couronné, en faveur de notre pieuse royauté: ce qui sera rendu manifeste à tous par la simple production de notre présent acte de pieuse donation."

Avant de donner notre texte, nous le justifions sur les points où il s'écarte de la transcription de Vasiliev, de même que nous justifions notre traduction quand elle s'éloigne de celle de notre maître et ami.

Ligne 5: M. Vasiliev écrit κατεκόρων, un mot qui n'existe point. Il observe en note: "I believe this mutilated word is the adverb κατακόρως, 'to satiety, abundantly', from the adjective κατάκορος or κατακορής. Possibly also κατὰ κόρον." Il est clair qu'un θ a été pris pour un o, et qu'il faut lire tout simplement κατ'ἐκθρῶν. La graphie ἐκθρός pour ἐχθρός est banale.

Ligne 6: Je traduis μετά, non pas "according" (ce qui serait κατά), mais tout simplement "après". Justinien, en effet, a été aidé "après Dieu", par le martyr Démétrius.

Ligne 7: Si le mot πολέμοις n'est pas une simple faute pour τροπαίοις, faute très compréhensible à cause de πολεμίοις qui précède, il faut néanmoins le traduire à peu près comme un synonyme de "victoires, trophées", à cause de πραχθεῖσιν, qui ne peut signifier que "remportés sur". La version "in various wars which we had made against our enemies" n'est pas tout à fait exacte.

Lignes 8/9: Le masculin χαριζόμενος (τὸ χαριζόμενον) représente un accord κατὰ σύνεσιν. Mais le sens est clair. Je ne sais pourquoi M. Vasiliev, dans sa traduction, a déplacé le membre de phrase "who manifestly gives his particular aid".

Ligne 9: Je pense que la saline, à proprement parler, est voisine de la *ville* de Thessalonique, c'est-à-dire qu'elle se trouve sur "son territoire," mais *extra muros*. M. Vasiliev, je crois, a tort de traduire "the whole saline lying nearby the church". Papageorgiou croyait qu'il s'agissait de la saline de Kitros, du côté ouest du Golfe Thermaïque. Je pense que le fleuve Galikos, à l'ouest de Thessalonique, a conservé jusqu'aujourd'hui le nom de cette saline, car le γ initial est irrationnel (pour Ἁλικός).

Ligne 12: Dans la première lacune, on peut restituer, au lieu d'un mot signifiant *restauration*, un terme signifiant l'action de revêtir de marbre ou de décorer de mosaïques les murs ou le sol, p. ex., πλάκωσις, ψήφωσις, ψηφίδωσις.

A la fin de la douzième ligne M. Vasiliev remarque: "At this point the marble plate is broken off; after there is space for two or three letters. So far I am unable to restore the missing word. It might be better to discard it entirely." Je crois que la restitution qui s'impose est *κατ' αὐτόν*.

Ligne 13: Le sens du verbe *ἐπινοεῖσθαι* est passif et non actif. Dans la lacune, je ne crois pas que le mot restitué par M. Vasiliev soit le bon. Je propose *συντέλεια* qui se dit de toute espèce de contribution; on pourrait penser aussi à *ἀτέλεια* "exemption de droits", c'est à dire, en l'espèce, fourniture gratuite de sel.

Ligne 15: dans la lacune je restitue autrement que M. Vasiliev: *ὥστε ἐντεῦθεν*.

Ligne 16: Vasiliev dit à propos du mot qui suit immédiatement la lacune: "I am almost certain of the first three letters, whose upper part only is preserved: the letter before *ε* may be *λ* or *δ*." Ce mot lui-même est donc certainement [*ἐπι*]*δείξει*, et ce qui précède, reproduisait une formule banale, dans le genre de *πάσης ἐνστάσεως σχολαζούσης τῇ ἐπιδείξει καὶ μόνον κτλ.* "toute opposition devant céder à la seule production du présent acte de donation". On peut penser aussi à d'autres variantes, mais, si vraiment la lacune est de moins de vingt lettres, il faut encore abréger la phrase, p.e. écrire plus simplement *δ πᾶσιν δῆλον ἔσται τῇ ἐπιδείξει*. C'est ce que j'ai traduit.

On me permettra d'ajouter quelques mots sur deux points importants. D'abord, que faut-il entendre par "saline"? Et ensuite, les *Miracula S. Demetrii* ont-ils gardé un souvenir des victoires remportées par Justinien II sur les ennemis communs de S. Démétrius et de l'Empire, c'est à dire les Slaves? M. Vasiliev considère que le mot grec *ἁλική* signifie ici non pas *saline*, mais magasin de sel, et c'est pourquoi il estime que cette *ἁλική* était à l'intérieur même de la ville. "It is impossible to imagine that this could be the case with a salt pit or salt lake". Mais il me semble que l'épithète donné à la ligne 15 à la saline ("entièrement franche et libre", c'est à dire de servitudes, taxes et redevances), convient beaucoup mieux à une véritable saline qu'à un magasin. Aux lignes 13/14, l'église de Thessalonique est exemptée de toute obligation de fournir (gratuitement ou, à prix réduit, du sel?) aux militaires. Malheureusement, si nous sommes bien informés sur les privilèges des militaires et d'autres fonctionnaires, en matière de ravitaillement en sel, dans les royaumes des Ptolémées et des Séleucides, ainsi qu'en Macédoine et à l'époque romaine, nous ne savons presque rien à ce sujet pour le Bas-Empire, et rien pour la période byzantine proprement dite. C'est la raison pour laquelle j'ai hésité sur la restitution de la ligne 13. Visiblement l'Eglise est exemptée ici d'une de ces obligations qui étaient particulièrement odieuses au clergé séculier et aux monastères, lesquels détestaient d'héberger ou d'entretenir des troupes. Le mot à restituer se réfère-t-il seulement à des fournitures de sel, ou à d'autres contributions ou corvées? C'est à ces deux hypothèses, toutes deux possibles, que se rattachent les deux mots que j'ai proposés. Mais, je le répète, il faut traduire par *saline* et non par *magasin*. L'adjectif *ἅπασαν, πᾶσαν*, s'ajoutant à l'épithète de *παντελευθέραν* le démontre, semble-t-il, surabondamment.

Second problème: Thessalonique, les Slaves, Justinien II et les *Miracula*. M. Vasiliev écrit p. 8, note 2: "The most valuable source for the Slavonic attacks on Thessalonica is the *Acta S. Demetrii*. But unfortunately their information breaks off in the forties of the seventh century, so that it cannot be used for the year of our inscriptions 688." Cela n'est pas tout à fait exact, puisque ce qu'on appelle la troisième légende mentionne l'empereur Léon VI et parle d'événements du Xe siècle. Et d'autre part, nous l'avons dit dans notre article sur les Serbes et les Croates, plus d'un critique a daté de la fin du VIIe et du début du VIIIe siècle certaines des attaques slaves mentionnées par les *Miracula*. Et il est certain que rien ne ressemble plus au style de notre inscription que certains passages du IVe chapitre des *Miracula*. Ainsi, dans cet épisode, l'empereur anonyme est toujours désigné par des épithètes qui rappellent d'une manière frappante celles dont use notre Edit. D'abord, dans ces pages des *Miracula* comme dans l'Edit, l'empereur est couronné par Dieu ou par le Christ (cf. Tougard, p. 182) son règne est juste et pieux (pp. 184.185), l'empereur est le maître (p. 186), il est fidèle (p. 150); et quant à S. Démétrius, c'est en allié qu'il combat tant devant Salonique que chez les peuples du Strymon, "donnant la victoire à l'armée romaine contre les Sclavini." Et à la page 184 de Tougard, comme à la première ligne de l'Edit, Thessalonique est appelée "la ville gardée de Dieu." La tentation est vraiment grande d'identifier avec Justinien II l'empereur du chapitre IV de la seconde légende. Au premier abord, comme nous l'avons dit dans une note de l'article publié d'autre part, il semble que ce soit impossible, à cause de la mention dans les *Miracula* d'une cinquième indiction pour le siège de Thessalonique, suivi, et non précédé, d'une expédition chez les Slaves, expédition dont le couronnement sous le règne de Justinien II fut l'entrée à Thessalonique en 688, une seconde indiction. Il n'en reste pas moins que dans les *Miracula* l'épisode en question est certainement du VIIe siècle et que l'empereur doit être l'un des successeurs d'Héraclius.

Au fond, d'ailleurs, et malgré les apparences, l'identité de l'empereur du chapitre IV des *Miracula* et de Justinien II est plus que probable. Voici une solution du problème qui paraîtra peut-être élégante. Pourquoi, en somme, le siège de Salonique par les Slaves, raconté par les *Miracula* dans ce chapitre IV, ne serait-il pas de la cinquième indiction qui suivit la visite de l'empereur en 688, donc en 691–692? Notez que Justinien II ne dit pas dans l'Edit que S. Démétrius vient de protéger la ville de Thessalonique, et ce siège n'est pas non plus dans Théophane, ni avant ni après 688, d'ailleurs. Ainsi s'expliquerait un passage des *Miracula* où l'on voit avant le siège les habitants demander l'intervention de l'empereur et celui-ci répondre qu'il s'arme contre les Arabes. Cf. Tougard, p. 150: "Pour cette affaire on envoya des hommes expérimentés de notre ville vers l'empereur très serein, et ayant trouvé Sa Piété préparant une expé-

dition contre les Agarènes rejetés de Dieu, il fut convenu (de prendre une certaine décision) après la guerre."

Or, l'empereur Justinien II se mit en campagne contre les Arabes pendant la cinquième indiction, 691/692, c'est à dire au moment où les Slaves, pour des raisons données dans la légende, faisaient le siège de Thessalonique. A ce moment, en effet (Tougard, p. 164), l'empereur était occupé d'une autre guerre. Ajoutons que dans tous ces passages encore les épithètes données à l'empereur sont celles mêmes de l'Edit. Cf. l'expression *Notre Sérénité* à la ligne 13 de l'Edit et l'empereur sérénissime à la page 150 de Tougard (*τὸν παγγάληνον βασιλέα*).

Quant à l'expédition victorieuse contre les Slaves, qui d'après les Actes suivit immédiatement le siège en Thrace et sur le Strymon, on objectera peut-être qu'elle n'est pas racontée par nos sources, ou plutôt qu'elle est placée en 688 par les historiens. Mais, il faut noter que tandis que nous connaissons le fait du commandement personnel de Justinien II en Macédoine l'an 688, les *Miracula* (Tougard, p. 184) ne disent pas du tout que l'empereur commandait en personne dans cette nouvelle campagne. Ceci paraîtra sans doute décisif. Et si ce succès est de la sixième indiction, on comprend le libellé de l'inscription fameuse du sceau "des esclaves slaves de l'Eparchie de Bithynie" daté de la huitième indiction c'est à dire de 694–695. Cf. Ostrogorsky, Geschichte, p. 85, note 3. J'observe encore pour terminer que c'est entre 687 et 695 que fut créé par Justinien II le thème d'Hellade s'ajoutant au thème de Thrace. La création de ce thème est toute naturelle après la réduction des tribus slaves qui menacaient Thessalonique au sud-ouest aussi bien qu'au nord-est et à l'est.

TEXTE GREC RÉTABLI

1 + Θεία δωρεὰ φιλοτιμηθεῖσα τῷ ἁγίῳ καὶ πανενδόξῳ μάρτυρι Δημητρίῳ παρὰ τοῦ τῆς ὅλης οἰκουμένης δεσπότου Φλαουίου Ἰουστινιανοῦ τοῦ θεοστεφοῦς καὶ εἰρηνοποιοῦ βασιλ[έως τ]ῆς ἀλικῆς τῆς θεοφυλάκτου ἡμῶν +

2 πόλεως Θεσσαλονίκης ἐπὶ Πέτρου τοῦ ἁγιωτάτου αὐτης ἀρχιεπισκόπου + Ἐν ὀνόματι τοῦ κυρίου καὶ δεσπότου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν αὐτ[οκράτω]ρ εὐεργέτης εἰρηνικὸς Φλαύιος

3 Ἰουστινιανὸς πιστὸς ἐν Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ τῷ Θεῷ βασιλεύς · δωρεὰ τῷ σεπτῷ ναῷ τοῦ ἁγίου καὶ ἐνδόξου μεγαλομάρτυρος Δημητρίου ἐν ᾧ τὸ ἅγιον αὐτοῦ κατάκειται λε[ίψ]ανον. Πρώτην φροντίδα διὰ παντὸς

4 κεκτημένοι περὶ τῆς συστάσεως τῶν ἁγίων τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐκκλησιῶν ἐπ'αὐταῖς ταῦτα προϊέναι βουλόμεθα ὅσα πρὸς παραμυθίαν αὐτῶν καὶ συστατικὴν τυγχάνουσιν πρόνοιαν · ἐντεῦθεν γὰρ

5 πεπείσμεθα καὶ τὸν στέψαντα ἡμᾶς Θεὸν εὐαρεστούμενον ὑπερασπιστὴν ἀεὶ γίνεσθαι τῆς ἡμῶν εὐσεβείας · καὶ τὰς κατ' ἐκθρῶν δαψιλῶς ἡμῖν ἐπιχορηγεῖν νίκας · ἐπεὶ οὖν παραγεναμένων

6 ἡμῶν ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ Θεσσαλονικέων πόλει, μετὰ τὴν τοῦ στέψαντος ἡμᾶς Θεοῦ ὑπέρμαχον βοήθειαν πεῖραν σύμμαχον εἰληφότων ἡμῶν τοῦ ἁγίου μεγαλομάρτυρος

7 Δημητρίου ἐν τοῖς παρ' ἡμῶν πραχθεῖσιν παρὰ τῶν αὐτοῦ τε καὶ ἡμῶν πολεμίων διαφόροις πολέμοις (sic · uolebat τροπαίοις), δίκαιον εἶναι κρίναντες ὡς συμμαχήσαντα ἡμῖν τοῖς τῆς

8 εὐχαριστίας νῦν ἀνταμείψασθαι αὐτὸν δώροις, donamus τῷ σεπτῷ αὐτοῦ ναῷ ἐν ᾧ καὶ τὸ ἅγιον αὐτοῦ ἀπόκειται λείψανον ἐμφανῶς τοῖς ἀποῦσιν τὴν οἰκείαν

9 βοήθειαν χαριζόμενος [sic], πᾶσαν τὴν ἁλικὴν τὴν οὖσαν καὶ προσπαρακειμένην ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ Θεσσαλονικέων μεγαλοπόλει μετὰ πάντων τῶν ἀνηκόντων αὐτῇ

10 ἐξ ὑπαρχῆς δικαίων, ἐπὶ τὸ ἔχεσθαι τὸν αὐτὸν σεβάσμιον αὐτοῦ ναὸν τῆς αὐτῆς ἁλικῆς ἀπὸ τοῦ σεπτεμβρίου μηνὸς τῆς ἐνεστώσης δευτέρας ἐπινεμήσεως καὶ εἰς τοὺς

11 ἐξῆς ἅπαντας καὶ διηνεκεῖς χρόνους κυριεύειν τε αὐτῆς καὶ δεσπόζειν καὶ πᾶσαν αὐτὴν εἰς οἰκεῖον ἀποφέρεσθαι κέρδος ὀνόματι φωταγωγίας καὶ διαρίων

12 τοῦ θεοφιλοῦς κλήρου καὶ πάσης ἱερατικῆς ὑπουργίας, ἔτι δὲ κ[αὶ ὀνόματι βελτι]ώσεως τοῦ εἰρημένου σεπτοῦ ναοῦ, μὴ ὀφείλοντος τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐνδόξου ναοῦ ἤγουν τοῦ κατ'αὐτὸν

13 θεοφιλοῦς κλήρου καθ'οἷον δήποτε τρόπον παρέχειν ἢ ἐπινοεῖσθα[ι παρέχων συντέ]λειαν ἕνεκεν τῆς παρὰ τῆς ἡμῶν γαληνότητος δεδωρημένης ἁλικῆς τῷ οἱῳδήποτε

14 στρατιωτικῷ προσώπῳ διὰ τὸ ὡς εἴρηται ὑπέρ τε φωταγ[ωγίας καὶ διαρίων τ]οῦ θεοφιλοῦς κλήρου καὶ λοιπῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς χρείας φιλοτιμηθῆναι αὐτῷ παρ' ἡμῶν

15 τὴν τοιαύτην ἅπασαν παντελευθέραν ἁλικὴν [ὥστε ἐντεῦθεν ἀδιαλ]είπτως λειτουργούμενον τὸν ἅγιον μεγαλομάρτυρα Δημήτριον πρεσβεύειν διὰ παντὸς

16 τῷ στέψαντι ἡμᾶς θεῷ ὑπὲρ τῆς ἡμῶν εὐσεβοῦς βα[σιλείας, ὅπερ δῆλον ἔσται πᾶσιν τῇ ἐπιδ]είξει καὶ μόνον τῆς παρούσης ἡμῶν εὐσεβοῦς δωρεᾶς.

NOTE COMPLÉMENTAIRE

Dans cette note brève, je n'ai pas renvoyé au texte des documents byzantins qui justifient mes restitutions, parce que je les crois évidentes. Toutefois, en ce qui concerne la ligne 12, puisque j'ai hésité moi-même entre un mot signifiant "réparation" ou "restauration" et des termes plus spéciaux, relatifs à la décoration du temple (mosaïques ou dallages), je dois dire ici que la restitution qui figure dans mon texte, βελτίωσις littéralement "amélioration," est certaine. Cf. Miklosich & Müller, *Acta et Diplomata*, vol. VI = *Monasteriorum et Ecclesiarum Orientis* III, p. 223 (Ste Marie de Cos, 13e siècle): *ὅθεν καὶ ἡ μετριότης ἡμῶν, τοῦτου μὲν τῆς εἰς τὸ ἐξῆς συστάσεως καὶ βελτιώσεως τῆς μονῆς . . . φροντίζουσα*; cf. p. 195: *βελτιώσεσί τε ὑποστατικῶν πραγμάτων*. Il faut écarter toute expression qui désignerait des travaux plus importants que des réparations courantes, parce que, manifestement, ce qui importe ici, c'est l'affectation des revenus de la saline à l'éclairage de l'église et aux salaires du clergé. Ces deux points sont essentiels. On les mentionne encore à la ligne 14. Le reste est accessoire, ainsi qu'il résulte de la comparaison des lignes 11 et 14.

Ligne 16. Comparer *Acta et Diplomata*, vol. VI = *Monasteriorum et Ecclesiarum Orientis* III, p. 105: actes de Patmos [Leros] de mars 1445: *τῇ ἐμφανείᾳ καὶ μόνῃ τῆς παρούσης λύσεως τῆς βασιλείας μου*. Ligne 13. Le verbe *ἐπινοεῖσθαι* est fréquemment employé dans les Actes à propos d'impôts et de corvées qui n'existaient pas au moment de la rédaction du document, mais que l'imagination inventive des fonctionnaires du fisc pourrait un jour concevoir. Cf. le texte cité plus haut: *ἀπὸ παντοίας ἀγγαρείας νῦν τε οὔσης καὶ ἐσύστερον ἐπινοηθησομένης*.

D'une manière générale l'Edit de Justinien II est le prototype d'innombrables documents de plus en plus verbeux, assurant aux monastères toute espèce d'immunités (*ἐξκουσσεία*).

A BYZANTINE MUSICAL CODEX AT HARTFORD, CONN.

By KENDRICK GROBEL

In the dearth of Byzantine musical material in America the existence of this MS. should interest scholars of Byzantine music while the libraries of Europe are inaccessible.

The codex is an *Anthologion* of 588 unnumbered pages (plus 14 blank), folded in octavo, $4\frac{11}{16}''$ x $7\frac{1}{16}''$. An Anthologion, according to Tillyard, "is an abridged Sticherarion, and contains idiomela for the chief Saints' Days and Holy Days only" (Musical Antiquary, 1911). On every full page twelve lines of music in late Byzantine neumes alternate with twelve lines of text. The main contents of the book are the following classes of composition: κεκραγάρια, one cycle of the eight modes; πολυέλεος, six, covering 95 pp.; πασαπνοάρια, eight; τιμιωτέραι, two whole cycles; ἐωθινὰ ἀναστάσιμα of the Emperor Leo VI, called "the philosopher," eleven: one cycle plus pl. a, pl. b, pl. d; χερουβικά, two cycles and three extra by Lampadarios, three extra by Daniel Protopsaltes; κοινωνικά for all the year, 38 settings; μεγαλυνάρια, eight by Daniel (not a cycle); various hymns to the Virgin, including one called οἶκοι εἰς δόξαν τῆς ὑπεραγίας δεσποίνης ἡ. θκου p. 549; a few hymns to saints, including St. Nikolas of Myra, p. 523; and 22 pp. of κρατήματα. (These last, plus incidental occurrences of τερέρισμος within other compositions, amount to about 176 pp.—30%!—of the book. Besides "te-re-re-rem" there also occur "ne-ne-na," "to-to," and "ti-ti" in such meaningless vocalization.)

The binding is lavishly gilt red morocco. Covers and back are decorated with an ornate flower-and-foliage design, centered on the front cover by a miniature of the Crucifixion, on the back cover by one of the Theotokos, all in gold leaf. The leaves are gilt and goffered with a lyre motif on all three edges. The parchment-like paper was made by one Al. Masso, whose name constituted the lesser watermark in the middle of the left half of the unfolded folio sheet. The name was written in large and small Roman capitals, the A and M being $\frac{19}{32}''$ high. But the book is an octavo, and this name was bisected by the upper fold, along which the binder trimmed off a strip $\frac{5}{32}''$ wide. In spite of that, the tall A and M can be read a dozen times. The smaller letters, however, with a $\frac{5}{32}''$-strip cut out of their $\frac{5}{16}''$ height, were left unrecognizable except in a few cases where the fold was eccentric. (They may best be seen on pp. 115 and 125, 11, and 254.) The greater watermark on the right side of the folio sheet has an elaborate coat of arms: a crown surmounting a shield which bears fleur-de-lis (quarters 1 and 4) quartered with three balls (or rings? or circles?); beneath the shield, in order: a Maltese cross, a wreath, a goat(?) and the large initials, G M, probably the name of the founder of the paper

firm, also a Masso. These two watermarks are found in most quires of the book.

The fact that at least three quires contain correction-sheets (pp. 325–40, 253–6) indicates that the book was written in cahiers or quires; neither quires nor pages were numbered. Four quires in the middle, pp. 263–312 and 355–70, are of a coarser, darker paper with the warp-wires farther apart. I have observed only one faint water-mark there (p. 283 and 289) different from the principal one, but similar, containing the same initials, and probably from the same factory. The white hard paper in the correction-sheet, 327–9 and 335–7, bears an entirely different mark with different initials. In the last third of the book the scribe used a different method of correcting: instead of re-writing a whole sheet—up to four pages—as he had been doing, he now cut off eight single leaves near the sewing, but the text runs on continuously (pp. 380, 488, 510, 520, 532, 540, 542, 546). This strongly suggests that the MS. went to the binder while the copying was in mid-passage; i.e., sometime after the copying of p. 337 (the last correction-sheet) and sometime before the writing of 381 (where the first excision had been made). This probably also explains the 14 blank pages at the end—they were the scribe's margin of safety for the last 200 pages of the MS.

A fine illumination in blue and gold painted with a brush opens the book, and some nine "two-rope" arabesques in red-and-black pen-work mark the beginnings of some major sections of the book; twice small arabesques fill out the last line of the last hymn of a section. Red ink was used for rubrics and for initials in the text, in the music for the modal μαρτύριαι and for certain supplementary signs relating to musical expression.

A *terminus post quem* for the date of the MS. is furnished by the rubric on p. 329, "Other Cherubics found after the death of the same Peter, only incomplete (ἐλλείποντα)." This "same Peter" can be no other than the one mentioned at the beginning of the Cherubics, p. 297, as the compiler of the collection. His full title is often used: "the most musicological, μουσικολογιώτατος, Kyrios Petros Lampadarios Peloponnesios." Born in Lacedemon of the Peloponnesus, "he was the greatest of the music teachers of the 18th century." He taught in the (second) Patriarchal Music School, opened in Constantinople, 1776. He died in 1777. This MS. was written after that, probably soon after, because of the careful distinction made between his posthumous and other works. He is mentioned in 48 rubrics of the MS. (Other composers or compilers mentioned are: Daniel Protopsaltes, director of the aforementioned school, and, with the following, a pupil of Panagiotes Chalatzoglos of Pontus; Johannes Trapezountios; James Protopsaltes, pupil of the preceding; Germanos, archbishop of New Patras, and Johannes Koukouzeles.) Perhaps the watermarks will furnish an expert a date *ante quem*.

Little can be learned about the external history of the MS. It is now in the library of the Hartford Theological Seminary, Hartford, Conn. It evidently was in one of the fine music collections given to the Seminary by the late Waldo Selden Pratt. In 1935 I discovered it among uncatalogued books in a store-room of the library. A nineteenth-century book-dealer's label pasted on a front fly-leaf called the book a Pentekostarion and dated it "about 1700." It is not a Pentekostarion, but an Anthologion, and its date is probably in the 1780's. Sometime in 1937 the MS., still uncatalogued, was stolen from the cataloguer's room in the library. A few months later a New York book shop advertised a MS. Pentekostarion for sale. I ordered it and found it to be this same Anthologion with my penciled numbering on every page; the words "about 1700" on the old label had been erased. The probably innocent dealer unhesitatingly released the book to Hartford Seminary, its rightful owner.

RANDOLPH, VERMONT

STUDIES IN SLAVIC CHURCH HISTORY

By Ernest Honigmann

A. The Foundation of the Russian Metropolitan Church According to Greek Sources

I

The Metropolitan Theopemptos (A.D. 1039)

There exist today many divergent opinions as to the question whether the Russian Church was ruled from the very beginning by metropolitans or at first, viz., during the half-century from the baptism of S. Vladimir until 1039, by archbishops. A similar disagreement prevails among scholars as to the question where these metropolitans or archbishops resided at that time. There is only one point about which all experts seem to agree, viz., that Greek sources keep a complete silence about the fifty years from 989–1039. Often this apparent silence is interpreted as clear evidence for the opinion that before 1039 the Russian Church was not yet subordinated to the Patriarch of Constantinople.

While some scholars prefer a prudent reserve, leaving the question open whether the first metropolitan was appointed in about 989–991 or in 1037–1039[1], most of them decline the former possibility, rejecting all those texts which in reference to the time before 1039 speak of metropolitans, and denouncing them as "evident falsifications" or "gross interpolations".

The works of H. Gelzer apparently confirm the opinion that no help can be expected from Greek sources. But Gelzer died in 1906, and since then some new material has been published which changes considerably the aspect of the whole question. The present writer intends to show that in fact Greek sources make an important, even decisive contribution to the above-mentioned controversy. But of course a serious discussion is only possible among scholars who do not look upon the whole Greek and Russian clergy as falsifiers, as Mr. N. de Baumgarten seems to do[2]. Echoing his views Father Jugie tries even to outdo his scepticism; for while N. de

Note. These two articles reproduce—the second in the original French—two lectures delivered by the author before the members of the *Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire Orientales et Slaves* of the *Ecole Libre des Hautes Etudes* (1944–1945).

[1] A. A. Vasiliev, "Was Old Russia a Vassal State of Byzantium?", *Speculum*, VII (1932), 352.

[2] N. de Baumgarten, "St Vladimir et la conversion de la Russie", *Orientalia Christiana*, No. XXVII (1932), p. 97: "le clergé grec et russe qui s'occupa de falsifications. . . ". It is not clear whether the author alludes here to those Greek and Russian clergymen whose statements do not fit his own views, or considers all of them falsifiers, like the well-known saying which declares all Cretans to be liars.

Baumgarten agrees with most scholars at least in admitting that the Greek Metropolitan Theopemptos of Kiev in 1039 is a well-attested historical personality, Jugie declares: "This metropolitan was called Theopemptos according to the falsified Russian chronicles. . . . But this nomination cannot have been made by the patriarch of Constantinople. . . . The subordination of the Russian Church to the oecumenical patriarchate seems to have started only after the death of Yaroslav (1054)"[3].

Since the year 1911, however, we have a Greek attestation of Theopemptos which is above all suspicion. In September of the same year 1039 under which he is mentioned in the Russian Primary Chronicle[4], a synod was held in Constantinople presided over by the Patriarch Alexios Studites. The purpose of the gathering, suggested by the Metropolitan John of Melitene, was to reach a decision concerning mixed marriages between orthodox and heretics, especially Jacobites of the eastern frontier provinces. The synodical decision was signed by twelve metropolitans and one archbishop, Antony of Zekhia. The name of the twelfth and last metropolitan, who perhaps had been ordained not long before, is Θεόπεμπτος Ῥωσίας[5].

The editor of the document did not comment upon this name, nor did V. Grumel mention it in his summary of the contents[6]. The existence of an archbishopric (later metropolis) of Rhusion or Rhosion (in Thrace) and a bishopric of Rhusianon (Rossano in Calabria) under the jurisdiction of the Constantinopolitan Patriarch may have kept Ficker from making any hasty assertion about the identity of Theopemptos of Rhosia. He certainly had not the slightest notion of the fact that the same metropolitan also figures in the Russian Primary Chronicle. In general terms, he remarks elsewhere in his paper that certain signatures under the different documents he published would perhaps suggest some interesting observations to those scholars for whom they are not merely empty names.[6a] As far as I know, nobody has as yet discovered that the Russian metropolitan

[3] M. Jugie, "Les origines romaines de l'église russe", *Échos d'Orient*, XXXVI (1937), 269: "Celui-ci s'appelait Théopempte, d'après les chroniques russes falsifiées .... Mais . . . cette nomination ne dut point se faire par le patriarche de Constantinople .... La sujétion de l'Église russe au patriarcat oecuménique ne paraît avoir commencé qu'après la mort de Iaroslav (1054)".

[4] *Povest*, ed. E. F. Karskij in *Polnoe Sobranie Russkich Letopisei* (quoted in the following: *PSRL*) I, 2nd edit. (Leningrad, 1926), p. 153. "The Russian Primary Chronicle (Načalnaya Letopis)", transl. by S. H. Cross, *Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature*, XII (Cambridge, Mass., 1930), 227.

[5] Gerh. Ficker, *Erlasse des Patriarchen von Konstantinopel Alexios Studites* (Univ.-Progr., Kiel, 1911), p. 42, line 19.

[6] V. Grumel, *Les Regestes des Actes du Patriarcat de Constantinople*, I, fasc. II (Kadiköy, 1936), 233–234, N. 805.

[6a] G. Ficker, *ibid.*, p. 25: "Ich vermute, dass jemand, der die kirchliche Geographie beherrscht, aus dieser Bischofsliste wertvolle Erkenntnisse schöpfen wird."

of 1039 also figures in a small and little noticed "Universitätsprogramm" of Kiel.

If, following Mr. de Baumgarten, we consider every Greek document a forgery, we must at least admit that the falsifier succeeded in this case in hiding the purpose of his machinations so cunningly that during more than 30 years modern scholars failed to discover his aim.

II

The archbishopric of Tamatarkha or Matrakha (Tmutorokan)

Since, during the first half-century of the Russian Church, different sources speak sporadically of "archbishops" instead of "metropolitans", certain modern scholars take the former to be the exact title of the Russian primate, characterizing as "interpolations" or "falsifications" all those passages where the word "metropolitan" occurs. They stress the fact that these two terms are always precisely used in the Greek canonical writings; therefore it could by no means be admitted that they would have been confused by certain authors[7]. The reasoning of these scholars is presumably that, if Russian archbishops had never existed, it could not be understood why some authors nevertheless use this title. Having banished from Russia all "metropolitans" before A.D. 1039, they run however into great difficulties as soon as they try to conceive a more precise idea of the "archiepiscopal" church of Russia. There is almost no possible solution of the problem that has not yet been proposed and discussed.

We can pass over in silence the old tale of Peter Damiani, according to which his pupil, the martyr Boniface, baptized the Russians[8]. There is nobody today who believes either in the suggestion derived from the Icelandic Sagas, to wit, that St. Olaf Tryggvason exercised a lasting influence upon Vladimir's conversion, or in that old hypothesis unearthed by N. de Baumgarten, according to which the first erection of the "archiepiscopal see of Kiev" must probably be ascribed to the Roman Church[9].

[7] N. de Baumgarten, "St Vladimir . . . ", p. 98: "Les termes d' 'archevêque' et de 'métropolitain' sont tellement précis dans l'usage canonique byzantin qu'il est impossible d'admettre qu'à l'époque du moine Jacob et de Nestor on ait pu les confondre". He quotes as references Karamzin and Golubinskij, *Istorija russkoi cerkvi*, I, 1 (2d ed., Moscow, 1901), 267.

[8] Petrus Damiani, "Vita S. Romualdi", ch. 27, Migne, *P.L.*, CXLIV, col. 978^{A}–979^{C}. In fact Bonifacius (S. Bruno of Querfurt) converted some Pechenegs in Southern Russia.

[9] N. de Baumgarten, "Olaf Tryggwison, roi de Norvège et ses relations avec S. Vladimir de Russie", *Orientalia Christiana*, No. 73 (= vol. XXIV, No. 1) (Rome, 1931); *id.*, "S. Vladimir . . . ", p. 70f., 100ff., chap. VII; M. Jugie, *Échos d'Orient*, XXXVI (1937), p. 257–270. But see the just objections by G. Ostrogorsky, *Geschichte des byzantinischen Staates* (Munich, 1940), p. 215, n. 2, against that "entirely wrong" ("völlig abwegig") theory. The whole textual background of the Norse material on

This supposition is based almost exclusively upon the remark that a papal embassy was received by Vladimir "with love and honor". A rather shaky foundation!

More serious are those attempts which seek the origin of the alleged Russian archiepiscopacy either in Bulgaria or in Tamatarkha. The former idea had a very clever defender in M. D. Prisyolkov[10], who tried to show that, before A.D. 1037, the Russian Church depended on the archbishop of Okhrida. But, as G. Vernadsky justly remarks, that theory "has been built entirely on the basis of indirect arguments"; he adds: "There is no mention of the dependence of the Russian Church on the Archbishop of Okhrida in any of the sources—either Russian or Bulgarian"[11]. A weighty argument against all the attempts previously mentioned is that fact that Vladimir assumed at his baptism the name Vasili, viz., that of the Greek Emperor Basileios, thus acknowledging that he considered himself spiritually dependent on the Greek Church.

A solution that takes the Greek origin and dependence of the Russian Church into account can be found, certain scholars believe, by assuming that Tmutorokan was the residence of the Russian "archbishop" until A.D. 1037 or 1039. Their hypothesis not only constitutes a new conception of the oldest ecclesiastical status of Russia, but also revolutionizes the current ideas on the whole course of ancient Russian history. As far as it concerns the evolution of the Russian Church, its most outstanding advocate is Prof. G. Vernadsky who, in a recent article, has imagined a colorful picture of that Tmutorokan Church, in which he develops Golubinski's vaguer intimations and his own very precise idea with great consistency[12].

E. Golubinski supposed[13] that Tmutorokan was the see of the bishop whom Photios sent to Russia according to his encyclical letter of A.D. 867. His chief reason for this assumption probably was that one of the members of the council held by Photios in 879–880 is called Βαάνης Μασταβάρων[14],

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Olaf Tryggvason was analysed by S. H. Cross, "La Tradition islandaise de Saint Vladimir", *Revue des Etudes Slaves*, XI (1931), 133–148. Previously this theory had already been advocated by others, e.g. Vizzardelli, *Dissertatio de origine christianae religionis in Russia* (Rome, 1826) and P. Verdière, S. J., "Origines catholiques de l'église russe au XIIe siècle", *Etudes de théologie, de philosophie et d'histoire*, II (1857), p. 133–304.

[10] M. D. Prisyolkov, *Očerki po cerkovno-političeskoi istorii Kievskoi Rusi* (S. Pbg., 1913).

[11] G. Vernadsky, "The Status of the Russian Church during the first half-century following Vladimir's conversion", *The Slavonic and East European Review*, XX (1941), 295 (quoted henceforth: Vernadsky, "Status"). This point was previously made by S. H. Cross, "The Earliest Mediaeval Churches of Kiev," *Speculum*, XI (1936), 486.

[12] Vernadsky, "Status", p. 294–314.

[13] E. Golubinskij, *Istorija*, I, i, 47–48.

[14] Mansi, "*Sacrorum Conciliorum . . . collectio*", XVII, col. 377[A].

whose bishopric he took, following a suggestion of Le Quien[15], to be identical with Matrakha-Tmutorokan. But recently N. Adontz has shown[16] that Baanes was in fact the Armenian Bishop Vahan of Matravan Vank' ("the monastery of the martyrion") in Taron, called Ματραβάτζ or Μαστραβάτζ[17] in some eleventh century *Notitiae;* as bishop of Taron, Vahan is also attested in A.D. 876[18].

Thus one alleged reason for assuming that Russia was christianized from Tmutorokan turns out to be erroneous. As Photios is silent about the see of the Russian bishop, it is hardly possible to ascertain its exact site, all the more as it is even not certain that he had a permanent residence at all. In any case, the assertion that "we are forced to the conclusion that the first Russian bishopric was that of Tmutorokan"[19] is quite exaggerated. If really the bishop sent by Photios was not allowed to enter "Russia" proper (a restriction imposed on him chiefly by modern scholars, as it seems), there remains always the possibility that he worked either on the Dnieper island called S. Gregorios[20], which was below the southern end of the *porogi* (cataracts of the Dnieper), or on the Black Sea Island of S. Aitherios, situated not far from the Dnieper estuary[21]; for it is remarkable that in both cases the names of Christian saints were preserved until the time of Constantinos Porphyrogennetos, in spite of the fact that on the Island of S. Gregorios, according to the same Emperor, pagan sacrifices and the worship of a sacred tree had fully superseded Christianity.

I cannot enter here into a detailed examination of the much disputed question whether the first Russian maritime expeditions of 860 and 941

[15] M. Le Quien, *Oriens Christianus*, I (Paris, 1740), col. 1325[A]: "annon emendandum Μετράχων?" Cf. also J. Hergenröther, *Photius, Patr. v. Constantinopel*, II, 458, n. 77.

[16] N. Adontz, *Byzantion*, IX (1934), 259–260. Cf. also E. Honigmann, "Die Ostgrenze des byz. Reiches", *Corpus Bruxellense*, III (Brussels, 1935), 202, 205–206.

[17] *Notitia*, III, 682; X, 761, ed. G. Parthey in his *Hieroclis Synecdemus* (Berlin, 1866), p. 127, 223. H. Gelzer, "Ungedruckte und ungenügend veröffentlichte Texte der Notitiae Episcopatuum", *Abh. der philos.-philol. Classe der K. Bayerischen Akad. der Wissensch.*, XXI (1901), 581 (in the following: Gelzer, "Texte").

[18] Vardan, *History*, p. 68, 8 [139] ed. J. Muyldermans (Louvain-Paris, 1927).

[19] Vernadsky, "Status", p. 297.

[20] Constantin. Porphyrog., *De adm. imp.*, p. 78, 1 ed. Bonn = *P.G.*, CXIII, col. 176[A]: *νῆσον τὴν ἐπιλεγομένην ὁ ἅγιος Γρηγόριος.* This island is probably the same as Khortič (near the junction of the river of that name with the Dnieper), mentioned *sub anno* 6611 (A.D. 1103) in the *Russian Primary Chronicle*, p. 278 ed. Karskij; p. 292, transl. Cross.

[21] Const. Porph., *De adm. imp.*, p. 78, 11 ed. Bonn.: *νῆσος τοῦ ἁγίου Αἰθερίου.* According to V. Latyšev, this island is the present Kimburn Peninsula and not, as usually supposed, Berezan (cf. *Byzant. Ztschr.*, IX, 286f.). Bishop Aitherios of Khersonesos attended the second œcumenical council in 381. See also *Synaxarium eccles. Constantinopolitan.*, ed. H. Delehaye (Brussels, 1902), col. 517, 17f. V. Latyšev, *Menologii anonymi Byzantini saec. X quae supersunt*, I (S. Pbg. 1911), 197–202.

A.D. started from the Taman peninsula, an opinion advocated especially by V. A. Mošin[22]. That hypothesis, partly based upon the so-called "Khazar Letters" of rather dubious and disputed value[23], partly upon a subjective interpretation of the vague term "Russian Island" used by Arab geographers[24] is far from being proved. It is a matter of fact that the first incontestable attestation of a Russian Tmutorokan dates as late as A.D. 1022[25].

In Greek sources the see of Tamatarkha or Matrakha appears for the first time in the *Notitia* of *Codex Parisinus 1555A*, published by C. de Boor[26]. It figures there as a suffragan bishopric (written Τυμάταρχα) of Doros, capital of the "Gothic province" (Ἐπαρχία Γοτθίας). This *Notitia* is composed of different parts of quite heterogenous origin. As to the names of the seven "Gothic" bishoprics, G. Vernadsky[27] has shown that they most probably represent only a project presented by S. Constantine the Philosopher to the Patriarch Photios after his return from the mission to Khazaria in A.D. 861 or 862. Whether and how far the projected foundation of a "Gothic province" was really carried out is unknown. It is however probable that, at the same time or somewhat later, Tamatarkha became a bishopric depending on the Church of Constantinople. Vernadsky supposes[28] that, at the beginning of the reign of Basil I (867–886), the bishop of Tmutorokan was raised to the rank of archbishop. This opinion is based on a passage in the *Life of Basil* by the Emperor Constantinos Porphyrogennetos[29], where he ascribes the conversion of many Russians to

[22] V. A. Mošin, *Byzantinoslavica*, III (1931), 33–58, 285–307; *Slavia*, X (1931), p. 109–136, 343–379, 501–537; *Byzantion*, VI (1931), 309–325; *Vladimirskij Sbornik* (Belgrad, 1938), p. 7f.

[23] Cf. especially H. Grégoire's objections, "Le 'Glozel' khazare", *Byzantion*, XII (1937), 255ff.

[24] See however V. Minorsky, *Encyclopaedia of Islam* ([in the following: *E.I.*] s.v. Rūs), who explains that term as meaning the region of the great Russian lakes around Novgorod, in Scandinavian, Holmgarðr, "the town of the island". Likewise G. Da Costa-Louillet, *Byzantion*, XV (1941), 237. In that connection it may be added that in my opinion the names of the three groups of Rūs mentioned by al-Iṣṭakhrī and Ibn Ḥawqal (Minorsky, *ibid.*), viz., "people of Kūyāba, Ṣalāwiya and Arthāniya" mean the people of Kiev, the Slavs or Slovenes, and the Ruthenes, the *alif* of the last name being pronounced with *imāla* (Arthēniya). Till now this name remained unexplained; cf., e.g., A. Zeki Validi Togan, "Ibn Faḍlān's Reisebericht," *Abh. f. d. Kunde d. Morgenlandes*, XXIV, III (Leipzig, 1939), 320 f., n. 1 *in fine*: ". . . diese Horde war den Arabern unter dem noch nicht festgestellten Namen Urtāb (so in Ḥudūd al-'Ālam) oder Urtān bekannt."

[25] The *Russian Primary Chronicle*, ed. Karskij, p. 121; transl. Cross, p. 207.

[26] C. de Boor, *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, XII (1891), 531, v. 653. Gerasimos I. Konidaris, *Texte und Forschungen zur byz.-neugriech. Philologie*, No. XIII (Athens 1934), p. 100, v. 562.

[27] G. Vernadsky, *Byzantion*, XV (1941), 67–76.

[28] G. Vernadsky, *ibid.*, p. 76; cf. *id.*, "Status", p. 297.

[29] Theophanes continuatus, V, 97, ed. Bekker, p. 342_{20}–344_{13}; p. 343_1: ἀρχιεπίσκοπον.

an archbishop ordained by the Patriarch S. Ignatios. Most scholars agree in taking that "archbishop" to be an unhistorical duplicate of the bishop sent by Photios, preferring the contemporary and sober testimony of the Patriarch's encyclical to that of the tenth century Emperor who connects the mention of the archbishop with a trite miraculous story. In any case, he does not mention Tamatarkha in this passage, but only the arrival of the archbishop "in the land of that nation", viz., the Russians[30].

In fact, the erection of Tamatarkha as a Greek archbishopric cannot have been so early, but took place almost a century later. The lists of archbishoprics of the tenth century enable us to circumscribe rather closely the approximate time of the event.

An archbishop ὁ Ματράχων ἤτοι Ζικχίας appears for the first time in a *Notitia* published under John Tzimiskes between A.D. 972 and 976[31]. He occupies there the last but one place among the archbishops. But the following name (ὁ Τζιμενοῦ ἤτοι Κορτζηνῆς καὶ Κελτζηνῆς) is repeated by inadvertence from an older list, for the fact that the same entry figures also in the series of metropoleis of the same list proves that the former archbishopric of Keltzene was already erected as a metropolis when the list was published. In another *Notitia* of almost the same time, that of *Codex Monacensis* 380, Tamatarkha, as the name is written there, occupies the last place (no. 53) among the archbishoprics[32]. As an archbishopric it did not however yet exist at the time when the so-called *Nea Taktika*[33] were composed, viz., after the capture of Melitene, between A.D. 934 and 940[34]. It was accordingly erected between the years 934 and 976, but probably some time before the latter year, for certain features of the extant text of the Tzimiskes *Notitia* reveal that after the erection of Matrakha as archbishopric and before the composition of the *Notitia* two or three other events occurred in the following succession:

(1) The erection of Kortzene-Keltzene as archbishopric,

[30] *Ibid.*, p. 343$_3$: ὃς κατὰ τὴν τοῦ εἰρημένου [viz. τῶν Ῥώς] ἔθνους χώραν παραγεγονώς.

[31] *Notitia* of *Cod. Athen. 1372*, ed. H. Gelzer, "Texte", p. 572.

[32] *Cod. Monac. 380*, fol. 580. Cf. C. de Boor, *Ztschr. f. Kirchengesch.*, XII (1891), 319, n. 1, who remarks that three complete lists of metropolitan sees and archbishoprics figure in this manuscript. H. Gelzer ("Texte", p. 572, 574) calls all the *Notitiae* of that time "revised editions" (Bearbeitungen, Redaktionen) of Leon's VI *Diatyposis*, because that Emperor, often named in their title, was always regarded as the official author of their slightly altered prototype. The *Notitia* of the time of Alexios Komnenos still figures under his name in spite of the major changes necessitated by the events of two centuries. But actually *Cod. Monacensis 380* does not contain "another list of bishoprics of Leo the Wise's time", as Vernadsky concluded (*Byzantion*, XV, 70; "Status", p. 297 with n. 22–23) from Gelzer's somewhat ambiguous expressions ("eine Redaktion von Leons Diatyposis", "Revision von Leons Ordnung").

[33] Νέα τακτικά of *Cod. Coislin. 209*, ed. H. Gelzer in his *Georgius Cyprius* (Leipzig, 1890), p. 57–83, v. 1111–1775.

[34] Gelzer, "Texte", p. 565–567.

(2) the promotion of this archbishopric to the rank of metropolis,
(3) the creation of the metropolis of Taron (?).[35]

It is not impossible that there was a causal connection between the erection of Matrakha and the successful expedition of Svyatoslav against the Khazars, Yasi (Ossetians) and Kassogians (Circassians) in A.D. 965. For our question it does not matter whether Tmutorokan became a Russian principality at that time, or later between 965 and 1022, for the city could be subordinated as an archbishopric to the Greek Patriarch even if politically it was in Russian possession. The decisive question is whether, before 1037, the archbishop of Matrakha can really have been the primate of the whole Russian Church. The same scholars who defend this thesis admit on the other hand that "sees for several suffragan bishops were created in Russia during Vladimir's reign", among them especially the bishopric of Novgorod as early as 992. Moreover Golubinski ascribed to Vladimir's time also the creation of Chernigov, Vladimir Volynsk, Polotsk, Turov, Belgorod, and Rostov as bishoprics, while Prisyolkov admitted only those of Belgorod and Kiev[36]. In any case, Vladimir brought with him from Kherson in 990 a number of bishops and priests[37].

Accordingly, there existed between 988 and 1037 in Russia one archbishop of Tamatarkha and several bishops. Thus the question arises how the Russian hierarchy of that time was organized. Golubinski tried to find a satisfactory answer by comparing the supposed archiepiscopal status of the Russian Church with similar institutions in the Byzantine Church. Vernadsky[38] resumes the arguments of his predecessor as follows: "According to the Byzantine system, an archbishop was not dependent on the metropolitan of the diocese. Generally speaking, there were two classes of archbishops in the Byzantine hierarchy. The majority of them was subordinated directly to the patriarch. The position of each of them was thus equal to the position of a metropolitan. There was, however, a number of archbishops who enjoyed even wider authority, being recognized as autocephalous. The authority of an autocephalous archbishop was practically equal to that of the patriarch. Such were the archbishop of Cyprus and, for some time, the archbishop of Bulgaria. The position of an autocephalous archbishop was much higher than that of a metropolitan, since the latter was subordinated to the patriarch. According to Golubinski it is to this upper class of archbishops that the primates of the Russian church must have belonged prior to 1037".

Relying on these arguments, Vernadsky concludes[39] that "there is good

[35] The existence of this metropolis however is doubtful; see p. 144.
[36] Golubinskij, *Istorija*, I, i, 952. Prisyolkov, *op. cit.*, p. 50. Vernadsky, "Status", p. 304.
[37] Vernadsky, "Status", p. 301.
[38] *Ibid.*, p. 304f.
[39] *Ibid.*, p. 304.

reason to believe that until 1037 the Russian church was organized, not as one of the metropolitan dioceses of the Byzantine Patriarchate, but as an autonomous unit under the authority of an archbishop, the primate of Tmutorokan".

Though Golubinski's remarks are essentially exact[40], they are in so far exaggerated as they speak of "a number of archbishops" who enjoyed wider authority, such as those of Bulgaria and Cyprus. Against this it must be stressed that there were never in Byzantine times more than those two exceptional cases. Even they were not a habitual feature of the Greek church, but, at the time when the archbishopric Tamatarkha was erected, a new, exceptional, and much disputed institution. Possibly they did not even exist at that time.

It is true that Cyprus struggled for centuries for its independence. As early as A.D. 431, that independence, opposed by the patriarch of Antioch, was officially acknowledged, and in 488, as a result of a miraculous invention of relics, the so-called autocephalous status of the Cypriote church was confirmed anew. But since, until 649, the island was a Roman province like others, its capital Constantia was a metropolis, and the metropolitan bishop who resided there was apparently never called "archbishop" before the Arab conquest. It is true that Arcadius I of Constantia, who died between A.D. 626 and 642 (thus before the Arab period), is called archbishop of Cyprus by John of Damascus and in the minutes of the seventh council[41]; but that title reflects perhaps only the usage of the eighth century. The metropolitans of Constantia and their suffragan bishops participated in several general councils occupying there seats among the metropolitans and bishops of the other provinces. The situation was changed after the Arab occupation of the island. Politically Cyprus then became a part of a foreign country, while it remained ecclesiastically in close relation with the Empire. The bishop of Constantia was thus in an exceptional position in comparison with the provincial metropolitans of the Empire. Besides, it became advisable to reward his faithfulness by bestowing upon him a

[40] It is not quite true however that the position of an archbishop was equal to that of a metropolitan, nor is one of the two classes of archbishops mentioned distinguished from the other by the qualification "autocephalous". For that term denoted the lower class of archbishops as well, as most of the *Notitiae* show. It characterizes the upper class as not dependent on the patriarch, the lower as not subjected to the metropolitan of the same province. It distinguishes both categories from the archbishops of Kaisareia and Ephesos who, being also metropolitans of the provinces Cappadocia I and Asia, signed, e.g., in 1157 as ἀρχιεπίσκοπος τῆς μητροπόλεως. . . . The "exarch" of the third great diocese however, the bishop of Herakleia, subscribed always (except in 997 A.D.?) as "metropolitan"; it seems that in the Thracian diocese the title "archbishop" was a privilege of the patriarchs of Constantinople who often signed as such.

[41] Ioannes Damascenus, "De imaginibus" orat. III, *P.G.*, XCIV, col. 1393^{C}–1396^{B}; Mansi, XI, col. 561^{A}. Cf. O. Bardenhewer, *Gesch. d. altkirchl. Literat.*, V, 73.

very honorable rank among the leading archbishops. Among the members of the sixth council in 680 the representative of the archbishop of Constantia occupied the ninth place, sitting between the archbishops of Thessalonica and Ravenna. In A.D. 692, the archbishop of Nea Iustinianupolis, the capital of the Cypriotes settled in the Hellespont province, even had the precedence over his colleague of Thessalonica, sitting immediately after the representative of Rome and the four patriarchs. In 787, the archbishop of Cyprus was placed after those of Kaisareia and Ephesos, but before the archbishop of Thessalonica.

As a territory situated beyond the Empire, Cyprus does not usually figure in the *Notitiae* of the patriarchate of Constantinople.

As to Bulgaria, it is well known that the Patriarch Ignatios in 870 ordained an archbishop and several bishops for that country. It was then a complete innovation that the Bulgarian church, though created as an autonomous structure at King Boris's express desire, yet acknowledged the authority of the patriarch of Constantinople, thus being in a position similar to that of Cyprus. But the greatness of the Bulgarian Empire required, after all, a higher ranking primate. It was probably in about 932, when King Peter of Bulgaria married Maria Lakapena, the Emperor Romanos's granddaughter, that Archbishop Damianos of Dristra was proclaimed patriarch by the imperial senate by order of the Greek Emperor[42]. But when John Tzimiskes had conquered Bulgaria in 971, he abolished the new patriarchate[43]. At that time Cyprus also belonged again to the Empire after its conquest by Nikephoros Phokas in A.D. 965.

The *Notitia* published under the reign of John Tzimiskes reflects this recent enlargement of the Empire, which was followed by a new circumscription and a changed organization of its church which apparently lasted only for a short time. In the beginning, this document enumerates the four patriarchates of Constantinople, Alexandreia, Antioch, and Jerusalem, adding in the fifth place that of Rome. Then follows the "Order of the *metropoleis* subordinated to the apostolic and patriarchal throne of the God-protected imperial capital Constantinople", with the additional remark:

> But these are preceded by the following two archbishoprics:
> that of Bulgaria
> that of Cyprus.[44]

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[42] "Catalogue of the Archbishops of Bulgaria", ed. H. Gelzer, "Der Patriarchat von Achrida", *Abhandl. d. phil.-hist. Kl. d. Sächs. Gesellsch. d. Wiss.*, XX, No. 5 (Leipzig, 1903), 6f. V. Beneševič, *Byzant.-neugriech. Jahrb.*, V (Athens, 1927), 144, places that event in about 932, while G. Ostrogorsky, *Gesch. d. byz. Staates*, p. 189, believes that the Bulgarian patriarchate was already established by King Symeon (died May 27, 927), while acknowledged by Byzantium only after his death.

[43] "Catalogue of the Archbishops of Bulgaria", *ibid.*; cf. Ostrogorsky, *l.c.*, p. 209.

[44] H. Gelzer, "Texte", p. 569: Τάξις τῶν ὑποκειμένων μητροπόλεων τῷ ἀποστολικῷ καὶ

Accordingly Bulgaria and Cyprus, though temporarily incorporated into the Constantinopolitan patriarchate, were not reduced to simple church provinces, but retained their exceptional rights also after their political annexation.

But four years later Bulgaria regained its independence; the primate, again called patriarch, resided successively at Vodena, Prespa, and Okhrida (Okhrid). After the complete destruction of the first Bulgarian Empire by Basil II in 1018, Okhrida was again styled archbishopric. Henceforth, however, the archbishop was no longer subordinated to the patriarch of Constantinople, but only to the Emperor, who reserved to himself the right of nominating that dignitary[45]. For that reason Bulgaria as well as Cyprus disappears again from the *Notitiae*, though the patriarch of Constantinople incidentally tried to interfere with their autocephalous rights[46].

Now let us revert to the archbishop of Tamatarkha. According to several modern scholars, his position was similar to that of the Bulgarian or Cyprian archbishop. As I have just remarked, these two archbishops never occur in the *Notitiae* of the patriarchate of Constantinople, with the sole exception of the list published under John Tzimiskes. Fortunately Matrakha (Tamatarkha) is also mentioned in that document, which was composed in about 972–976, thus only a few years before the period (988–1037) during which Tamatarkha is supposed to have been the see of the primate of Russia. But while Bulgaria and Cyprus are placed in the very beginning of the *Notitia*, before all the 56 *metropoleis* and 51 archbishopries[47], Matrakha or Zikkhia occupies here as well as in *Cod. Monac.*

πατριαρχικῷ θρόνῳ τῆς θεοφυλάκτου καὶ βασιλίδος Κωνσταντινουπόλεως. Πρὸ δὲ τούτου κεῖνται αἱ δύο ἀρχιεπισκοπαί·

Ὁ Βουλγαρίας

Ὁ Κύπρου.

[45] G. Ostrogorsky, *Jugoslav. istor. časopis*, I (1935), 516f.; *Geschichte des byzantinischen Staates*, p. 220, n. 1.

[46] E.g., Patriarch Lukas Khrysoberges (1156–1169) reinstated Bishop John of Amathûs after his deposition by Archbishop John of Constantia (*P.G.*, CXIX, col. 780^{B-C}; CXXXVIII, col. 60^{D}; CXL, col. 180^{B}). The subscriptions of a synod under Alexios Komnenos mention first the metropolitans and then continue: τοῦ αὐτοκεφάλου ἀρχιεπισκόπου τῆς Κυπρίων νήσου καὶ ἑτέρων ἀρχιεπισκόπων τῶν ὑποκειμένων τῷ θρόνῳ τοῦ . . . πατριάρχου (*P.G.*, CXIX, col. 973^{C}). It seems that it was not even an uncontested fact that Bulgaria had the precedence of Cyprus; for on May 12, 1157, John Komnenos, archbishop of Cyprus, though signing the minutes of the council after the archbishop of Bulgaria, added these remarks: Εἰ καὶ μετὰ τὸν μακαριώτατον ἀρχιεπίσκοπον Βουλγαρίας ὑπέγραψα διὰ τὸ θεῖον καὶ ἀναγκαῖον τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς ὑποθέσεως, ἀλλ'οὖν οὐδὲν ἐκ τούτου τῷ θρόνῳ τῆς Κύπρου γενήσεται πρόκριμα ἐκ τῆς ἐμῆς ὑπογραφῆς, τὸν ἄνω τόπον, ὡς ἐγὼ λέγω, ἐκ διαφόρων δικαίων ἔχοντι· διὸ στοιχῶν καὶ αὐτὸς τοῖς ἐν τῷ τόμῳ ὁρισθεῖσι φυλάττω καὶ ἐμαυτῷ τὸ τοῦ θρόνου δίκαιον. Ἀσπάζομαι δὲ καὶ τὰ γεγραμμένα, καὶ ταύταις ταῖς ἐννοίαις καὶ πίστεσι συναποθανεῖν εὔχομαι (*P.G.*, CXL, col. 197^{D}).

[47] Or rather 49, for both (No. 18) Hydrûs and (No. 51) Keltzene occur wrongly among them, figuring also among the metropolitan sees.

380 the last place of all archbishoprics. Besides, there is another fact which enlarges still further the distance that separated them in the carefully balanced "Table-order" of the Byzantine hierarchy. There exist several ranking lists (composed from 899 till about 971) which concern chiefly state officials but insert among them also the church dignitaries in their proper places. In two of them, the *Kletorologion* of Philotheos and the so-called *Taktikon Beneševič*, the archbishop of Bulgaria occupies the 16th place, while the metropolitans of the Greek Church follow only in the 58th, the archbishops in the 59th and the bishops in the 61st place[48]. The archbishop of Cyprus is not mentioned in those ranking lists. From the facts just cited it becomes clear that Matrakha can never have enjoyed such an extraordinary jurisdiction as modern scholars like to assume. As a matter of fact it is precisely a peculiarity of the lower category of archbishops, as opposed to the metropolitans of the earlier period[49], that no suffragan bishops were subordinated to them[50].

[48] J. B. Bury, "The Imperial Administrative System in the Ninth Century", *British Academy, Supplemental Papers*, No. I (London, 1911), 146. V. Beneševič, *Byzant.-neugr. Jahrb.*, V (Athens, 1927), 116, No. 16; p. 122, Nos. 58, 59, 61.

[49] Until the time of Leo the Wise all metropolitans except those of Chalkedon and Katana had suffragan bishops under them, whereas most of the metropolitan sees created from then on had no suffragan bishoprics. The exceptions to this were Hydrûs, Keltzene, Thebes and Russia, the latest in date.

[50] It is true that some events in Alania at the beginning of the tenth century seem to contradict this statement. Archbishop Peter, ordained probably by Patriarch Nikolaos Mystikos (901–907, 912–925), complained to him of the existence of another Greek bishop in the same country, Euthymios, a former ascetic of Mount Olympos (Nikol. Myst., "Epist. 135", *P.G.*, CXI, col. 360). Euthymios, who had begun his missionary work there before Peter's appointment, was probably bishop of another part of the country. Such a part was Ἀζία, the region of the Caspian Gates (Const. Porph., *De caerim.*, II, 48, p. 688 ed. Bonn = *P.G.*, CXII, col. 1269[B]). In the late Middle Ages (Sept., 1364) it is attested that the metropolitan of Alania exercised certain rights and privileges in Ἀλανία καὶ Καυκασία καὶ Ἀχωχία (Miklosich and Müller *Acta et diplomata medii aevi*, I (Vienna, 1860), 477, No. CCXXI). But the fact that Peter complained about this irregularity and that the patriarch tried to defend it shows that it was in opposition to the rule and, what is decisive, that the bishop in question did not depend upon the archbishop.

The only instance of a bishopric subjected to an archbishopric of the same lower class as Matrakha would be the "Kodros in Gotthia" (*Notitia* X, 127, p. 201, ed. G. Parthey), if we should accept a suggestion of A. Vasiliev (*The Goths in the Crimea*, p. 146) who supposes that the *Notitia* quoted "notes not only the archbishopric of Gothia but also its chief center Kodros (ἡ Κόδρος) in which the distorted name of Doros is recognizable". We find there four names without numbers written by the side of four others which figure in the numbered list of archbishoprics:

Notitia X, 115. ιη'. ἡ Καραβιζύη καὶ ἡ Ἄμαστρις
116. ιθ'. αἱ Σέρραι μετὰ τὴν Δέρκους
119. κβ'. ἡ Μισθεια καὶ ἡ Κολώνεια
127. λ'. ἡ Γοτθία · ἡ Κόδρος

But in fact those four names are added by a copyist who collated this *Notitia*

Thus a comparison with the status of the church in Bulgaria or in Cyprus shows, on the contrary, that the archbishop of Tamatarkha certainly did not play the rôle which modern scholars like to ascribe to him. But against these observations it may be objected that extraordinary conditions prevailed in Russia which required uncommon solutions. Vernadsky obviously was influenced by such a conception, when he remarked[51]: "We may think that, as a result of Vladimir's campaign, the archbishop of Tmutorokan assumed the position of an autocephalous prelate even if his new authority was not formally recognized by the Patriarch. Tacit recognition of the fact must have been, in any case, wrung from the Byzantine authorities by Vladimir".

Such a tendency toward independence may indeed have sometimes existed in the primitive Russian church, but there is no longer any reason to attribute it to the Greek or Russian archbishop of Tamatarkha. In any case it is not clear why that archbishop, who "must have been canonically in Tmutorokan"[52], had the unpleasant burden "of traveling periodically between Kiev and Tmutorokan"[53]. Now that the hypothesis that his position was analogous to that of the archbishops of Bulgaria and Cyprus has been eliminated, this pitiable clergyman probably can be relieved from the obligation imposed upon him by modern historians of travelling always to and fro over a distance of about 450 miles or 750 kilometers[54] in order to reach his flock! There can no longer be any doubt: whether the primate of Russia was an archbishop or not, his residence must have been some place in that country and not on the western slopes of the Caucasus.

The erection of the metropolitan see at Kiev by Yaroslav is mentioned in different chronicles in 1038[55], and the Russian Primary Chronicle speaks of the foundation of the metropolitan church of S. Sophia in Kiev under the

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with one or two others. He found, e.g., in the list of archbishoprics in Leo's *Diatyposis* that Karabizye was followed by Amastris, Derkûs by Serrhai, Mistheia by Koloneia. Kodros, it is true, does not occur there; but in the list of *Codex Genav. Helvet. 28*, published by H. Gelzer ("Texte", p. 592f.), where Gotthia has the 30th place, we read at the end: "Two (sic) other archbishoprics are found in some manuscripts: *Lopadion No. 31, Kodros No. 32* (ἡ Κόδρος λβ') *and Ditzina, altogether 32*" (Ditzina probably is added by another hand). In other Mss. Kodros probably followed Gotthia immediately, which explains their juxtaposition in *Notitia X*. It is certainly the same as the archbishopric αἱ Κόδραι which follows as No. 38 both in *Notitia X* and in the Geneva codex. Thus the copyist's addition means that in other Mss. the place of the archbishopric Kodros was by 6 or 7 numbers higher, and not that it was a bishopric subjected to Gotthia.

[51] Vernadsky, "Status", p. 305.

[52] *Ibid.*, p. 303.

[53] *Ibid.*, p. 303.

[54] As the crow flies! By sea it is not much less than from Constantinople to Kiev.

[55] N. de Baumgarten, "S. Vladimir", p. 97, n. 1.

year 6545, i.e., A.D. 1037[56]. Though this entry refers perhaps only to the erection of a certain building, it is possible that before that time the primates of Russia resided elsewhere, perhaps in different places. According to the Nikonovski Chronicle[57] Pereyaslavl was formerly the metropolis. This assertion of a sixteenth-century chronicler seems to be confirmed by the title of a treatise of Leo, primate of Russia: Λέοντος μητροπολίτου Ῥωσίας (Mss. 2.3.10: τῆς ἐν Ῥωσία Πρεσθλάβας) πρὸς Ῥωμαίους ἤτοι Λατίνους περὶ τῶν ἀζύμων (var. περὶ τοῦ ὅτι οὐ δεῖ τελεῖσθαι τὰ ἄζυμα)[58].

The heading of this treatise is likewise interesting from another point of view: in the different Mss. Leo is called now metropolitan (Mss. 1-3.9.10 12.13), now archbishop (Mss. 8.11), now bishop (Ms. 4). We can disregard the third title (ἐπισκόπου Ῥωσίας Μελτζάβης: 4), for every metropolitan etc. was also a bishop (viz., the "bishop of the metropolis N."). As to the title archbishop, it is remarkable that the treatise was a letter addressed to the Romans, beginning Ἄνδρες Ῥωμαῖοι ἀκούσατε and apostrophizing them twice again (p. $95_2.98_{37}$). This purpose explains sufficiently why in two later Mss. the western term "archbishop" is preferred to the eastern "metropolitan". Similar considerations may be responsible for the fact that John, who discovered the relics of SS. Boris and Gleb in 1026, is also styled "archbishop" in the *Life* of these saints; for we know that the author of this *Life* was influenced by the Czech *Legend of S. Venceslav* and therefore probably familiar with the titles of the western hierarchy. The same reason explains the use of the title *archiepiscopus* by an Occidental writer, Thietmar of Merseburg (wrote August 14, 1018)[59]. Generally speaking, the relations of Russia with the western powers at that time may have contributed to the alternate use of the two titles; of course before the schism of Kerularios there was no reason to sever relations with the Holy See which, in A.D. 1000, founded in Eastern Europe the archbishopric of Gniezno (Gnesen).

However that may be, I see no decisive reason why we should approve on

[56] "The Russian Primary Chronicle", ed. Karskij, p. 150; transl. Cross, p. 226.

[57] "Chronicle of Nikon", *PSRL*, IX, 116.

[58] Critical edition by V. Beneševič, "Pamjatniki drevne-russkago kanoničeskago prava", No. 2, *Russkaja Istoričeskaja Biblioteka*, XXXVI (Petrograd, 1920), 73-101. As approximate date of the treatise Beneševič gives A.D. 1004. It is true that modern scholars often regard this letter as a *pseudepigraphon*, because "a treatise against the use of unleavened bread before Michael Kerularios is an anachronism" (M. Jugie, "Slaves dissidentes (églises)", *Dictionnaire de la Foi Catholique*, IV [Paris, 1922], col. 1360). Others (as Čel'cov, Dimitrakopulos, Cuklev, B. Leib) argue that Presthlaba cannot be the Russian city (in spite of Ῥωσίας or ἐν Ῥωσίᾳ in all Mss.!), but must be sought in Bulgaria. A. Ehrhard (*apud* K. Krumbacher, *Gesch. d. byz. Lit.*, p. 81f., 114) even mentions both "Leon metropolitan of Russia" and "Leon metropolitan of Preslaba on the Danube". There is, however, no evidence that Great or Little Preslav in Bulgaria was ever a metropolis or archbishopric.

[59] Thietmar of Merseburg, *Mon. Germ. Hist., SS.*, III, 870.

principle every mention of a "Russian archbishop" and reject each passage where a "Russian metropolitan" occurs before 1037. The observation that a Byzantine metropolitan residing in a foreign country like Russia is difficult to imagine has no weight, for as that status surely existed after 1037, there is no reason why it should have been impossible before that date. Besides, it has been demonstrated that to a certain degree Old Russia was really a kind of vassal state of Byzantium[60]. If we assume that from the very beginning the Russian primate was styled metropolitan, we are relieved of the necessity of explaining an alleged sudden change of religious policy in 1037 which is not attested in any source, but, according to modern scholars, "must" have "terminated with one stroke the autocephalous status of the Russian church"[61].

III

The date of the creation of the Russian metropolis

An important indication permitting us to date the creation of a new Greek metropolis is the place in which it occurs in the *Notitiae* (Τάξεις) of the Patriarchate of Constantinople. The official list (διατύπωσις) of Emperor Leo the Wise and Patriarch Nikolaos Mystikos, issued between 901 and 907,[61a] counts 51 metropoleis and 51 archbishoprics. The *Notitia* of the time of Alexios Komnenos (1081–1118) shows that during the intermediate two centuries (the tenth and eleventh) about 30 new *metropoleis* were created, among them that of Russia (Ῥωσία). H. Gelzer, who was the first to subject the *Notitiae episcopatuum* to a scrupulous critical examination in order to fix their chronological succession, observed in 1886[62] that the order in which these 30 *metropoleis*, created between 901 and 1084, appear in the *Notitia* of the time of Alexios Komnenos corresponds exactly to the succession of their respective erection. If in 1886 Gelzer's opinion could still be considered rather as a probable supposition than a well established fact, every text published since then has confirmed his view. It would therefore be easy to fix approximately the date of the establishment of the Russian metropolitan church, if we could ascertain the exact time of the creation of those sees which in the list precede and follow that entry. But if we look at the dates which Gelzer added in 1886 to the list in order to prove his thesis of its chronological arrangement, we note that with the exception of the very first and last items there are only three metropolitan sees the creation of which he attempted to date. I repeat

[60] A. A. Vasiliev, *Speculum*, VII (1932), 350–360; id., *The Goths in the Crimea* (Cambridge, Mass., 1936), p. 134.

[61] Vernadsky, "Status", p. 311.

[61a] Probably in 901 or 902, since Alania does not yet figure among the archbishoprics; see V. Grumel, *Regestes*, vol. I, fasc. II, p. 133–135, N. 598.

[62] H. Gelzer, *Jahrbücher für protestant. Theologie*, XII (1886), 536–544.

here the list as given by Gelzer almost without change, adding only to each metropolis the number under which it figures in the Notitia of Alexios Komnenos.

Jahrbücher für protest. Theologie, XII (1886), 540–541:

51. Eukhaïta	under Leo (886–911)
52. Amastris	and Constantine (912–959)
53. Khonai	
54. Hydrûs	968
55. Keltzene	after 1022
56. Koloneia	
57. Thebai	between 1023 and 1035
58. Serrhai	
59. Pompeïupolis	
60. Rosia	1035
61. Alania	between 1035 and 1082
62. Ainos	
63. Tiberiupolis	
64. Eukhaneia	
65. Kerasûs	
66. Nakoleia	
67. Germia (Gelzer: Germania)	
68. Madyta	
69. Apameia	
70. Basileion	
71. Dristra	
72. Nazianzos	
73. Kerkyra	
74. Abydos	
75. Methymna	
76. Christianupolis	
77. Rhusion	
78. Lakedaimon(ia)	1082[63]
79. Naxia	1083[64]
80. Attaleia	1084[65]

At a glance Gelzer's list seems indeed to confirm the view that Theopemptos was the first metropolitan of Russia, since, according to that scholar, his see (No. 60) was created in A.D. 1035 and at all events after 1022. But a closer examination reveals that such a conclusion would be fallacious. For by dating the Russian metropolis in 1035 (p. 538: 1035 or 1037) he relied on no other sources than the Russian chronicles which, according to recent editions, place both the foundation of the metropolitan

[63] *Notitia* III, 470, scholion, p. 119, ed. G. Parthey. *Notitia* X, 577, *ibid.*, p. 216. Cf. F. Dölger, *Regesten . . .*, II, 30, No. 1086.

[64] *Notitia* III, 570, scholion, p. 123, ed. Parthey. *Notitia* X, 645, *ibid.*, p. 219. Dölger, *ibid.*, No. 1088.

[65] *Notitia* III, 391, scholion, p. 116, ed. Parthey. *Notitia* X, 522, *ibid.*, p. 214. Dölger, *ibid.*, p. 32, No. 1112.

church[65a] of S. Sophia at Kiev and the consecration of the church of the Virgin by Metropolitan Theopemptos two years later, viz., in 1037 and 1039 respectively[66]. It would therefore be a dangerous vicious circle to consider the date added to no. 60, "Rosia" (i.e., Russia), as a welcome contribution of Greek sources to Russian Church History.

On the other hand Gelzer's date of the foundation of the metropolis Keltzene turned out to be wrong, as C. de Boor observed in 1891[67], who for his part dated this event more than twenty years earlier ("before 1000 A.D."); we shall see that in fact it happened much earlier still.

The publication of several important *Notitiae* by Gelzer in 1901 increased somewhat the number of those cases which can be dated more or less exactly. Some *Notitiae*, e.g. those preserved in *Cod. Athen. 1374* or in *Cod. Coislin. 209* (called there Νέα τακτικά), which were composed a few years later than that of Leon VI, add to the series of *metropoleis* figuring in the *Diatyposis* of the Emperor the following three: Amastris, Asmosata and Khonai. A metropolitan Nikolaos of Asmosata is attested in April 1032[68]; but at the latest after the catastrophe of Mantzikert (1071) that metropolis disappeared again from the *Notitiae*[69]. The texts just quoted were, according to Gelzer, composed somewhat before A.D. 940. The same scholar discovered in *Cod. Athen. 1372* another *Notitia* in which, after the last metropoleis attested by the *Nea Taktika*, the following new creations are again added: (νδ) ὁ Ὑδροῦντος, (νε) ὁ Κελτζηνοῦ ἤτοι Κορτζηνῶν, (νς) ὁ τοῦ Ταρῶν. Among them Hydrûs was established under Nikephoros Phokas and the Patriarch Polyeuktos, probably in A.D. 968[70]. The metropolis Taron was perhaps an ephemeral foundation (erected in 972?) which was soon after united with Keltzene; it is however possible that the entry (νς) ὁ τοῦ Ταρῶν represents only a copyist's error who took the last words of the preceding item (νε) τῷ Κελτζηνῆς σὺν τῷ Κορτζηνῇ (sic) καὶ(τῷ)

[65a] About the terms *metropolija* and *sobornaja cerkov* see André Grabar, "Cathédrales multiples et groupements d'églises en Russie," *Revue des Etudes Slaves*, XX (Paris 1942), 91–120.

[66] "The Russian Primary Chronicle", p. 150, 153, ed. Karskij; p. 225, 227, transl. Cross.

[67] C. de Boor, *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, XII (1891), 321f.

[68] G. Ficker, *Erlasse des Patriarchen Alexios Studites*, p. 27, No. 38. The exact date was established by V. Grumel, *Échos d'Orient*, XXXIII (1934), 137.

[69] Cf. Gelzer, "Texte", p. 565.

[70] Liutprand of Cremona, "Legatio, §62", *Mon. Germ. Hist., SS.*, III, 361; edit. minor, p. 163; ed. Jos. Becker, *Scriptores in usum scholarum* (3d ed., Hannover and Leipzig 1915), p. 209. H. Gelzer, *Jahrb. f. prot. Theol.*, XII (1886), p. 537. Jules Gay, *L'Italie méridionale et l'empire byzantin depuis l'avènement de Basile Ier jusqu'à la prise de Bari par les Normands, 867–1071* (Paris, 1909), p. 352 f. V. Grumel, *Regestes*, vol. I, fasc. II, p. 226, N. 792. In Gelzer's edition ὁ Ὑδροῦς (twice) should be changed into ὁ Ὑδροῦντος, since the other names are all genitives.

Ταρών, as it is written in other *Notitiae*[71], for a new metropolis, adding it under another number.

From other evidence Gelzer was obliged to conclude that the *Notitia* of *Cod. Athen. 1372* represents the stage of the time of Emperor John Tzimiskes (969–976)[72]. By that statement he tacitly abandoned his former opinion, according to which Keltzene was created metropolis after 1022; indeed the new text made that event earlier by half a century. Thus one of the *Notitiae* published in 1901 implicitly eliminated the second date which in 1886 apparently proved that the Russian metropolis did not exist before the eleventh century. In the same paper Gelzer supplied additional precision concerning the time when the metropolitan sees of (No. 70) Basileion and (No. 72) Nazianzos were erected: the former was established by an edict of Konstantinos X Dukas (1059–1067) which was confirmed by his son Michael VII Dukas (1071–1078)[73], while Romanos IV Diogenes (1068–1071) conferred metropolitan rights on Nazianzos[74]. These two dates likewise confirm the thesis of a chronological arrangement of the *metropoleis;* while irrelevant to the question as to when Russia became a metropolis, they are so much the more important for another problem which I shall discuss in the last part of the present article.

We can summarize the above results by stating that, in 1901, by the publication of new texts the dates established by Gelzer fifteen years before could be completed and corrected in several cases; they afforded however no new evidence concerning the time of the erection of the Russian metropolis except the fact that since the creation of the metropolis Keltzene was dated earlier by half a century an apparent *terminus post quem* was removed. Since 1901 we have been free to take a corresponding earlier origin of the Russian metropolis into consideration.

After Gelzer's death, moreover, a document was published which produced a new *terminus ante quem* for the erection of the metropolitan see of Alania, which in the *Notitia* of Alexios Komnenos follows immediately that of Russia and therefore was later erected.

In Alania as well as in Russia Christianity began to spread long before that time. Ibn Rustah, writing about 903 A.D., reports that among the

[71] *Notitia* III, 677; X, 754, p. 127, 223, ed. Parthey.

[72] H. Gelzer, "Texte", p. 571.

[73] J. Leunclavius, *Ius Graeco-Romanum*, I, p. 278 = *P.G.*, CXIX, col. 877^{B} = Rhallis and Potlis, *Syntagma*, V, p. 71. Cf. H. Gelzer, *Byz. Ztschr.*, II, 67. F. Dölger, *Regesten*, fasc. II, p. 16, No. 964.

[74] Ioannes Skylitzes, p. 705_{10} ed. Bonn = *P.G.*, CXXII, col. 436^{A}. Manuel I. Gedeon, Πατριαρχικοὶ Πίνακες (Constantinople, 1890), p. 332. H. Gelzer, *Byz. Ztschr.*, II, 67. K. E. Zachariä von Lingenthal, *Geschichte des griech.-röm. Rechts* (3d ed., Berlin, 1892), p. 32. F. Dölger, *Regesten*, II, 17, No. 974.

Alans only the chief was a Christian[75]. He was converted and baptized at Patriarch Nikolaos I Mystikos's (901–907; 912–925) suggestion[76], who, besides, sent an ascetic of Mount Olympos as missionary to the Alans[77]. But later al-Mas'ûdî, writing in about 950, tells us that the princes of Alania, having been converted to Christianity at the time of the 'Abbâsides, abjured their new belief after 320 H. (932 A.D.) and drove away the bishops and priests whom the King of Rūm had sent to them[78]. Yet this hostile attitude of the rulers cannot have lasted for long, for the form of the letters which the Emperors Constantine and Romanos (who ruled together from 945–959) wrote to the so-called Exusiokrator of Alania makes it plain that between 945 and 959 the sovereign of that country had again embraced the Christian faith[79].

In 1922 G. Ficker published a document concerning the patriarchal monastery of S. Epiphanios at Kerasûs, dated May 1024. In that text an older synodical decree is quoted, viz. a "Typikon" of the year 6506 (Sept. 1, 997–Aug. 31, 998) in favor of Metropolitan Nikolaos of Alania [80]. Accordingly the metropolitan see of Alania already existed before the end of the tenth century, a fact from which it results that the metropolis Russia was likewise created before 997–998[81]. This implies without any doubt that it was erected by Patriarch Nikolaos Chrysoberges soon after Vladimir's baptism[82], probably between 989 and 991.

The contemporary and very reliable historian Yaḥyâ ibn Sa'îd of Antioch,

[75] Ibn Rusta, "Kitâb al-a'lâq an-nafîsa", *Bibl. Geogr. Arab.*, VII, p. 148. Cf. W. Barthold, *E.I.*, s.v. "Allān".

[76] Nikolaos Mystikos, "Epist. 9", *P.G.*, CXI, col. 80^{C}.

[77] Nikolaos Mystikos, "Epist. 52, 118, 133–135", *P.G.*, CXI, col. 244^{A}, 336^{B}, 352^{B}, 353^{B}, 356^{A}. See also "Epist. 46, 51", *ibid.*, col. 236^{C}, 241^{CD}.

[78] Mas'ûdî, *Les Prairies d'Or*, ed. C. Barbier de Meynard and Pavet de Courteille, II (Paris, 1863), 42f.: "Après le triomphe de l'islamisme, sous la dynastie des Abbasides, les princes des Alans qui pratiquaient la religion païenne, se convertirent au christianisme; mais après l'an 320, ils abjurèrent leurs nouvelles croyances et chassèrent les évêques et les prêtres que le roi de Roum leur avait envoyés".

[79] Constant. Porph., *De caerim.*, II, 48, ed. Bonn, p. 688 = *P.G.*, XCII, col. 1269^{A}: *Εἰς τὸν ἐξουσιοκράτορα 'Αλανίας· Ἐν ὀνόματι τοῦ Πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος, τοῦ ἑνὸς καὶ μόνου ἀληθινοῦ Θεοῦ ἡμῶν. Κωνσταντῖνος καὶ Ῥωμανός, πιστοὶ ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ Θεῷ βασιλεῖς Ῥωμαίων, πρὸς ὁ δεῖνα τὸν ἐξουσιαστὴν 'Αλανίας καὶ πνευματικὸν ἡμῶν τέκνον.*

[80] *Cod. Vatic. gr.* 1187, fol. 289^{r}–290^{v} (copy of *Cod. Scor. R. I. 15*, fol. 128), ed. G. Ficker, *Byz.-neugr. Jahrb.*, III (1922), 93–95. Cf. V. Grumel, *Regestes*, vol. I, fasc. II, p. 235, N. 806; p. 244f., N. 827.

[81] A "Tomos" against the Theopaschites or Jacobites, issued in April 1032 (for the date see note 68), is signed among others by Clemens (Κλήμης), metropolitan of Alania, and John, metropolitan of Ainos (G. Ficker, *Erlasse . . .*, p. 27, Nos. 36 and 42), an additional proof that metropolitans of Russia must have existed at least before April 1032.

[82] On the time of Vladimir's baptism cf. G. Laehr, "Die Anfänge des russischen Reiches", *Historische Studien*, Heft 189 (Berlin 1930), p. 110–115 and 146. G. Ostrogorskij, "Vladimir Svjatoi i Vizantija", *Vladimirski Sbornik* (Belgrad, 1938), p. 32ff.

who continued the chronicle of Eutychios of Alexandria until 1027, writes about that event: "Emperor Basil sent metropolitans and bishops who baptized the king (Vladimir) and the whole people of his country; at the same time he sent him his sister who ordered several churches to be built in the country of the Russians"[83].

Though Yaḥyâ's words possibly could be understood as referring to Byzantine metropolitans and bishops who, sent to Russia for the mere purpose of baptizing the king and his people, returned home thereafter, it is very unlikely that with the general baptism their task was finished. Indeed a national Russian clergy could not be ready at once, but bishops and priests had to be gradually prepared and instructed by their Byzantine teachers. We may therefore safely assume that at least the first generation of bishops ordained for Russia came from the Byzantine Empire, while the plural "metropolitans" employed by Yaḥyâ may point to the successive reign of the two or three first dignitaries of that rank. We know that before Hilarion (A.D. 1051) all of them were appointed by the patriarch of Constantinople. In spite of some later deviations, Neilos Doxapatri still alleged in 1143 as a general rule that "also to Russia a metropolitan is sent by the patriarch of Constantinople"[84]. The bishops, however, were ordained in Russia without any interference on the part of Constantinople, at least, as we have seen, after the initial formation of a native clergy; for that reason the Russian suffragan bishoprics do not figure in the Greek *Notitiae* before about A.D. 1170[85], a fact which probably induced Niketas Choniates to affirm[86] that certain provinces "obeyed only one, as e.g. Scythia or Russia until nowadays". He obviously applied an old remark of Sozomenos[87] about the church of Little Scythia to Russia, which usually

[83] Yaḥyâ ibn Sa'îd al-Anṭâkî, "Chronicle", ed. Kračkovskij and Vasiliev, *Patrologia Orientalis* (in the following: *P.O.*), XXIII (1932), 423 [215]: "Par après, l'empereur Basile lui envoya des métropolitains et des évêques qui baptisèrent le roi et tout le peuple de son pays; en même temps il lui envoya sa soeur qui fit bâtir plusieurs églises".

[84] Nili Doxapatri *Notitia*, v. 229 *in fine*, p. 297, ed. Parthey: ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς τὴν Ῥωσίαν ἀπὸ τοῦ πατριάρχου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως στέλλεται μητροπολίτης. Russian metropolitans often attended councils at Constantinople, e.g. (before the Mongol epoch), on Novemb. 15, 1086 or 1101 (*P.G.*, CXIX, col. 861[A]), in Sept. 1089 (W. Holtzmann, *Byz. Ztschr.*, XXVIII, p. 61), on January 26, 1156 (*P.G.*, CXL, col. 149[A]), on March 24, 1171 (Metropolitan Michael: A. Pavlov, *Viz.·Vrem.*, II [1895], p. 391, No. 12). In the document of January 1086 published by Sakkelion (*Bulletin de Correspond. Hellên.*, II [1878], p. 127) the signature τοῦ Ῥωσίας is in my opinion either wrongly written or with an abbreviation mistaken by the editor; for the order of the signers certainly requires τοῦ Ῥωσίου.

[85] H. Gelzer, *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, XIII (1892), 246–281; id. "Texte", p. 585.

[86] Niketas Choniat., "Thesaur., V, 5", *P.G.*, CXXXIX, col. 1366[C], written between 1204 and 1210.

[87] Sozomenos, *H.E.*, VI, 21, *P.G.*, LXVII, col. 1345[A]; cf. *ibid.* VII, 19, col. 1476[A].

was mentioned in the *Notitiae* only among the metropolitan sees, but omitted in the part dealing with the provinces and their bishoprics.

IV

Theophylaktos, the first metropolitan of Russia?

Those scholars who admit the existence of Russian metropolitans before Theopemptos (A.D. 1039) disagree in their turn as to whether Leo was the first of them or a certain Michael, who was already dead in A.D. 992. While Leo is rather well-attested—one chronicler even knows the history of that time well enough to assert[88] that he was ordained by Patriarch Nikolaos Chrysoberges (April 979–December 16, 991)—Michael occurs only in the Nikon Chronicle[89] as a Syrian by birth who arrived at Kiev in 988 together with King Vladimir and the first six bishops, who had all been consecrated "by Patriarch Photios"[90].

It is however probable that neither Michael nor Leo was the first metropolitan of Russia, but a certain Theophylaktos.

I gather this from a passage in the well-known *Church History* of Nikephoros Kallistos. On the occasion of the appointment of Metropolitan Proklos of Kyzikos as patriarch of Constantinople in A.D. 434, that author inserts in his work a digression enumerating many cases of bishops transferred from one see to another in the course of centuries[91]. In general he arranges these cases chronologically by distributing them under the reign of emperors or patriarchs. Under that of Basileios Porphyrogennetos, having dealt first with another case to which we shall return presently, he reports: "and under the same reign Theophylaktos is promoted from that (viz., the *metropolis*) of the Sebastians to Russia"[92].

If we give unrestricted credence to this testimony, it clearly attests that during the reign of Basil II (A.D. 976–1025) Theophylaktos, Metropolitan of Sebasteia, the capital of the province Armenia II, was trans-

[88] *Stepennaja kniga*, in *PSRL*, XXI, p. 113.

[89] "Nikon Chronicle", *PSRL*, IX, p. 63f.

[90] The repeated erroneous mention of Photios in connection with the creation of the Russian Church at the end of the tenth century probably results from the early knowledge of his *Nomokanon* in Russia, which made him there the Greek patriarch *κατ' ἐξοχήν*. It is very questionable whether the appointment of the first bishop of Russia by him was still remembered there some centuries later. We know it only from a remark in his encyclical letter of 867 to the Oriental patriarchs (*P.G.*, CII, col. 736^{D}, cf. V. Grumel, *Regestes*, I, fasc. II, p. 88f., N. 481). In a late ms. of Moscow ($250\frac{207}{CCVIII}$, fol. 266 sq.) the letter even figures under the name of Patriarch Sisinnios (April 12, 996–August 24, 998), while elsewhere under other names; cf. Grumel, *ibid.*, vol. I, fasc. II, p. 238f., N. 814. A. Michel, *Byz. Ztschr*, 1938, p. 454–457.

[91] Nikephoros Kallistos, *H.E.*, XIV, 39, *P.G.*, CXLVI, col. 1189^{A}–1200^{B}.

[92] *P.G.*, CXLVI, col. 1196^{C}: *ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς αὐτῆς ἡγεμονίας Θεοφύλακτος ἐκ τῆς Σεβαστηνῶν εἰς Ῥωσίαν ἀνάγεται.*

ferred to Russia. He must consequently be considered as a predecessor of Theopemptos and, since he probably left Sebasteia before 997, as we shall see below, also of Leo. In other words, according to the evidence quoted, the first metropolitan of Russia was not called Michael, but Theophylaktos.

But first of all it is our duty to examine the reliability of Nikephoros Kallistos in general and especially the credibility of his statement. It has often been objected against the offhand utilization of his work that he is a very "late" author and as such unworthy of belief; indeed he composed his work as late as the beginning of the 14th century[93]. Some scholars, like C. de Boor and K. Krumbacher, suppose however that his *Church History* is only a slightly altered reproduction of a much older one, written about 920; consequently the bulk of his work could be taken as that of an author who lived four centuries earlier. But these considerations cannot be applied to the digression in question which obviously is Nikephoros's own addition, since he refers to several later cases and finally to those of "my own time".

As to the criticism of authors such as Nikephoros Kallistos, it is a general rule that they are all the more trustworthy the less original they prove to be. Now there is little reason to distrust our "late" Church historian, for, so far as his sources are still extant, a comparison shows that he (or his authority) restricted himself to writing a kind of paraphrase, altering nothing except the style of his sources. That is exactly what could be expected from an author who, in the 36th year of his age, had his mind occupied with the grandiose plan of writing a great History of the Church up to his time (he wrote before 1328), alleging as his motive the deplorable fact that nobody had continued the classic models since the end of the sixth century, and who, consequently, copied those classic works exactly in the 18 books of his "own" performance, adding only the events of 16 years (594–610)[94] or rather almost nothing to what he had found in Euagrios, the latest of his main sources. Though he or somebody else added a table of contents of five more books which should reach until 911, his own procedure proves that he never published more than the 18 extant books[95], for in order to prevent others from a wholesale "plagiarizing" of his "original" work, he began each of those books with one of the eighteen letters of his name, forming thus the complete acrostic ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΥ ΚΑΛΛΙΣΤΟΥ.

[93] K. Krumbacher, *Geschichte der byzant. Literatur*, 2d ed. (Munich, 1897), p. 291.

[94] *Viz.*, XVIII, 27–56.

[95] Cf. *H.E.*, I, 1, *P.G.*, CXLV, col. 609^{D}, where he announces only 18 Tomoi; the same fact results from *H.E.*, XVIII, 27, *P.G.*, CXLVII, col. 381^{B}. His intention of writing a history down to his own time (I, 1, *P.G.*, CXLV, col. 608^{D}–609^{D}) was therefore not serious. The contents of books XIX–XXIII (*ibid.*, col. 617^{A}–620^{B}) may have been added by another person; among the events to be narrated in book XXIII should figure: Καὶ ὅπως τὸ ἔθνος τῶν Ῥὼς τὸν Χριστιανισμὸν παρεδέξατο.

As to the digression (XIV, 39) which deals with the transferring of bishops, there is no reason why we should doubt the author's honest intention to enumerate accurately all those cases which had come to his knowledge. Besides, we are here again able to check a part of his indications by comparing his sources. For in the beginning he repeats (together with a long digression on Bishop Silvanus) exactly the same 14 cases which Sokrates Scholastikos had quoted in his *Church History*[96] on the same occasion, viz. that of Proklos's nomination to the Constantinopolitan see; it is true that Nikephoros adds a few other cases, taken likewise from old sources and thus equally well attested. An incidental error (Philippos instead of Theophilos) can hardly change the rather favorable impression left by the whole section.

Besides the digression in Nikephoros's work (quoted henceforth as NK) there exists an anonymous treatise on the same subject ("*περὶ μεταθέσεων*"), to which I shall refer in the following as "anonymus" (Anon.)[97]. Both Anon. and NK obviously go back, at least partly, to the same source. But the hope that, by comparing their texts, we shall be able to reconstitute the wording of their common source turns out to be vain, for the text of Anon. is to such a degree corrupt that it is often impossible to derive any profit from it. No doubt the disorder resulted chiefly from the fact that numerous marginal notes were inserted in the wrong places, thus sometimes changing not only the order but also the real meaning of the text, e.g. of such words as "under the same Emperor . . .".

At the place where in NK's digression the remark quoted about Theophylaktos of Russia appears, the partly corresponding context of Anon. unfortunately displays merely a great confusion. Though Anon. omits Theophylaktos and in some respects differs essentially from NK, the partial similarity of the two texts probably hints at a common source. Under the reign of Basil II they enumerate the following cases:

Anon. (*P.G.*, CXIX, col. 905^{D}.908^{A})	NK (*H.E.*, XIV, 39, *P.G.*, CXLVI, col. 1196^{C})
(1) *Ἐπὶ τῆς βασιλείας Βασιλείου τοῦ Πορφυρογεννήτου ἐδόθη τῷ μητροπολίτῃ Πατρῶν ἡ ἐπισκοπὴ Κορίνθου, ὡς γράφει ὁ Σεβαστείας Θεόδωρος καὶ Λέων Συνάδων.*	(1) *Ὅ τε Σελευκείας τῆς Πιερίας Ἀγάπιος εἰς τὴν Ἀντιόχου καὶ αὐτὸς μετατίθεται, τοῦ Πορφυρογεννήτου Βασιλείου τοῖς Ῥωμαϊκοῖς σκήπτροις ἐνδιαπρέποντος.*
(2) *Ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς βασιλείας, κατὰ τὴν τοῦ Σκληροῦ ἀποστασίαν, ὡς γράφει ὁ αὐτὸς Θεόδωρος, Ἀγάπιος ὁ Σελευκείας τῆς Πιερίας* [908^{A}] *ἀρχιεπίσκοπος γέγονε πατριάρχης Ἱεροσολύμων. Ὃς εἰσελθὼν ἐνταῦθα συνελειτούργησε τῷ μακαριωτάτῳ καὶ ἁγιωτάτῳ πατριάρχῃ κυρῷ Νικολάῳ καὶ τῇ ἱερᾷ συνόδῳ.*	(2) *Ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς αὐτῆς ἡγεμονίας Θεοφύλακτος ἐκ τῆς Σεβαστηνῶν εἰς Ῥωσίαν ἀνάγεται.*
	(3) *Ἀλέξανδρός τε ὁ τῆς Ἀντιόχου ἐπίσκοπος εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα προβιβάζεται.*

[96] Sokrates, *H.E.*, VII, 36, *P.G.*, LXVII, col. 817^{B}–821^{B}.

[97] "De translatione episcoporum", ed. J. Leunclavius, *Ius Graeco-Romanum*, I, 294 f. = *P.G.*, CXIX, col. 904^{B}–909^{A} = Rhallis and Potlis, *Syntagma*, V, 392f. A

Of the two cases reported by Anon. the mention of the first in that place doubtless results from a grave chronological error, for the "metropolitan"[98] of Patrai to whom the "bishopric" of Corinth was given is almost certainly Perigenes who, on Sept. 19, 419, was transferred from Patrai to Corinth, as metropolitan of which city he took part in the council of Ephesos. It does not matter that Anon. mentions him shortly before in his proper place[99], for we find other repetitions in this treatise[100]. Since Anon. quotes two authors in support of his strange statement, those two authors probably mentioned Perigenes as a precedent for another case which occurred under Basil II, an allegation which Anon. erroneously took for that of a simultaneous event. His second item is obviously identical with the first one mentioned by NK, though Anon. asserts that Agapios was transferred to Jerusalem, while NK makes him exchange his see for Antioch. In that respect the latter is surely right, for Agapios of Antioch is a well-known personage of the time of Basil II. His appointment on Jan. 22, 978 coincides exactly with the revolt of Skleros[101], with which Theodoros of Sebasteia had connected it according to Anon.'s testimony. This proves clearly that the same Agapios is meant by both NK and Anon.; it is however hardly thinkable that Theodoros was so well informed of the time of this event, but was ignorant of the fact that Agapios was later patriarch of Antioch. We can therefore safely assume that, while both accounts depend upon the same authority, NK has preserved more faithfully the tenor of their common source, though he omits an important detail as well as the quotation of the name of Theodore. As to the error of Anon. in speaking of Jerusalem as the place to which Agapios was transferred, we shall discover later a plausible explanation of its origin.

But though Anon. and NK agree at least in calling Agapios a former archbishop of Seleukeia Pieria, their assertion is not at all an established fact, but seems on the contrary to contradict the statement of a most reliable historian. Indeed Yaḥyâ ibn Sa'îd, a Christian physician who

similar treatise figures in *Cod. Monac. graec. 68*, fol. 91^{v} (saec. XVI–XVII), of which J. Hergenröther has given a summary description (*Photius*, III, 169 f., n. 30). According to him that text resembles Anon. more than NK, though in both the items are arranged in a quite different order. Hergenröther asserts that none of the three texts is older than the 14th century. As in Anon. no event after the 12th century is alluded to, I doubt the validity of his statement. Yet it is true that Anon. may be incomplete, containing a mere enumeration of cases without any introduction or conclusion. As to *Cod. Vindob. theol. graec. 173* which is perhaps the most important among the Mss. dealing with the same matter, see below, note 108.

[98] Patrai was erected metropolis in 810–811 A.D.; cf. H. Gelzer, *Jahrb. f. protest. Theol.*, XII (1886), 368.

[99] *P.G.*, CXIX, col. 904^{D}–905^{A}.

[100] *E.g.*, *ibid.*, col. 905^{D}: Eustathios of "Phlamias" = col. 908^{D}–909^{A}: Eustratios of "Phladias".

[101] Yaḥyâ, *PO*, XXIII, 376 [168].

wrote a *Chronicle* at Antioch no more than half a century after Agapios' promotion, testifies positively and not less than three times that Agapios was a former bishop of Ḥaleb (Berrhoia)[102]. It would be quite unmethodical to doubt Yaḥyâ's assertion; but I think both reports can be harmonized by the assumption that Agapios of Aleppo was transferred first to Seleukeia Pieria and later to Antioch. For there are some details in Yaḥyâ's own report which strongly support this view in so far as they make it hard to believe that Agapios came directly from Ḥaleb to Antioch. After the death of Patriarch Theodore of Antioch his flock sent Bishop Agapios of Ḥaleb to the Emperor with a list of proposals for a new candidate[103]. Agapios was therefore at that time in Greek territory and not at Ḥaleb, which always remained a Muslim city. Now it is very unlikely that a subject of a Muslim prince like the bishop of Ḥaleb would have been chosen as ambassador of Antioch to the Emperor. There is still another argument: after Agapios had been appointed, his colleague of Alexandria, Elias, refused to recognize him, uttering the usual reproach against transferred bishops of "spiritual adultery". Thereupon Agapios sent him a long justificatory letter preserved by Yaḥyâ[104], in which he stressed the legality of his transfer in the didactic and self-reliant tone which a patriarch backed by the Emperor could afford vis-à-vis a fellow-patriarch depending on the mercy of a Muhammadan ruler. Alluding to this difference in their positions he wrote: "As to what you have remarked concerning that subject, my spiritual father, I know that you said it because in your diocese similar things have not happened for a long time . . . because of the condition into which the inhabitants of these provinces have been thrown, against which we implore the help of God"[105]. A bishop who himself was

[102] Yaḥyâ, *ibid.*, p. 375 [167] (twice) and 376 [168]. Yaḥyâ came to Antioch in 405 H. (1014–15 A.D.), where he died in 458 H. (1066 A.D.). His complete chronicle, comprehending the years 326–417 H. (938–1027 A.D.) has been edited by B. Carra de Vaux, *CSCO, Scriptores Arabici*, ser. III, t. VII [Beyrout, Paris, Leipzig, 1909], p. 91–251_9; the edition and translation by Kračkovskij and Vasiliev is still incomplete. In one Ms. (that in possession of Mr. Ḥabîb Zayyât at Alexandria) the epoch of Romanos Argyros (A.D. 1028–1034) is added (p. 251_{10}–273_3 ed. Carra de Vaux), but this continuation is hardly by the same author, as Karalevskij assumed (*Dictionnaire d'Histoire et de Géogr. ecclésiastiques*, III [1924], col. 605, s.v. "Antioche"). See also *E.I.*, s.v. "al-Anṭākī".

[103] Yaḥyâ, p. 375 [167].

[104] It is true that the correspondence of the two patriarchs (p. 150_3–154_{12} ed. Carra de Vaux, p. 378 [170]$_8$–389 [181]$_3$ ed. Kračkovskij–Vasiliev) is omitted in *Cod. Paris. arab. 291*, but it figures in all other Mss.

[105] Yaḥyâ, p. 382 f. [174 f.]: "Quant à ce que tu as dit, ô père spirituel, sur ce sujet, je sais que tu l'as dit parce que dans ton diocèse de telles choses n'existent pas depuis longtemps . . . , à cause de l'état, où les habitants de ces provinces ont été jetés et contre quoi nous implorons le secours de Dieu".

just being transferred from a Muslim city to Antioch could hardly make such allusions, while they are rather in place in a letter of one who had already somewhat wilfully forgotten his more remote past[106].

There is another indication concerning Agapios mentioned by Anon., but not by NK: "He came hither (i.e., to Constantinople) and concelebrated with the blessed and venerable Patriarch Nikolaos and the Holy Synod". The fact that nothing is known of Agapios's (patriarch 987–990) temporary stay at Constantinople at the time of his colleague Nikolaos II Chrysoberges (984–995) cannot be considered a sufficient reason to reject the assertion; but another observation raises serious doubts as to its validity. Only a few lines below the sentence quoted Anon. speaks in almost the same words of the Constantinopolitan stay of another patriarch of Jerusalem during the reign of Alexios Komnenos (1081–1118): *Ἐπὶ τῆς βασιλείας Ἀλεξίου τοῦ Κομνηνοῦ Σάβας Καισαρείας τῆς Φιλίππου γέγονε πατριάρχης Ἱεροσολύμων καὶ ἐλθὼν ἐνταῦθα συνελειτούργησε τῷ ἁγιωτάτῳ πατριάρχῃ Νικολάῳ καὶ τῇ συνόδῳ*[107]. Here the name of Patriarch Nikolaos occurs again, but only Nikolaos III Grammatikos (1084–1111) of course comes into question, and this time the fact is confirmed by a corresponding passage in NK's work: [After mentioning a Tyrian bishop he continues] *Καὶ αὖθις ὁ Τύρου ἐπίσκοπος, εὐνοῦχος ὤν, παρὰ Περσῶν τῆς αὐτοῦ ἐκκλησίας ἀλούσης φυγὰς εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα γίνεται. Συμβὰν δὲ χηρεύειν τὸν θρόνον οἱ Ἱεροσολυμῖται τὸν κρατοῦντα Πέρσην καθικετεύσαντες τὴν τῶν Ἱεροσολύμω Ἐκκλησίαν τούτῳ πιστεύουσιν ὃς καὶ ἐν τῇ Κωνσταντίνου γενόμενος κατὰ τὸ ἑξακισχιλιοστὸν*

[106] Incidentally, this letter also proves that bishops exchanging their see for another were always again compelled to vindicate their transfer, forbidden and declared invalid by some canons of the early synods. (14th and 15th apostolic canons, 15th canon of Nicaea, 21st of Antioch). That explains the practical origin and purpose of these lists of transferred bishops. But at the same time the letter reveals the poor historical knowledge even of those who, having themselves been transferred, were of course especially interested in knowing exactly the precedents. Agapios mentions (p. 383 [175]) the following famous cases: in 325 Eustathios exchanged Alexandria for Antioch (in fact he came from Berrhoia like Agapios himself!), Meletios Larissa for Ḥaleb and later Antioch (thus Meletios of Sebasteia, Berrhoia and Antioch [360–381 A.D.] is confounded with Meletios of Larissa in 449 and 451 A.D.), [Gregory] the Theologian was transferred "from one see to another", Eudoxios from Mar'aš (Germanikeia) to Antioch and later to Constantinople, Eusebios from Berytos to Nikomedia and then to Constantinople, and last not least S. Peter from Antioch to Rome.

A synod of July 10, 1250, presided over by Patriarch Manuel II, handled the same matter at the request of Bishop John of Ezeros in Thessaly (*P.G.*, CXIX, col. 811 sq.). This assembly of the time of the Empire of Nikaia calls the transferring of bishops a "daily" (*ὁσημέραι*) event. Without citing any examples it only refers to "the canonical observance" (*ἐγκάνονος παρατήρησις*) and to "those well acquainted with the holy writings" (*οἱ τῶν ἱερῶν πυκτίδων ἐπιστήμονες*) as evidence of its affirmation.

[107] *P.G.*, CXIX, col. 908^{B}.

ἑξακοσιοστὸν πεντεκαιδέκατον ἔτος, Ἀλεξίου τοῦ ἐκ Κομνηνῶν βασιλεύοντος, παρὰ τῆς ἱερᾶς εἰσεδέχθη συνόδου, Νικολάου τοῦ Θεοπροβλήτου[108] πατριαρχοῦντος[109].

NK's account, though differing in some important details from that of Anon., evidently concerns the same arrival at Constantinople of a patriarch of Jerusalem, dated here with precision in A.D. 1107. Since in this second passage both Anon. and NK speak of a patriarch of Jerusalem, the latter with a definite chronological indication, the earlier similar remark of Anon. about "Agapios of Jerusalem" is obviously a duplication. It was either an error committed by some reader or copyist who confounded the two homonymous patriarchs of Constantinople, or a simple repetition entered from the margin into the context in a wrong place. We can therefore safely infer from all those passages that it was not "Agapios of Jerusalem" but only the patriarch of the Holy City attested in 1107 who came to Constantinople. The remarks about his stay there prove that Anon. and NK refer to the same personage. But here again the two authors disagree in another respect: Anon. speaks of a Bishop Sabas of Jerusalem, transferred there from Kaisareia Philippu (as medieval authors often call the capital of Palaestina I), while according to NK this personage, to whom he refers only as "the eunuch", was previously metropolitan of Tyre. No other source is helpful; yet we have every reason to suppose that here again the version of NK probably deserves confidence, while that of Anon. may be the result of another confusion[110]. For the details of the former's account are in accordance with all that what is otherwise known of events in Syria at that time. At first sight, it is true, the whole story seems rather improbable, since we know positively that the Greek patriarchate after its disappearance in 1099 did not revive until 1142[111]. For that reason even Le Quien[112], who always strove to find a possible solution of the most intricate chronological problems, recognized that we

[108] Nikephoros's sobriquet Theoprobletos (besides another, ὁ Κιρδυνιάτης) is also found with further biographical data about him in an unpublished treatise *De translatione episcoporum* which constitutes the last of seven "anonymous" chapters (in fact an annex of a part of the Συναγωγαὶ καὶ ἀποδείξεις ἀκριβεῖς of Photios; cf. note 131) in *Cod. Vindobon. theol. graec. 173* (D. v. Nessel, *Catalogus . . . codd. mss. Graec. Bibl. Caes. Vindob.* [Vienna-Nuremberg 1690] p. 255. P. Lambecius, *Commentariorum de augustiss. Biblioth. Caesarea Vindob.*, lib. V [Vienna, 1778], col. 171, cod. 235), fol. 232ᵛ–238ᵛ. Its *incipit* and a short fragment printed by Lambeck show a close connection of that text with NK; both agree in placing the transfer of Pentaklâs from Rossano to Lemnos under Nikolaos, while Anon. dates it under "Niketas" (II: 1187–1190?). The Vienna fragment, beginning with Ἰστέον ὅτι, seems to be very precious; it is perhaps NK's second source besides Sokrates. If so, it probably also mentions Theophylaktos of Russia.

[109] *P.G.*, CXLVI, col. 1196^{D}.

[110] Indeed NK mentions (*P.G.*, CXLVI, col. 1197^{B}) two other bishops transferred from Kaisareia Philippu to Jerusalem, viz., Athanasios and Gabriel.

[111] E. Amann, "Jérusalem", *Dictionnaire de Théol. Cathol.*, VIII (1924), col. 1002.

[112] Le Quien, *Oriens Christianus*, III, col. 500^{B}–501^{C}, No. 89: Sabas.

encounter here a case especially hard to handle. Nevertheless an acceptable explanation of NK's account can be suggested.

According to the express statement of Albertus Aquensis[113] Bishop Simeon of Jerusalem left his see as soon as the crusaders started to besiege Antioch (October 21, 1097) because of the menaces of the Turks and Saracens; he died in Cyprus in 1099 when Jerusalem was taken. Now we know that it was precisely in 1097–8 A.D. (490 H.) that the Fâṭimid general and vizier al-Afḍal Shâhânshâh after a revolt punished the inhabitants of Tyre with a bloody massacre, in which the governor of the city was executed[114]. Obviously NK alludes to that event when he speaks of the capture of Tyre by "the Persians", and, accordingly, the "Persian ruler" of Jerusalem was the Fâṭimid caliph al-Musta'lî, for whom al-Afḍal likewise took Jerusalem at that time from the Urtuḳids Îl-Ghâzî and Sukmân[115]. Since Simeon left Jerusalem towards the end of 1097, the city was at the time of the Tyrian revolt really without a Melkite patriarch. It is therefore quite thinkable that the Tyrian metropolitan replaced for a short period the fugitive Simeon after having come to an understanding with the Muslim authorities of the Holy City. But when, soon after, the Franks approached, he probably followed the example of his predecessor, or else he was expelled by force when they entered. It is only natural that he should then seek a refuge in the Byzantine Empire, where we find him participating in a synod of Constantinople in A.D. 1107. His omission in the lists of patriarchs of Jerusalem can be easily explained by the shortness of his episcopate as well as by its simultaneousness with the voluntary exile of his legitimate predecessor. Besides, the extant lists of those patriarchs are known to be of little value anyhow.

Now Simeon's successor, NK's "eunuch", recently became known by other sources which also confirm the assertion that he stayed later in Constantinople and show that he was a bitter opponent of the Latins; but his name was John, not (as Anon. would have it) Sabas[115a].

This long digression, which has led us away from Russia to Jerusalem, is probably not quite useless for our purpose, for it gives not only an instructive idea of the difficulties which the Anon. treatise in particular often opposes to the explanation of its contents, but shows also that we can usually rely much more upon the statements of NK than upon those in Anon.'s very corrupt text.

[113] Albertus Aquensis, *Hist. Hieros.*, VI, 39, *P.L.*, CLXVI, col. 556[B].

[114] E. Honigmann, *E.I.*, s.v. "Ṣūr".

[115] C. H. Becker, *E.I.*, s.v. "al-Afḍal b. Badr al-*Dj*amālī". F. Buhl, *E.I.*, s.v. "al-Ḳuds". E. Honigmann, *E.I.*, s.v. "Ortoḳids".

[115a] A. Papadopulos-Kerameus, Ἀνάλ. Ἱεροσ. Σταχ., I, 125, 132, 140, 142. Among his writings figures a *Synodicum editum Constantinopoli a Ioanne . . . patriarcha Hierosolymitano*. Cf. L. Petit, *Dict. Théol. Cath.*, VIII, col. 766–767, s. v. Jean no. 48.

As we have assumed above, both authors go back to the same source, at least when dealing with the transferring of bishops at the time of Basil II. This common source, quoted only by Anon., was a certain Theodore of Sebasteia. He is also mentioned by John Skylitzes who, in the preface of his work, quotes him as one of his authorities. Georgios Kedrenos, who copied Skylitzes's work together with its preface almost word for word, calls him only Theodore of Sebasteia[116], while Skylitzes expressly says that he was the leader of the church of that city, in other words its metropolitan[117]. Skylitzes wrote his work shortly after 1079–1081 A.D.[118]. Theodore, who may have been his chief authority for the time of Basil II, was therefore probably a contemporary of that Emperor. In his character of historian as well as of metropolitan of Sebasteia he must of course have been well informed of a predecessor who shortly before had been transferred from Theodore's own see to Russia. If we consult Le Quien for the purpose of finding out Theodore's exact time, we become aware that the last metropolitan of Sebasteia known to the great Dominican scholar was Leontios, member of the council *in Trullo* in 692[119]; Le Quien was not at a loss for an explanation of this: "Armenia Minore a Mohammedanis principibus occupata, non est quod quisquam miretur ex hac provincia neminem deinceps ad synodos accessisse, quae Constantinopoli celebratae sunt". From the texts which G. Ficker has recently published, we know one Georgios of Sebasteia as a member of the synods of May 1030 and April 1032[120]; Theodore must be placed either before or after him. But a metropolitan Theodore of Sebasteia is attested at the very time of Emperor Basil II. Between Febr. 21 and Aug. 31, 997 a synod of Constantinople, presided over by Patriarch Sisinnios, issued a "canonical regulation" (*Ἔκθεσις κανονική*). The principal text, published by Cardinal Pitra[121], mentions as members of the synod eight metropolitans, whose names are however not indicated, but only their sees. Yet there exists another text relative to that synod, preserved in *Cod. Vindob. iurid. 11*, written in A.D. 1191, which reveals to us four of the eight names, among them Theodore of Sebasteia[122]. Though it is not wholly impossible that the Theodore quoted in the treatise *de translationibus* and by Skylitzes-Kedrenos was a homonymous successor of that Theodore and perhaps also of Georgios, it is much more probable that he is actually the bishop of A.D. 997. If

[116] Georgios Kedrenos, ed. I. Bekker, I (Bonn, 1838), p. 4$_9$: *Θεόδωρος ὁ Σίδης καὶ ὁ τούτου ὁμώνυμος Σεβαστείας.*

[117] Ioannes Skylitzes (*Cod. Coisl. 136*), ed. Montfaucon, *Bibl. Coisl.*, p. 207 f., reprinted by Bekker in his edition of Kedrenos, I, p. 4, note, and in K. Krumbacher, *Gesch. d. byz. Lit.*, 2d ed., p. 367: *Θεόδωρος ὁ τῆς Σίδης γενόμενος πρόεδρος καὶ ὁ τούτου ἀνεψιὸς καὶ ὁμώνυμος ὁ τῆς ἐν Σεβαστείᾳ καθηγησάμενος ἐκκλησίας.*

[118] K. Krumbacher, *ibid.*, p. 365.

[119] M. Le Quien, *Oriens Christianus*, I, col. 426^B.

[120] G. Ficker, *Erlasse d. Ptr. Alexios Stud.*, p. 19, No. 10; p. 26, No. 13.

[121] Pitra, *Spicilegium Solesm.*, V, p. 464 sq.

[122] V. Beneševič, *Vizant. Vremennik*, XI (1904), Priloženie, No. 2, p. 12, n. 2. V. Grumel, *Regestes*, vol. I, fasc. II, p. 233 f., N. 805.

so, the transfer of Theophylaktos from this same see of Sebasteia to Russia must have taken place before 997 and, since we know from Yaḥyâ of Antioch[123] that between Decemb. 16, 991 and April 12, 996 the patriarchal throne of Constantinople was vacant, probably in or before 991 (if not in 996–997), for it is not likely that Theophylaktos was transferred during that vacancy. In all probability he was thus the predecessor of Leo and (if he is historical) Michael, and therefore the first metropolitan of Russia.

In the passage quoted above, NK mentions still a third bishop, Alexander, who "is promoted" (προβιβάζεται) from Antioch to Jerusalem, to all appearances also during the reign of Basil II. That item seems again hardly compatible with historical evidence. First, it is in any case improbable that a patriarch of Antioch, which then belonged to the Byzantine Empire, should have been transferred to the Holy City, ruled at that time by Muslim sovereigns. Besides, the contemporary historian Yaḥyâ of Antioch, who informs us carefully of the successive names of the patriarchs of Antioch as well as of Jerusalem during that period does not mention any Alexander among them. The supposition that in the text of NK Alexander's name was erroneously inserted among those of bishops transferred under Basil's reign, would not be a sufficient expedient, for as far as we know there never existed any Patriarch Alexander of Antioch who was transferred to Jerusalem[124]. Yet the solution of the problem which was proposed by Le Quien is still acceptable, provided that we apply to it a chronological modification. According to Le Quien[125] Antioch (ἡ Ἀντιόχου) means here the Pisidian metropolis and not, as in the case of Agapios, the Syrian capital; he obviously gathered that from the expression "he is promoted", hinting at a transfer from a see of inferior rank to a higher one. Even the ordinary bishopric Antioch on the Maeander is not out of the question, Alexander being qualified simply as "bishop". Besides, Le Quien remarks that he (as well as Agapios) probably was appointed for Jerusalem, but never admitted there[126]. At first sight that seems an artificial solution advanced for want of other evidence. Yet an unprejudiced examination of the historical facts (some of which Le Quien did not know) makes it

[123] Yaḥyâ, *P.O.*, XXIII, p. 444 [236].

[124] Alexander of Antioch (A.D. 416–417) never occupied another see; Alexander of Jerusalem (A.D. 212–250) was transferred there not from Antioch, but from a Cappadocian city, the name of which we do not know (Eusebios, *H.E.*, VI, 11, 2, p. 540, 25 ed. Schwartz). This remark is inexact, for in Theophanes' *Chronicle* the class of manuscripts *em* (Vat. Palat. 395 and Monac. gr. 391) inserts *sub* A.M. 6186 (p. 367_{3-6}, ed. de Boor) a bishop Alexander of Jerusalem who, in the translation of the *Chronicle* by Anastasius Bibliothecarius, appears eight years earlier (A.M. 6178) as bishop of Antioch (p. 363_1 adn. = II, 230_{14}). These two entries, which otherwise are very puzzling (cf. de Boor, II, 476 ff. and 563, Index s.v. Ἀλέξανδρος 4) can be explained by our passage of NK; but they imply that the transfer took place under Justinian II and not under Basil II.

[125] Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.*, III, col. 482^{A-D}.

[126] Le Quien, *loc. cit.*: "Admissi fortassis non fuerunt Hierosolymis Alexander et Agapius".

appear quite reasonable. For we know now[127] that Patriarch Orestes of Jerusalem, a relative of the daughter of al-ʿAzîz-billâh, came as ambassador to Constantinople in 1002 and died there four years later[128]. After his death the see of Jerusalem remained vacant for about six years, probably until 1012 A.D.[129]. It was administered during that period by Orestes's brother Arsenios, metropolitan of al-Qâhira and Miṣr, i.e., Old and New Cairo, and later patriarch of Alexandria[130]. These well-attested facts support Le Quien's hypothesis; but of course Alexander must be inserted after and not before Orestes. It is quite possible that the Emperor considered himself authorized to appoint a successor of the orthodox Patriarch Orestes, whom death had struck in the Byzantine capital. If so, the fact that the see of Jerusalem was vacant so long was perhaps a result of that appointment; probably no other candidate was proposed in order not to stir up regrettable rivalry. Alexander could however not venture to take up his residence in the Holy City. Neither was he considered legitimate by the compilers of the lists of patriarchs of that city. Thus his almost forgotten name may have figured only in the lost work of the contemporary Greek historian Theodore of Sebasteia.

That is of course only a possible explanation. But it shows at least that there is no cogent reason to doubt on principle every statement made by the "late" NK in the chapter quoted. By the way, it will some time perhaps be possible to verify the above conjectures, for probably a better text of the treatise *"de translationibus episcoporum"* or even the original version of Theodore of Sebasteia will one day see the light. In point of fact Greek copyists often inserted on empty leaves such anonymous fragments which are too short and insignificant to be judged worth mentioning by the compilers of our summary descriptions of manuscripts[131].

V

An ephemeral Byzantine metropolis: Mavrokastron or New Russia

In the third part of the present article, dealing with the establishment of the Russian metropolitan see, I showed in pursuance of some previous

[127] Le Quien was not yet acquainted with this fact; he gathered his inexact data about Orestes from very unreliable western sources (*Oriens Christianus*, III, col. 474A–482D).

[128] Yaḥyâ, *P.O.*, XXIII, p. 415[207], 461[253], 483[275].

[129] *Ibid.*, p. 505[297].

[130] *Ibid.*, p. 415[207], 483[275].

[131] The existence of such unpublished texts can be inferred from J. Hergenröther's remark (*Photius*, III, 169) that in *some* Mss. Photius's Συναγωγαὶ καὶ ἀποδείξεις ἀκριβεῖς (= *P.G.*, CIV, col. 1219–1232) is followed by a treatise *De translationibus episcoporum*, as *for instance* in *Cod. Monacensis 68* (see note 97). Elsewhere he enumerated many Mss. of the pamphlet of Photios (*ibid.*, p. 166, n. 2), omitting however the important text in *Cod. Vindob. theol. gr. 173* (see note 108), which, it is true, has not been identified with the work of Photios in Nessel's and Lambeck's catalogues.

investigations by H. Gelzer, how the eleventh century *Notitiae episcopatuum* can be helpful in dating approximately certain important events of Church history between 900 and 1100 A.D. Incidentally I also mentioned that in these lists sometimes a quite uncommon name occurs, which soon after disappears again from the official enumerations. The metropolis or archbishopric in question apparently did not exist for long, but was either completely abolished or incorporated into another unit. These rather ephemeral foundations, such as Asmosata and perhaps Taron, were often situated near or beyond the frontiers of the Empire.

The very interesting and surprising fact of the foundation of such a short-lived metropolis is revealed by a list that is preserved in the twelfth-century *Cod. Coislin. 211*, fols. 261–262[132]. It contains an enumeration of the same eighty metropolitan sees that figure also in the *Notitia* compiled at the time of Alexios Komnenos. The only difference is that in *Cod. Coisl.* one metropolis is omitted and another added. The missing one is the next to the last metropolis of the other list, viz., Naxia or Paronaxia, which was erected in A.D. 1083, a fact which probably implies that the last name of the list in *Cod. Coisl.*, that of Attaleia, created as metropolis in 1084, is a later addition by a copyist who was not yet informed of the erection of Naxia or hastily skipped over that name. If so, the list was compiled in 1082 after Lakedaimonia had acquired the rights of metropolis, thus a few years earlier than the official *Notitia*.

But much more interesting than this omission is the "addition" or rather an entry which soon after forever disappeared in the Byzantine lists, being omitted in the standard *Notitia* of Alexios Komnenos's time. Between Apameia and Kerkyra the list in *Cod. Coisl.* exhibits the following names:

70. Βασιλαίου
71. Τρίστρας[133]
72. Μαυροκάστρου ἤτοι Νέας Ῥωσίας
73. Ναζιανζοῦ.

We are fortunately able to circumscribe rather closely the time when both Basileion and Nazianzos were erected *metropoleis*[134]. The former acquired those rights between 1059 and 1067, the latter between 1068 and 1071. Thus the formation of the two intermediary metropolitan sees can be fixed with positiveness within the years 1059–1071.

Apparently the Greek name of Mavrokastron, meaning the "Black castle", is too banal to permit any certain identification of that metropolis.

[132] Cf. F. Nau, *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien*, XIV (1909), 212, n. 2.

[133] The form Tristra instead of Dristra is hardly a mere clerical error. In the same century Yaḥyâ of Antioch writes the name Ṭlīsrā or Ṭlīstrā (*P.O.*, XVIII [1924], p. 813[115]; also p. 833[135], where the second letter must be corrected.

[134] See above, p. 145.

In fact, however, there existed only one city of the name that was at least temporarily of considerable importance and therefore alone really comes into question. According to the most accurate Italian maps of the Middle Ages it was situated on the left or northern bank of the Dniester estuary, thus at or near Ovidiopol, opposite Asprokastron, the "White castle", which occupied the site of modern Akkerman or Cetatea Albă[135]. Modern scholars, exhibiting a strange insensibility to the difference between black and white, obstinately persist in identifying Mavrokastron with Akkerman[136]. Its Greek name Mavrokastron implies a Greek foundation. Its origin as well as its older history is quite obscure. The question whether the Mavrokastron mentioned in the famous fragments of the so-called "Gothic toparch"[137] was the same place has been eagerly discussed. In my opinion those scholars[138] who identify them are right. On the other hand I doubt whether the date of January 963, proposed by F. Westberg for the events mentioned in those fragments, is really "firmly established", as is commonly supposed[139]. K. B. Hase, the only scholar who has seen the manuscript, ascribed it to the end of the tenth century[140], while the fragments in question were added somewhat, though "not much", later. Accordingly in the index to his edition of Leo Diakonos he speaks once of the eleventh century[141]. As the year 963 can hardly be called the end of the century and still less "a time somewhat later", I prefer to consider the middle of December 1021 as the date when, according to frg. 1, "Saturn was at the beginning of its passage across Aquarius".

That date marks perhaps the first attestation of Mavrokastron, dating possibly from a time not much later than its foundation, provided that the words: "for the whole city also was already inhabited"[142] refer to it. In that case the writer of the fragments seems to be rather one of the first Byzantine commanders of Mavrokastron than the "Gothic toparch" of

[135] Likewise the name Zemun or Semlin, meaning a place built of black earth, is chosen in contrast to that of Belgrad, situated on the opposite bank of the Sava. Cf. Jos. Mal, *Probleme aus der Frühgeschichte der Slowenen* (Ljubljana, 1939), p. 156, n. 227.

[136] In this respect I agree with the objections by J. Bromberg (*Byzantion*, XIII [1938], 53), while I cannot follow him in his explanation of the obvious abbreviation Maŭcastro (and var.) as meaning "Albocastro".

[137] Fragments ed. by K. B. Hase in his *Leonis Diaconi Historia* (Bonn, 1828), p. 496–505, notae ad p. 175.

[138] E.g. W. Tomaschek, "Die Goten in Taurien", *Ethnol. Forschungen über Osteuropa und Nordasien*, I (Vienna, 1881), 37; also V. Vasilievskij, P. Milyukov, N. Bănescu (*Byz.-neugr. Jahrb.*, III[1922], 307 f.) and others.

[139] E.g. by A. A. Vasiliev, *The Goths in the Crimea*, p. 120 f.

[140] Cf. also the index to his edition of Leon Diak., p. 591, s.v. *Inediti scriptores: fragmenta autographa epistolae aut commentarii, in Cod. saec. X reperta.*

[141] *Ibid.*, p. 576, s.v. *Chersonesi Taurici historia: per saec. XI parum cognita.*

[142] ᾠκεῖτο γὰρ ἤδη καὶ ἡ πόλις ἅπασα.

Kherson or another Crimean fortress. The foundation of the "Black fort" may have had a certain connection with the rise of the Byzantine power on the shores of the Black Sea at the time of the successful expedition of Bardas Mongos and the Russian Sphengos (Sven?) against the Khazars in A.D. 1016[143].

I cannot dwell here on the later history of Mavrokastron which, as is well known, became an important Genoese emporium in the 14th and 15th centuries[144]. What alone concerns us is the foundation of a metropolis called "Mavrokastron or New Russia"[145], subjected to the jurisdiction of the patriarch of Constantinople.

Unfortunately we know very little of the history of the regions on the north-western shores of the Black Sea during the eleventh century. From the second name of the metropolis we can infer that a "new" Russian territory existed there at that time, which probably comprehended not much more than the city with which that "New Russia" is identified. That territory, situated at the estuary of the Dniester, was probably closely connected with the Russian settlements on and near the upper course of the same river, where soon after the principality of Galič was established. It is difficult to imagine that the Dniester did not play a rôle similar to that of the Dnieper and other rivers; the name of the Russians or Ruotsi as well as their whole early history proves that rivers always were the arterial roads of the commercial and military expeditions of those "rowers". Thus it stands to reason that certain settlements at the mouth of the Dniester, in the old dwelling-place of the Slavonic tribe of the Tiverci, was almost continually occupied by Russians of Galicia. Towards the middle of the eleventh century Rostislav Vladimirovič seems to have ruled somewhere in Galicia, from where he was expelled in about 1060 by his uncles[146]. He then turned towards the shores of the Black Sea and finally

[143] Cf. N. Bănescu, "La domination byzantine à Matracha (Tmutorokan), en Zichie, en Khazarie et en 'Russie' à l'époque des Comnènes", *Bulletin de la Section Histor. de l'Acad. Roumaine*, XXII, 2 (Bucarest, 1941), 14 f.

[144] G. I. Brătianu, *Recherches sur Vicina et Cetatea Albă* (Bucarest, 1935), p. 99–126, and *passim*.

[145] Νέα Ῥωσία can hardly be the same as Ῥωσία, mentioned beside Matrakha in a treaty concluded in 1169 between Manuel Komnenos and the Genoese, which was confirmed in April 1192 by Isaac Angelos (F. Miklosich and J. Müller, *Acta et diplom. med. aevi*, III [Vienna, 1865], 35. K. E. Zachariä von Lingenthal, *Ius Graeco-Romanum*, III, 496. F. Dölger, *Regesten der Kaiserurkunden*, fasc. II [1925], p. 82, No. 1488; p. 99, No. 1610). Rosia, called Rūsiyah by al-Idrīsī and *Casal di Rossi* on Italian medieval maps, was not situated on the Don, as is often affirmed, but probably at the place of modern Mariupol on the Kalmius river (*Fiume Rosso*); see K. Kretschmer, *Die ital. Portolane des Mittelalters* (Berlin, 1909), p. 645.

[146] G. Vernadsky, *Political and diplomatic history of Russia* (Boston, 1936), p. 55 f. According to others he was in 1056 at Vladimir Volynsk and in 1061 at Novgorod; cf. K. Losskij, "Rostislav Vladimirovič", *Russkij Biografičeskij Slovar*, XVII (Petrograd, 1918), 169.

went, certainly by sea, to Tmutorokan which he seized in 1064 and kept in his possession until the Byzantine Katepano of Kherson treacherously poisoned him in A.D. 1066.

According to the Russian Primary Chronicle he was killed because "the Greeks became afraid of him"; but from the fact that the murderer was stoned by the people of Kherson after his return[147] it seems to result that his crime was rather an act of personal revenge or pure wickedness than an action serving the interests of the Byzantine policy. It implies that Rostislav had been rather popular with the Greek inhabitants of the Crimea and perhaps also on good terms with the Imperial Government at Byzantium. After being driven away from Galicia he probably had stayed for a certain period at Mavrokastron in order to gather new strength for the expedition he planned against Tmutorokan. During his stay in "New Russia" he may have relied on the benevolence and help of the Byzantine fleet and may consequently have permitted the Greek patriarch to establish a metropolitan see there under a Greek-Russian name. The erection of that of Dristra shortly before also shows that Patriarch Konstantinos III Leikhudes (Feb. 1059–Aug. 1063)[148] had become interested in the regions of the Lower Danube and the western shores of the Black Sea.

But after a short while Rostislav left for Tmutorokan, and Mavrokastron probably was taken then by the Uzes (Torks) or Polovcians (Comans)[149] who at that time, especially in the fall of 1064[150], invaded all the countries on the Black Sea north and south of the Danube. This was apparently the reason why the newly founded metropolis disappeared after a very brief existence. Thus a quite laconic mention of its name in *Codex Coislinianus 211* remained the unique testimony of that metropolis founded and soon after abandoned in about A.D. 1060–1064.

[147] "The Russian Primary Chronicle", ed. Karskij, p. 163, 166; transl. by Cross, p. 233 f. The Greek population in Matrakha was certainly rather strong. For the 12th century cf. note 145. As late as A.D. 1376 a certain Ἰωσὴφ μοναχὸς καὶ θύτης ἐν Ματράχοις is attested; cf. M. Vogel and V. Gardthausen, "Die griechischen Schreiber des Mittelalters und der Renaissance", *Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, Beiheft XXXIII (Leipzig, 1909), p. 222.

[148] Rather than his successor John VIII Xiphilinos (January 1, 1064–1075).

[149] Cf. D. Rasovskij, "Pečenegi, Torki i Berendei na Rusi i v Ugrii", *Seminarium Kondakovianum*, VI (1933), 1–65. Matthew of Edessa reports that the Uzes and Pechenegs were driven away by the Khardêš ("the blonds") and the latter by the Ôdzids ("serpents") in about 1050–51 A.D. (Matthieu d'Édesse, *Chronique*, ed. Dulaurier, p. 89, chpt. LXXV). Should the former name be read Khirgīz?

[150] The date was established by V. Zlatarski, *Istorija na Bŭlgarskata Dŭržava prez srednite vekove*, II (Sofia, 1927), 115.

Long after finishing the present paper I took notice of an article by Rev. V. Laurent (*Échos d'Orient*, XXXVIII [1939, July–December], p. 279 [published at Bucharest in 1940]), where he refers to Theopemptos's stay at CP. in 1039 and to Theophylaktos's transfer and promises to treat elsewhere of Theodore of Sebasteia (p. 287–293).

B. Un Archevêque Ignatien de Moravie, Rival de S. Méthode

I

Deux archevêques de Moravie à Ratisbonne

Au début de 872 et en novembre 873 deux ambassades de l'empereur Basile I arrivèrent à Ratisbonne, à la cour de Louis le Germanique. Voici le récit des *Annales Fuldenses*, l'unique source qui nous renseigne sur ces événements[1]:

Anno 872

Mense Ianuario, circa Epiphaniam Basilii, Graecorum imperatoris, legati cum muneribus et epistolis ad Hludowicum regem Radasbonam venerunt, atque ei inter caetera xenia cristallum mirae magnitudinis, auro gemmisque praeciosis ornatum, cum parte non modica salutiferae crucis obtulerunt; qui honorifice suscepti, et congrua responsione accepta, redierunt ad sua.

Anno 873

Mense Novembri Agathon archiepiscopus, Basilii Graecorum imperatoris legatus, ad renovandam pristinam amicitiam cum epistolis et muneribus ad Hludowicum regem Radasbonam venit, quem rex honorifice suscepit et absolvit.

Le principal but de ces ambassades était probablement d'assurer de bonnes relations entre les deux puissances en vue de la situation confuse qui existait en Italie après la mort de l'empereur Louis II[2]. C'est du moins la conclusion que les historiens modernes ont tirée des récits que nous venons de citer, et elle est probablement exacte; cependant l'auteur des Annales de Fulda lui-même semble beaucoup plus impressionné par le fait que, en 872, les envoyés de l'empereur apportaient une importante relique, et qu'en 873, le délégué de Basile était un certain archevêque appelé Agathon. Comme il est peu probable que les ambassadeurs qui, en 872, apportaient les reliques, aient été des laïques, on ne se trompera peut-être pas en supposant que le chef de cette première délégation de l'empereur n'était autre que l'archevêque Agathon qui, en 873, fut choisi pour la tâche de "renouveler" l'amitié existant entre les deux souverains. Quoi qu'il en soit, il est important de se rappeler que, vers le même temps où la première ambassade arrivait à Ratisbonne, un autre archevêque de nationalité grecque languissait en Souabe dans les geôles allemandes, soumis à des tortures physiques dont la description évoque en quelque sorte l'image des camps de concentration d'une "Kulturstufe" beaucoup plus avancée. Ce prisonnier était S. Méthode, le survivant des deux frères dits "les apôtres des Slaves".

[1] *Annales Fuldenses*, éd. Pertz dans les *Mon. Germ. Hist.*, *SS.*, I, 384, 30–34, 387, 23–25. Cf. F. Doelger, *Corpus der griechischen Urkunden des Mittelalters und der neueren Zeit*, Reihe A: Regesten, I (Munich, 1924), 59, nos. 489 et 491.

[2] E. Duemmler, *Geschichte des ostfränkischen Reiches*, II, 2e éd. (Leipzig, 1887), 371.

En 870, à peine rentré en Moravie (ou en Pannonie) après avoir été ordonné archevêque de ces pays par le pape Hadrien II, il avait eu la malchance de tomber dans les mains des Allemands, avec l'aide desquels Svatopluk s'était révolté contre son oncle Rastislav. Le malheureux prince qui avait introduit le christianisme en Moravie fut aveuglé par les Allemands, tandis que son archevêque était condamné à Ratisbonne par une sorte de "concile" tenu en présence du roi Louis le Germanique, "l'ennemi du roi morave"[3]. Il avait beau insister sur ses droits d'archevêque ordonné par le pape personnellement; on sait par les lettres de Jean VIII comment il fut menacé par l'évêque Ermanrich de Passau qui voulait le cravacher ("in episcoporum concilium tractum flagello equino percuteret nisi prohiberetur ab aliis"[4]). Il fut arbitrairement condamné et enfermé pendant deux ans et demi au moins[5]. Dans leur mémoire de 870 ou 871[6], intitulé *Libellus de conversione Bagoariorum et Carantanorum*[7], les évêques allemands l'appellent "quidam Graecus Methodius nomine" sans tenir compte de son rang ecclésiastique, et l'évêque Anno de Freising—à trente kilomètres de Dachau —déclara même effrontément dans une lettre au pape qu'il ignorait Méthode, bien qu'il fût, lui-même, comme le pape le lui reprocha dans sa réponse, l'instigateur de toutes ces violences illégales[8].

Or, c'est exactement pendant ces années où S. Méthode était emprisonné par le clergé allemand que la première ambassade grecque arriva à Ratisbonne pour transmettre à Louis le Germanique une précieuse relique. C'est peut-être dans cette même salle où, un an plus tôt, le roi s'était moqué du saint transpirant de colère et d'indignation pendant qu'il discutait "avec des gens grossiers"[9], que ce même roi accepta les présents de l'empereur grec sans trop s'inquiéter du fait que Basile et ses sujets étaient à ses yeux des hérétiques qui omettaient le *filioque* dans leur confession de foi. Même quand la seconde ambassade, présidée par l'archevêque Agathon, quitta Constantinople—probablement dans l'été de 873[10]—S. Méthode était peut-être encore prisonnier, car il semble que ce fut "tout à

[3] *Vie de S. Méthode*, ch. 9. Sur les disputes entre les papes et le haut clergé franc soutenu par les empereurs voir Paul J. Alexander, "The Papacy, the Bavarian Clergy, and the Slavonic Apostles", *The Slavonic and East European Review*, XX (1941), 266–293.

[4] Jaffé-Ewald, *Regesta Pontif. Romanor.*, I, 380, n. 2977.

[5] "Ils le retinrent deux ans et demi": *Vie de S. Méthode*, ch. 9. "A sede tribus annis pellentes": *Lettre* de Jean VIII à Louis le Germanique, Jaffé-Ewald, I, 379, no. 2976.

[8] Sur les différentes opinions concernant la date de ce *Libellus* voir P. Duthilleul dans *Échos d'Orient*, 38e année (1935), p. 295–6.

[7] *Mon. Germ. Hist., SS.*, XI, p. 13, 26.

[8] Jaffé-Ewald, t. I, p. 380, no. 2979. *Mon. Germ. Hist., Epist.*, VII, 286, 30.

[9] *Vie de S. Méthode*, ch. 9.

[10] Doelger, *Regesten*, I, 59, no. 491.

la fin de l'année 870" que l'on convoqua le "concile" qui l'avait condamné[11]. Il est possible qu'alors ni l'empereur grec, ni l'archevêque Agathon, ne savait exactement où S. Méthode se trouvait, puisque même le pape, le successeur d'Hadrien II qui l'avait ordonné et envoyé en Moravie, n'apprit son triste sort qu'en mai 873 par le moine Lazare[12]. Mais d'autre part il est peu probable qu'il n'y ait eu aucun échange d'ambassades entre Byzance et la Moravie à l'occasion de l'avènement de Svatopluk; et, s'il y eut alors des ambassadeurs byzantins en Moravie, les délégués de l'empereur durent certainement apprendre, à cette occasion, le fait que Méthode avait disparu, et peut-être aussi les circonstances de sa disparition. Ce doit être vers le temps où le patriarche Ignace envoyait un archevêque grec en Bulgarie sans se soucier des droits que le pape réclamait sur ce pays, que le même patriarche apprit probablement que le siège archiépiscopal de Moravie, érigé peu avant par le Saint-Siège, était devenu vacant par suite de la disparition ou de la "déposition" de Méthode. Nous verrons comment Byzance réagit à cette nouvelle. Puisque S. Méthode ne dépendait pas de l'église byzantine, comme il avait même agi en quelque sorte contre les intérêts de l'Empire en revendiquant les droits du pape sur la Moravie, nous pouvons supposer d'avance que ses compatriotes, loin de s'inquiéter de son triste sort, ont plutôt vu avec une certaine satisfaction dans ses souffrances une punition juste et méritée de son "apostasie". C'est pourquoi nous ne devons pas être trop étonné d'apprendre que l'ambassade qui arriva en 873 à Ratisbonne pour renouveler les relations amicales entre les deux puissances, était conduite par un archevêque byzantin.

Quel était cet archevêque? Pour trouver la réponse à cette question nous avons l'avantage de disposer des listes des participants à deux conciles qui eurent lieu peu d'années avant et après 873, c'est à dire celui d'Ignace en 869–870 et celui de Photius en 879–880. Or, tandis qu'en 869–70, nous ne trouvons aucun personnage du nom d'Agathon, il y en a deux qui signèrent les actes de 879–80, l'un parmi les métropolitains et archevêques, l'autre comme évêque. Puisque l'ambassadeur de 873 était déjà archevêque en cette année, le second personnage, l'évêque Agathon de Cérasea en Lydie[13], n'entre pas en ligne de compte. Le seul personnage qui puisse donc être identifié avec l'ambassadeur de 873 est un archevêque appelé Ἀγάθων Μωράβων[14].

Donc, peu après que S. Méthode, archevêque des Moraves, eut été déposé à Ratisbonne par le clergé allemand, la même ville voyait arriver un autre "archevêque des Moraves", Agathon, comme ambassadeur de

[11] A. Lapôtre, S. J., *L'Europe et le Saint-Siège à l'époque carolingienne*, I (Paris, 1895), p. 118, n. 1.

[12] Jaffé-Ewald, I, 380, no. 2976.

[13] Mansi, XVII, col. 376^{C}: Ἀγάθων Κερασηνῶν.

[14] Mansi, XVII, col. 373^{D}.

l'empereur Basile! Ce fait semble bien remarquable; mais tout ce que nous savons de ce personnage est qu'il se nommait Agathon, qu'il siégea au concile de 879–80 parmi les métropolitains et archevêques, et que son siège était appelé celui des Moraves. Quelles conclusions pouvons nous tirer de ces trois maigres indications?

II

Quelle était la dignité d'Agathon?

Commençons par discuter sa dignité ecclésiastique. Parmi toutes les listes conciliaires de l'église grecque il n'y en a aucune qui soit dans un aussi grand désordre que celle de 879, ce qui rend difficile la tâche d'identifier certains évêques ou leurs sièges. Mais, heureusement, ce désordre concerne plutôt la partie de la liste qui comprend les noms des évêques ordinaires, tandis que l'énumération des métropolitains et archevêques qui, comme d'habitude, précède l'autre partie de la liste, est beaucoup plus soignée. Nous y trouvons à peu près 80 titulaires de ces deux catégories qui, cependant, ne sont clairement distinguées ni par l'addition de leurs titres ni par l'observation d'un strict ordre hiérarchique. Quant aux 30 premiers, ils étaient sans aucun doute des métropolitains provinciaux; mais, parmi les 50 qui suivent, et dont la plupart étaient des archevêques autocéphales, nous trouvons un certain nombre de métropolitains, dont les noms interrompent çà et là la série des archevêques. Un des plus importants, le titulaire de Thessalonique, occupe même la dernière place de ce groupe (no. 80) qui, vers la fin, contient peut-être aussi le nom d'un évêque ordinaire, si c'est à juste titre qu'on voit dans Πέτρος Ἰλιάδος ou Ἡλιάδος (no. 76) l'évêque d'Ilion.

Quant à Agathon des Moraves, il est mentionné après Sabas d'Athènes et Antoine de Naupacte et avant Lucien de Dyrrhachium, c'est-à-dire parmi des titulaires qui tous étaient sûrement des métropolitains. Cependant, cela ne signifie pas nécessairement qu'il fût lui aussi métropolitain. Il est vrai que peu après cette époque on a commencé à élever quelques archevêques autocéphales au rang de métropolitains titulaires.

Mais la *Notitia* de Léon le Sage prouve que, avant 902, la catégorie de métropole sans évêché suffragant n' existait pas encore, à l'exception de deux cas particuliers, ceux de Chalcédoine et Catana. De plus, pour les titulaires qu'on consacrait pour des pays situés hors des frontières de l'empire et surtout pour ceux qu'on envoyait en Occident, on préférait probablement conserver le titre d'archevêque[15]. On sait d'ailleurs qu'en

[15] Ce titre ne désigne pas toujours un rang inférieur à celui de métropolitain, car les métropolitains de Césarée et d'Éphèse (cf. p. 136, n. 40) qui, en même temps, étaient les exarques de deux grands diocèses de l'empire byzantin, signaient d'habitude comme archevêques; de même le métropolitain de Thessalonique. Dans les Actes du concile du 12 mai 1157, les signatures des archevêques de Bulgarie et de

Europe occidentale les évêques des capitales des provinces avaient le titre d'archevêque qui correspondait à celui de métropolitain dans le patriarcat byzantin. Pour cette raison certains savants ont cru devoir interpréter comme signifiant "métropolitain" le titre d'archevêque que les Annales de Fulda donnent à l'ambassadeur de 873[16]; mais il est plus vraisemblable qu'Agathon était un "archevêque" dans le sens byzantin du mot. En tout cas, l'Agathon de 873, aussi bien que celui de 879–80, était un archevêque (dans le sens oriental ou occidental du mot) de l'église byzantine, ce qui permet de supposer qu'il s'agit du même personnage.

On peut encore se demander si Agathon, archevêque des Moraves en 879, n'était pas archevêque d'un autre siège en 873. Il est vrai que nous connaissons un certain nombre d'évêques qui, au cours des siècles, furent transférés d'un siège à un autre. Mais comme Agathon ne figure point dans les listes de ces *μεταθέσεις* qui mentionnent toutefois plusieurs cas de l'époque photienne, il est peu probable qu'entre 873 et 879 il ait été transféré d'un autre siège à celui "des Moraves".

III

Où se trouvaient les Moraves dont Agathon était l'archevêque?

Mais les Moraves dont Agathon était l'archevêque ne pourraient-ils pas être différents de ceux pour lesquels le pape avait ordonné S. Méthode? On a en effet prétendu qu'Agathon était archevêque non pas de la "Grande Moravie", mais d'une petite ville située sur la Morava serbe[17]. Il y existait en effet, du moins vers 1100, un évêché dont le titulaire fut appelé *ὁ Μοράβου ἤτοι Βρανιτζάβου*; son siège était donc uni à celui de Braničevo[18]. Théophylacte de Bulgarie parle d'un évêque "*ὁ Μορόβου*"[19]. On a identifié ce siège[20] avec le *κάστρον ὁ Μορόβισκος* qui, dans le fameux décret de 1020[21], figure parmi les localités qui dépendent de *Βράνιτζα*. Mais ce *φρούριον*

Chypre précèdent celles des trois exarques (Nicétas Chon., *Thesaur.*, dans Migne, *P.G.*, CXL, col. 197[C]). Mais à cette époque, la Bulgarie appartenait à l'empire et, par suite, son archevêque figurait parmi les membres de l'église byzantine.

[16] Comme Doelger, *loc. cit.*, tandis que H. Gelzer l'appelle "der Erzbischof der Maehren (*Μωράβων*)" (*Jahrb. f. protestant. Theolog.*, XII [1886] 532). Je ne connais pas d'autre mention d'Agathon dans les oeuvres de Gelzer.

[17] Assemani, *Bibl. Iur. Orient.*, VI, 38. Golubinskij, *Kratkij očerk istorii pravosl. cerkvej* (Moscow, 1871), p. 35. Fr. Dvorník, *Les Slaves, Byzance et Rome au IXe siècle* (Paris, 1926), p. 234. M. Janin, *Dictionnaire d'Histoire et de Géographie ecclésiastiques*, X (1938), col. 1130, s.v. *Bulgarie*.

[18] *Cod. Vatic. Graec. 828*, fol. 354[r], éd. H. Gelzer, *Byzant. Ztschr.*, I (1892), 257, v. 13. Le *Cod. Berol. Phillipps 1477*, fol. 95[v] (*ibid.*, v. 226) dit seulement *ἡ Βρανιτζοβα*.

[19] Théophylacte d'Ochrida, *epist. 13*, dans Migne, *P.G.*, CXXVI, col. 525[A].

[20] H. Gelzer, *Byz. Ztschr.*, II (1893), 52–53.

[21] Doelger, *Regesten*, I, 103–4, no. 806 et 807.

Μωράβου, comme l'appelle Jean Scylitzès[22], était bien insignifiant; nous n'en connaissons le nom d'aucun évêque, et il est très douteux si, au IXe siècle, il était déjà érigé en évêché. Il n'y a aucune raison de supposer qu'il eût jamais été archevêché et que son titulaire siégeât en 879 parmi les métropolitains et archevêques de l'église byzantine. Il ne sera pas inutile à ce propos de mentionner qu'on a cherché dans la même liste de 879 l'archevêque de Bulgarie que S. Ignace avait ordonné, et qu'on a cru trouver son nom dans la signature de Gabriel d'Achrida[23]. Or ce Gabriel signa parmi les évêques ordinaires[24], tandis qu'Agathon des Moraves est placé parmi les représentants d'Athènes, Naupacte et Dyrrhachium! Dvorník[25], appelant Agathon seulement "évêque", semble avoir ignoré aussi bien sa dignité d'archevêque que son identité avec l'ambassadeur de 873.

Cependant, en 1867 déjà, Hergenröther a bien vu que la localité bulgare de Morava était beaucoup trop insignifiante qu'on puisse supposer qu'elle fût le siège d'un archevêque[26]. Le même savant a déjà reconnu l'identité de l'Agathon de 873 avec celui de 879; mais la manière comment il présente cette découverte montre clairement que c'était plutôt malgré lui qu'il l'a faite. Car, ayant rejeté l'opinion d'Assemani qui avait considéré Agathon comme archevêque d'une petite ville bulgare, il continue[27]: "De plus, nous

[22] Cédrénus-Scylitzès II, 527, 8, éd. Bonn: en 1040, Pierre Déléanus s'enfuit ἄχρι Μωράβου καὶ Βελεγράδων (φρούρια δὲ ταῦτα τῆς Παννονίας κατὰ τὴν περαίαν τοῦ Ἴστρου διακείμενα καὶ γειτονοῦντα τῷ κράλῃ Τουρκίας). En fait les deux forteresses étaient situées au Sud du Danube.

[23] Mansi, XVII, col. 376^A: Γαβριὴλ Ἀχρίδης.

[24] Ce que Le Quien a déjà souligné (*Oriens Christianus*, vol. II, col. 288^D): "sed inter metropolitas non censetur." Pour cette raison il n'est pas seulement "douteux" (Hergenroether, *Photius*, II, 159), mais tout à fait impossible qu'il fût l'archevêque consacré par S. Ignace. Ignace de Sozopolis (Mansi, XVII, col. 373^E) et Syméon de Debeltus (*ibid.*, col. 377^B) (cf. Hergenroether, *ibid.*, p. 159, n. 48) qui signaient eux-aussi parmi les évêques ne se prêtent pas davantage à une identification avec l'archevêque de Bulgarie.

[25] Fr. Dvorník, *Les Slaves* . . . , p. 234: (Agathon ne pouvait pas être l'évêque [cf. p. 233] de la Grande Moravie,) "car le siège épiscopal y était alors occupé par Méthode."

[26] J. Hergenroether, *Photius, Patriarch von Constantinopel*, II (Ratisbonne, 1867), p. 631: "Das bulgarische Moraba war jedenfalls für einen Erzbischof ein viel zu unbedeutender Ort."

[27] Hergenroether, *ibid.*, p. 631–632: "Wir wissen ferner nicht, ob dieser Agathon identisch ist mit dem gleichnamigen Erzbischof, der im November 873 als Gesandter des Basilius nach Regensburg kam; wäre das der Fall, so könnten wir wenigstens voraussetzen, dass Agathon von Moraba mit dem Reiche Swatopluk's näher bekannt war, das er von Bulgarien aus wahrscheinlich auf der Reise passierte. So dürfen wir wohl die Vermutung wagen, man habe im byzantinischen Reiche durch die Abordnung oder auch Ordination dieses Agathon im mährischen Reiche Boden gewinnen wollen, wofür auch in der griechischen Umgebung des Methodius Anknüpfungspunkte nicht fehlten; einige Wahrscheinlichkeit müssen wir der Conjectur von Le Quien immerhin zugestehen."

ne savons pas si cet Agathon était identique avec l'archevêque du même nom qui arriva à Ratisbonne en novembre 873 comme ambassadeur de Basile; si cela était le cas, nous pourrions supposer qu'Agathon de Morava avait quelque connaissance du pays de Svatopluk, qu'il avait dû traverser en venant de Bulgarie[28]. En conséquence nous sommes peut-être autorisé à supposer qu'à Byzance on a voulu gagner de l'influence dans l'état morave par la délégation ou bien par l'ordination de cet Agathon, tâche pour laquelle il ne manquait pas de point de contact dans l'entourage grec de Méthode; il faut donc, tout de même, accorder une certaine probabilité à la conjecture de Le Quien."

IV

Agathon était Ignatien

On ne peut pas dire que ces lignes d'Hergenröther soient trop affirmatives; il n'est pas étonnant que d'autres savants n'aient pas attaché d'importance à ses remarques concernant "la personnalité douteuse d'Agathon" exprimées de la sorte[29]. La raison pour laquelle Hergenröther s'est si vaguement exprimé est assez claire: il semble bien que le mot "on" dans la phrase citée ("man habe im byzantinischen Reiche durch die. . . . Ordination dieses Agathon im mährischen Reiche Boden gewinnen wollen") trahit un certain embarras, et ce qui devait en effet gêner pas mal le savant cardinal était le fait évident que c'était S. Ignace qui avait agi ainsi contre S. Méthode. Il est néanmoins étonnant qu'il se soit borné à remarquer qu'il "fallait accorder une certaine vraisemblance à la conjecture de Le Quien", sans la citer littéralement et sans indiquer que cette hypothèse avait besoin d'une rectification essentielle par suite de sa propre découverte. Car il était

[28] Il est très douteux qu'Agathon ait traversé la Bulgarie. De même, d'après Le Quien, Cyrille et Méthode seraient arrivés en Moravie "relicta Bulgaria" (voir plus bas, p. 170); mais selon l'*Excerptum de Karentanis*, S. Méthode y est arrivé en venant d'Istrie et de Dalmatie (*Mon. Germ. Hist., SS.*, XI, 15, 2–4: "interiecto aliquo tempore supervenit quidam Sclavus ab Hystrie et Dalmatie partibus nomine Methodius qui adinvenit Sclavicas literas et Sclavice celebravit divinum officium et vilescere fecit Latinum; tandem fugatus a Karentanis partibus intravit Moraviam ibique quiescit"). Hergenroether (*Photius*, II, 616, n. 89) admet que ce passage confirme en quelque sorte l'opinion du Prêtre de Dioclée selon laquelle les deux saints auraient converti la Dalmatie; il regarde cependant le "concile de Delminium" (*v. infra*, n. 41) comme inventé (*ibid.*, II, 607).

[29] Duemmler, *Geschichte des ostfränkischen Reiches*, II, 2e éd., 371, n. 4: "Vgl. über die zweifelhafte Persönlichkeit Agathons Hergenr. II, 632." Doelger (*Regesten, loc. cit.*) ne mentionne même plus Hergenroether, tandis qu'il cite entre autres ces deux livres: Otto Harnack, *Die Beziehungen des fränkisch-italischen zu dem byzantinischen Reiche unter der Regierung Karls d. Gr. und der späteren Kaiser karolingischen Stammes* (Göttingen, 1880), p. 87, n. 4, et B. A. Mystakides, *Byzantinisch-deutsche Beziehungen zur Zeit der Ottonen* (Stuttgart, 1891), p. 12, 74–75. Ces deux publications ne sont pas à ma disposition.

logique que Le Quien, connaissant Agathon uniquement par sa signature de 879, l'eût regardé comme un évêque photien. Cependant, dès qu'on admet que le même Agathon était déjà archevêque en 873, cet instrument dévoué de l'intrigant Photius se transforme forcément en un Ignatien. Dans l'*Oriens Christianus* de Le Quien le passage curieux auquel renvoie Hergenröther se cache dans l'introduction générale à la liste des patriarches de Constantinople, où, parlant des peuples barbares que ces derniers ont soumis à leur église, Le Quien écrit sous le titre "§16. Photius Moravos sibi subjicere tentat" les lignes suivantes:

"Non hic omittendum puto, quum SS. Cyrillus & Methodius, Romano Papa annuente, relicta Bulgaria in Moraviam Christum annunciaturi perrexissent, magnamque gentis illius partem ad Christianam religionem traduxissent, Photium quo aestuabat invidentiae livore, hanc quoque suae sedi subjicere tentasse, creato Moravorum episcopo Agathone, quem inter Archiepiscopos vel metropolitas in ipsius synodo sub Joanne Papa VIII sedisse ludicri illius conventûs acta perhibent: Ἀγάθωνος Μωράβων, Ἀγάθων Μωράβων. Verum illa Photii ad Moraviam subigendam molimina futilia fuerunt, eaque regio Romanae sedi deinceps addicta mansit ad haec novissima usque tempora, quibus in eam Lutheri impietas irrepsit"[30].

Selon toute vraisemblance, Hergenröther n'a pas clairement vu que, dès qu'on identifie Agathon avec l'archevêque de 873, il n'est plus possible de soutenir la thèse de Le Quien, du moins telle quelle. Car pour regarder comme photien cet archevêque attesté en 873 on devrait supposer qu'il avait été consacré avant 867, donc avant Méthode, ce qui serait absurde et d'ailleurs en pleine contradiction avec les autres remarques d'Hergenröther sur ce personnage.

V

S. Méthode était Photien

Grâce aux recherches récentes entreprises par des savants catholiques comme V. Grumel, V. Laurent, E. Amann et Fr. Dvorník, nous voyons aujourd'hui beaucoup plus clair en ce qui concerne les relations entre le Saint-Siège et l'église byzantine à l'époque d'Ignace et de Photius. C'est pourquoi, dès que j'eus reconnu l'identité de l'Agathon de 873 avec celui de 879 (sans remarquer d'abord qu'elle avait été déjà constatée par Hergenröther), je n'eus aucun doute qu'il s'agît d'un personnage consacré par le patriarche Ignace. On sait maintenant que le portrait défavorable qu'on a fait si longtemps de Photius, cette sorte de *damnatio memoriae* dont fut

[30] Le Quien, *Oriens Christianus*, I (Paris, 1740), col. 105^{A}–106^{A}. Dans le second volume qui, d'après certains indices, semble avoir été composé avant le premier, Le Quien dit seulement (II, col. 289^{D}, sous "Ecclesia Achridensis"): "Inter Photianae synodi metropolitas & archiepiscopos sedisse miror Agathonem Moravorum."

victime ce patriarche, résultent en grande partie de certaines interpolations et falsifications commises par des adhérents intransigents de S. Ignace, longtemps après sa mort. Le R. P. Lapôtre, S. J., avait clairement indiqué les motifs qui ont fait douter les Antiphotiens modernes de la réalité du voyage de S. Méthode à Constantinople: "Mais il fallait à tout prix sauver Méthode de ce contact avec l'odieux Photius, et enlever ainsi au schisme grec tout prétexte à revendiquer pour soi l'illustre patron des Slaves"[31]. Mais nous savons par les lettres indignées des papes Hadrien II et Jean VIII[32] qu'à partir de 870 les relations entre eux et S. Ignace devinrent de plus en plus tendues et que Jean VIII était sur le point d'anathématiser le patriarche quand ce dernier mourut[32a]. De toute évidence, c'est au moment où Ignace envoyait ses évêques et prêtres en Bulgarie au mépris des prétentions de l'église romaine, qu'il dut consacrer Agathon archevêque des Moraves. Du point de vue byzantin, il peut se comprendre qu'on ait regardé Constantin et Méthode comme des gens qui, en prêtant leurs services aux papes, avaient trahi la politique religieuse de leur patrie. S'il en fallait une preuve, le silence absolu des sources grecques sur les deux frères est éloquent. Leurs noms ne se trouvent dans aucun historien, presque dans aucun synaxaire; et le seul traité grec où ils figurent, à savoir la *Vie de S. Clément d'Ochrida*, est, on le sait, une traduction tardive (XIe siècle) et remaniée d'un original slavon. En 863, donc sous le premier patriarcat de Photius, l'empereur Michel III avait envoyé les deux frères en Moravie. Comme Dvorník l'a bien démontré[33], ils n'étaient sûrement pas des Ignatiens, mais de toute évidence des partisans de Photius. D'autre part, c'est exactement en 867, la même année que Photius fut déposé, qu'ils sont arrivés à Rome avec les reliques de S. Clément. Est-ce qu'ils ont abandonné à ce moment tout espoir d'être soutenus par son successeur Ignace, dont ils devaient connaître les sentiments à leur égard dès son premier patriarcat? Pourquoi n'avaient-ils pas, longtemps avant 867, apporté à Rome les reliques de S. Clément, découvertes depuis 860–1, au lieu de les garder secrètement d'abord à Constantinople et puis en Moravie[34]? Je suppose qu'à leur départ pour la Moravie, ils avaient reçu de Photius des instructions secrètes en ce sens qu'ils devaient attendre ses ordres avant de présenter au pape ces reliques précieuses, qui pouvaient être

[31] A. Lapôtre, *loc. cit.*, p. 156.

[32] Cf. p. ex. Jaffé-Ewald, I, 374, no. 2943 (10 novembre 871); p. 377, no. 2964 (en 873).

[32a] "En fait, d'après un texte papal, Ignace serait mort excommunié" (note de M. H. Grégoire; cf. son article "L'Excommunication de S. Ignace", dans un prochain volume de *Byzantion*).

[33] Dvorník, *Les légendes . . .*, p. 146 sq., 210, 314.

[34] J. B. Bury, *A history of the Eastern Roman Empire from the fall of Irene to the accession of Basil I* (Londres, 1912), p. 399, n. 2, suppose que vers 867 les frères sont rentrés à Constantinople avant d'apporter les reliques à Rome, mais la plupart des historiens croient qu'ils sont venus directement de Moravie.

un moyen utile pour la réconciliation avec le Saint-Siège. Il suffit de renvoyer à l'ambassade de 872 pour se rappeler un des nombreux cas où on s'est servi de reliques pour des buts pareils. Après la chute de Photius il n'y avait plus de raison de retenir le précieux présent. Dans ce moment critique il pouvait du moins être utile aux deux frères, désireux de gagner pour eux-mêmes la faveur du pontife alors qu'ils ne pouvaient plus espérer d'être soutenus par leur propre patriarche. A Constantinople, cette décision dut, nous venons de le dire, être considérée comme une sorte de trahison ou d'apostasie; ceux qui, plus tard, prétendaient que Méthode n'oserait rentrer à Constantinople connaissaient sans doute à fond les sentiments qui y régnaient à son égard. L'auteur de la *Vie de Méthode*[35] ne dit pas exactement vers quelle époque ces bruits ont commencé à circuler, ni quand l'empereur, par suite d'une inspiration, a subitement éprouvé le vif désir de revoir Méthode. Mais nous savons que ce dernier ne se rendit à Constantinople qu'après la mort de S. Ignace, la réinstallation de Photius et la réconciliation de ce dernier avec le Saint-Siège[36].

VI

L'accord entre Byzance et Ratisbonne; S. Méthode "le philosophe"

On voit qu'il n'y a pas de raison de s'étonner qu'après la disparition de Méthode, Ignace ait consacré de son côté un autre archevêque pour la Moravie. A cette occasion il pouvait se venger du tort qu'à son avis les papes lui avaient fait en se servant d'un Grec pour atteindre leurs buts dans ce pays. Il n'est pas vraisemblable qu'en 873, Agathon se rendait pour la première fois en Moravie, comme le suppose Hergenröther. En cette année, il n'aurait pu visiter ce pays que rapidement avant de se rendre à Ratisbonne. Ce bref séjour ne lui aurait guère permis d'accomplir efficacement sa nouvelle mission ecclésiastique. De plus, dès 873 il était archevêque, et on ne se trompera pas en supposant qu'avant de le consacrer (ou de la faire consacrer), Ignace s'était assuré que ni Svatopluk ni le clergé allemand ne lui feraient des difficultés. S'il en est ainsi, cela impliquerait qu'on était arrivé à un certain accord avec l'épiscopat allemand, ce qui fait

[35] *Vie de S. Méthode*, ch. 13.

[36] *Vie de S. Méthode*, ch. 13: après sa réhabilitation par le pape en 880 racontée *ibid.*, ch. 12. Pour dater son voyage je n'ose pas me servir de la lettre de Jean VIII du 23 mars 881, dans laquelle le pape dit: "cum Deo duce reversus fueris" (Jaffé-Ewald, I, 418, no. 3344. *Mon. Germ. Hist., Epist.*, VII, p. 244 = *P.L.*, CXXVI, col. 929^{B}), car ces mots ne doivent pas nécessairement faire allusion à son voyage à Constantinople (Dvorník, *Les légendes* . . . , p. 276; cf. E. Amann dans l'*Histoire de l'Église* de Fliche et Martin, VI [1937], 460–1). Il semble plus probable que le pape parle d'un retour attendu de Méthode à Rome (ainsi Hergenroether, *Photius*, II, 626), à la suite duquel son conflit avec Wiching pourrait être réglé "coram nobis." Suivant Bonwetsch (*Realenc. f. protest. Theol.*, 3e éd., IV [1898], p. 389, 27) ce ne fut qu'après la mort de Jean VIII (en décembre 882), qui mit Méthode dans une situation précaire, qu'il aurait essayé de trouver un appui chez l'empereur.

présumer de nouveau que le sort de Méthode ne devait pas rester tout à fait inconnu à Byzance. De leur côté, les évêques allemands ont probablement appris à cette occasion le point de vue d'Ignace sur la validité des aspirations de Méthode. Or, il subsiste encore un faible indice trahissant leur accord en ce point. On sait que S. Constantin est d'habitude appelé "le philosophe", tandis que, dans les *Vies* des deux saints, cette épithète n'est jamais employée à l'égard de Méthode. Il est d'autant plus surprenant que, dans le *Libellus de conversione Bagoariorum et Carantanorum*, les évêques allemands, qui semblent même ignorer le haut rang ecclésiastique de Méthode, emploient deux fois ce mot qui semble trahir une connaissance étonnante des luttes internes de l'église byzantine: "quidam Graecus, Methodius nomine, noviter inventis Sclavinis litteris linguam Latinam doctrinamque Romanam atque litteras auctora<bi>les Latinas *philosophice* superducens vilescere fecit cuncto populo ex parte missas et evangelia ecclesiasticumque officium qui hoc Latine celebraverunt"[37], et une fois de plus: "hoc enim ibi observatum fuit usque dum nova orta est doctrina Methodii *philosophi*"[38]. Ce "mot d'ordre" n'est-il pas venu de ce patriarche byzantin qui, d'après Photius, eût été incapable de réfuter une doctrine hérétique se servant du syllogisme, parce qu'il voulait rester étranger aux philosophes et à la science profane[39]? On peut bien imaginer que, interrogé par les évêques allemands sur ce qu'il fallait penser de son compatriote Méthode et de ses prétentions, Agathon aurait répondu: "Nous autres Grecs ignorons de quel droit l'un de ces 'philosophes' s'appelle archevêque; comme vous le savez d'ailleurs, le véritable archevêque grec des Moraves—c'est moi!"

VII

Agathon ne disposait pas des livres slavons

Après la libération de S. Méthode et son retour en Moravie, Agathon a probablement renoncé à se rendre lui aussi dans ce pays. Le fait qu'il signa encore les actes de 879–80 comme archevêque des Moraves montre cependant qu'il a continué à maintenir ses prétentions. Il existe même une tradition d'après laquelle Svatopluk aurait reçu en 874 le légat apostolique Honorius et les ambassadeurs byzantins Léon et Jean auquels il aurait

[37] *Libellus de convers. Bagoar. et Carant.*, c. 12, *Mon. Germ. Hist., SS*, XI, 13, 26–14, 2.

[38] *Libellus* . . . , c. 14, *ibid.*, p. 14, 27.

[39] Anastasius bibliothecarius, *Praefatio ad octavam synodum*, dans Mansi, XVI, col. 6^{A} = *Mon. Germ. Hist.*, Epist., VII, p. 407_{14-16} (rec. E. Perels et G. Laehr): (Photius a défendu la thèse de l'existence de deux âmes) "studio . . . probandi quid patriarcha Ignatius ageret, si suo tempore quaelibet haeresis per syllogismos philosophorum exorta patesceret, qui scilicet viros exterioris sapientiae (τῆς ἔξω σοφίας) reppulisset." Cf. Dvornik, *Les légendes* . . . , p. 67–68.

confirmé "les anciens privilèges latins et grecs"[40], ce qui semble faire allusion à la rivalité entre Méthode et Agathon. Mais les détails de ce récit sont si fantastiques[41] qu'il serait imprudent de s'en servir comme d'une source historique.

Comme archevêque d'un peuple slave et comme ambassadeur envoyé en Allemagne, Agathon parlait probablement couramment le latin et certains dialectes slaves aussi bien que Méthode; il n'était pas difficile de trouver dans les provinces occidentales de l'empire des personnes auxquelles ces langues étaient aussi familières que le grec. Mais ce qui rendait S. Méthode cher et indispensable à la nation morave, c'était une sorte de science secrète, ces livres slavons écrits dans l'alphabet glagolitique que S. Constantin avait "découvert par ses prières"[42]. En 867 il les dédia au pape qui "les consacra et les déposa dans l'église de la Sainte Vierge qu'on appelle Phatné"[43]. Mais nous verrons qu'à Byzance personne n'était initié à ce secret. C'est pourquoi Agathon pouvait à peine espérer concourir efficacement avec Méthode. Comme Wiching est le seul qui soit mentionné comme adversaire de ce dernier en Moravie, nous pouvons supposer qu'après 873, Agathon est resté à Constantinople comme un de ces évêques qui, résidant dans la capitale, y participaient de temps en temps à une *σύνοδος ἐνδημοῦσα*. Nous ignorons s'il fut encore chargé d'autres missions diplomatiques semblables à celle de 873. En tout cas, nous le retrouvons à Byzance en 879–80 comme membre du concile de Photius.

VIII

Les évêques ignatiens au concile de Photius

Mais est-il possible qu'un évêque qui, de toute évidence, avait été consacrér par Ignace, ait participé après la mort du saint patriarche à cette assemblée convoquée par son ancien adversaire? Que cela ne fût pas impossible, cela résulte du fait que Photius s'est contenté d'imposer des pénitences très indulgentes à plusieurs évêques ignatiens qui, l'ayant anathématisé jadis, déclaraient maintenant le reconnaître[44]. Mais puisque nous possédons encore les listes des participants aux deux conciles, nous sommes en état de donner une réponse beaucoup plus précise à cette question. Hergen-

[40] Diocleas presbyter, *De regno Slavorum*, dans Giovanni Lucio, *De regno Dalmatiae* (Amsterdam, 1666), p. 289[b]; éd. F. Šišić, "Letopis popa Dukljanina," *Srpska Kraljevska akademija. Posebna izdanja*, Knj. 67 (Belgrade et Zagreb, 1928), p. 304. Andrea Dandolo, *Chronicon Venetum*, VIII, 5, 16 (ad annum 874), dans Muratori, *Rer. Ital. Script.*, XII, p. 183[A]. Cf. Doelger, *Regesten*, I, 60, no. 494.

[41] "Svetopelek" (Budimir) qui paraît être un roi des pays dalmates, reçoit les ambassadeurs à Delminium (*in planitie Dalmae*) près de la mer Adriatique. L'empereur s'appelle (en 874) Michel, le pape Étienne, etc. On sait que le prêtre Diocléen est en général peu digne de confiance.

[42] *Vie de S. Constantin*, ch. 14.

[43] *Vie de S. Constantin*, ch. 17.

[44] Mansi, XVI, col. 445[B]. Grumel, *Regestes*, I, fasc. II (1936), 100, no. 508.

röther, le seul qui, à ce que je sache, se soit donné la peine d'examiner ces listes, a déjà remarqué que, tout d'abord, on retrouve au second des deux conciles les noms de 6 ou 7 métropolitains et environ 9 évêques ordinaires qui avaient été présents au premier, donc au total 15 ou 16 dignitaires[45]. Mais cette remarque est très inexacte, car en fait nous connaissons une trentaine de dignitaires qui ont participé aux deux conciles. Voici leurs noms[46]:

	en 869	en 879
1. Cyprianus metr. Claudiopoleos	no. 16	no. 12
2. Theodorus archiep. Thessalonicae	19	80
3. Theophylactus (Theophilus) metr. Iconii ?[47]	24	24
4. Ignatius metr. Hierapoleos	27	15
5. Stephanus archiep. Cypsallorum	38	52
6. Euphemianus archiep. Euchaitorum	39	74
7. Basilius archiep. Misthiae	40	39
8. Leo (Leontius) archiep. Neapoleos	45	65
9. Stephanus ep. Pyrgii	48	218
10. Ignatius ep. Iuliopoleos (Basilii)	57	329
11. Nicephorus ep. Aspones	58	85
12. Sisinnius ep. Berinopoleos	59	198
13. Nicolaus ep. Adraniae	61	177
14. Basilius ep. Hadrani	69	122
15. Stephanus ep. Gordoservorum	71	321
16. Paulus ep. Melae	76	225
17. Germanus ep. Cytri (Ectri)	77	261
18. Basilius ep. Zuruli	79	187
19. Meletius ep. Heracliae	80	350
20. Constantinus ep. Tii	81	351
21. Basilius ep. Cratiae	83	247
22. Eustathius ep. Acmoniae	84	279
23. Ioannes ep. Polemonii	88	208
24. Michael ep. Metelupoleos	90	259
25. Theophanes ep. Azanorum	91	296
26. Basilius ep. Adadorum	97	252
27. Georgius (Gregorius) ep. Zetunii ?[48]	100	87
28. Demetrius ep. Scyllacii	106	152
29. Leo ep. (S)agalassi	108	194
30. Leo(ntius) ep. Rhegii	109	36
31. Lucas ep. Magnesiae (en 869: actio X, Mansi, XVI, col. 159[D])		371

[45] Hergenroether, *Photius*, II, 449 sq.

[46] J'ai numéroté les noms des évêques qui figurent dans les listes des deux conciles (Mansi, XVI, col. 189[E]–195[E]: signataires de 869; XVII, col. 373[B]–377[E]: participants de 879).

[47] Puisque les noms des évêques varient souvent dans les différents manuscrits par suite de certaines abréviations qu'on a différemment complétées, il est bien possible qu'il s'agit ici du même évêque d'Iconium; mais le cas reste douteux (cf. Hergenroether, *Photius*, II, 450).

[48] Les noms Georgius et Gregorius désignent très souvent le même personnage. Il est donc fort probable qu'il s'agit dans ce cas également du même évêque de Zetunium.

Cependant cette trentaine d'évêques qui représente déjà un quart du nombre total des signataires de 869[49], est loin de constituer le total des évêques ignatiens présents au concile de Photius.

Le Quien et Hergenröther ont déjà remarqué qu'on trouve dans la liste de 879 souvent deux (ou même trois) évêques de la même ville, et les deux savants en ont tiré la conclusion évidente qu'en ce cas, l'un était Ignatien, l'autre Photien. Ici aussi Hergenröther a établi une énumération qui n'est pas toujours exacte ni complète.

Voici les cas où en 879–80 un évêché était représenté par deux évêques:

Métropolitains et archevêques:

3. Ἰωάννου Ἡρακλείας
4. ἑτέρου Ἰωάννου Ἡρακλείας
13. Ζαχαρίου Ἀντιοχείας
14. Γεωργίου Ἀντιοχείας
20. Παύλου Λαοδικείας
23. Συμεὼν Λαοδικείας
44. Νεοφύτου Δέρκης[50]
78. Μακαρίου Δέρκων

Évêques:

87. Γρηγορίου Ζητουνίου
240. Σάβα Βετουνίου[51]
89. Κλήμεντος Βαΐης
97 = 342. Βασιλείου Βαΐης, Ἐβαΐης
[92. Ἰγνατίου Σωζοπόλεως][52]
[171. Νικόλεω Σωζοπόλεως]
[122. Βασιλείου Ἀδριανοῦς]
[177. Νικόλεω Ἀδρανείας][53]
128. Κηρύκου Νεαπόλεως
215. Κωνσταντίνου Νεαπόλεως[54]
132. Θεογνώστου Ἀπαμείας

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[49] Cette assemblée comptait 110 ou, avec ceux qui ne figurent pas dans la liste des signataires, mais dans l'une ou l'autre des énumérations de ceux qui étaient présents aux dix sessions du concile, 120 participants.

[50] Il est évident que, dans cette liste, les noms étaient souvent abrégés et ont été mal complétés à la suite. D'habitude on trouve Δέρκου, mais aussi Δέρκων (en 787: Mansi, XIII, col. 141^{B}. 367^{B}) et, au XIVe siècle, Δέρκω (comme Ἄπρω).

[51] La correction Ζητουνίου (Hergenroether, *loc. cit.*, II, 460, n. 96) semble sûre; un autre Sabas de Zetounion est attesté en 1396 (Miklosich-Mueller, *Acta et diplomata*, II, 270, no. DVI).

[52] Dans ce cas il est possible qu'il s'agisse d'évêques de Sozopolis en Pisidie et en Hémimont (cf. Hergenroether, *op. cit.*, II, 457, n. 57 et 65).

[53] Hergenroether (II, 455, n. 49) attribue tous les deux évêques à l'Hellespont; mais le premier évêché est probablement Adrianon en Bithynie et en tout cas différent du second; nous avons vu (p. 175, no. 13.14) que l'un et l'autre participaient aux deux conciles.

[54] Néapolis de Carie. Néapolis de Pisidie figure parmi les autocéphales (no. 65); celle près de Philippes n'était pas évêché.

154. Θεοδώρου Ἀπαμείας[55]
150. Νικήτα Ἀττούδων
244. Ἀρσενίου Ἀτούδων
151. Ἐλισαίου Λαγήνων
311. Βασιλείου Λαγηνῶν[56]
159. Σισινίου Συννάου
167. Εὐσεβίου Συννάου
169. Βασιλείου Συννάου[57]
184. Βασιλείου Λινόης
324. Κυρίλλου Λινόης
201. Εὐστολίου Ἀλδηλοῦ (var. Ἀλδίλου), lire Δαδήλου
260. Μεθοδίου Δαδαλείας[58]
209. Λέοντος Προβάτων
231. Μανουὴλ Προβάτου
211. Λέοντος Βασιλειουπόλεως
329. Ἰγνατίου Βασιλειουπόλεως
213. Ἰωάννου Ἀλαβανδοῦ
355. Εὐσταθίου Ἀλα<βα>νδοῦ
223. Φωτίου Κλήρων
272. Νικηφόρου Κλήρου
[232. Παύλου Μοσυνοπόλεως]
[271. Κωνσταντίνου Μοσυνῶν][59]
235. Ἰωσὴφ Τυράου
[250. Κωνσταντίνου Τυραίου]
273. Ἀναστασίου Τυράου[60]
[238. Νικόλεω Μάκρης]
[337. Ἀντιόχου Μάκρης][61]

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[55] Il s'agit d'Apamée (Cibotus) en Pisidie (Hergenroether, II, 457, n. 57); Le Quien, Hergenroether (ib., p. 455, n. 50) et Janin (*Dict. d'Hist. et Géogr. eccl.*, III, col. 917–8) en distinguent à tort une Apamée en Phrygie Pacatienne qui n'a jamais existé. Sur le prétendu évêque de cette dernière en 325 voir mes remarques dans *Byzantion*, XIV (1939), 36, no. 143. Apamée en Bithynie était autocéphale (no. 68).

[56] Hergenroether (II, 454, n. 31, et 457, n. 56) attribue l'un des deux évêques à la Galatie I[e]; mais l'évêché en question s'appelle toujours Lagania.

[57] Hergenroether (II, 455–6, n. 51) attribue les deux derniers évêques à un évêché de Phrygie Salutaire qui n'a pas existé. Dans un des trois cas il s'agit peut-être de Σαναός qui, comme Synnaos, était en Phrygie Pacatienne. Cf. en 451 Ἀντιόχου πόλεως Σανάων (Συναῶν M, Sanao Φ[a]).

[58] Hergenroether (II, 451, n. 12) ignore cet évêché. Il s'agit de Μαλοῦ ἤτοι Δαδηλίας en Pisidie.

[59] Hergenroether (II, 455, n. 50) attribue tous les deux évêques à Mosyna en Phrygie Pacatienne. Mais dans le premier cas il s'agit d'un évêché de la province de Rhodopé.

[60] De ces trois évêques je n'attribue que le second à Tyraion en Lycaonie. Le siège des deux autres était l'évêché Ἐρίζων ἤτοι Τυράων en Carie, mentionné uniquement dans la Notitia du *Cod. Paris. graec. 1555A*, publiée par C. de Boor (*Zeitschr. f. Kirchengesch.*, XII [1891], 529, no. 492). Cet autre nom de l'évêché d'Eriza est attesté par une inscription (cf. L. Robert, *Villes d'Asie Mineure* [Paris, 1935], p. 123–126).

[61] Hergenroether (II, 457) cherche tous les deux évêques en Rhodope. Mais l'île de Macra en Lycie était également un évêché (*Notitia Leonis*). Cf. en 451: Ζηνόδοτος ἐπίσκοπος τῆς Τελμισσέων μητροπόλεως καὶ Μακρᾶς τῆς νήσου (*Acta Concil. Oecum.*, éd. Ed. Schwartz, II, I, pars II, 148, no. 220).

251. Παύλου Εὐμενίας
294. Ἐπιφανίου Εὐμενείας
261. Γερμανοῦ Κίτρου
364. Μεθοδίου Κίτρου[62]
266a. Λέοντος Δαρδάνου[63]
359. Ἰωάννου Δαρδάνου
266b. Φωτίου Ἀγκύρας[63]
270. Μιχαὴλ Ἀγκύρας = 353. Μιχαὴλ Ἀγκυροσυνάου
296. Θεοφάνους Ἀζανοῦς
357. Λουκᾶ Ἀζάρων[64]
299. Στεφάνου Βινδαίου
322. Παύλου Βινδαίων.

Par ces doublets la participation au concile de Photius d'environ 25 autres Ignatiens devient manifeste. Ces deux groupes nous permettent de constater qu'au moins un évêque sur sept y était sûrement un Ignatien repenti; mais cela ne veut pas dire qu'il n'y en avait pas encore davantage.

La preuve de l'existence d'un grand nombre d'Ignatiens parmi les membres du concile de 879–80 montre suffisamment qu'il serait arbitraire de nier la possibilité que l'Ignatien Agathon a participé à ce concile. Il n'avait même aucun rival "photien" dans cette assemblée, car S. Méthode qui, dans son cœur, sympathisait probablement avec le parti photien, n'était pas à Constantinople où, peut-être, sa situation était délicate, nommé qu'il était par le pape romain.

IX

Agathon de 873 est-il le même qu'Agathon de 879–80?

De ce côté, il n'y a donc pas d'objection à l'identification de l'Agathon de 873 avec celui de 879. Mais cela admis, l'identification est-elle autre chose qu'une vague possibilité? Sommes-nous en état de nous prononcer sur cette question d'une manière plus affirmative que jadis Hergenröther qui a cru devoir introduire sa découverte un peu gênante par les mots: "Nous ne savons d'ailleurs pas si . . ."? Ce savant a déjà remarqué que, dans la même liste de 879, on trouve encore un évêque Agathon de Cérasus (plutôt Céraséa) en Lydie. En considération de ce fait, nos lecteurs diront peut-être que, de toute évidence, ce nom n'était pas extrêmement rare, et que, par suite, on pourrait bien supposer qu'en 873 et en 879 il s'agissait de deux archevêques différents du même nom.

[62] Mansi, XVII, 377[E]: Ἰκτρῶν. Hergenroether, II, 460, n. 98: var. *ιητρων*, *Cod. Monac. graec. 436*, fol. 206: Κίτροι (Macédoine). Lire Ἰκρίων (Phrygie Pacatienne)?

[63] Les nos. 266a et 266b ne figurent pas dans la liste de Mansi, mais se trouvent dans les manuscrits; cf. Hergenroether, II, 455, n. 49 et 50.

[64] Lire Ἀζάνων? Hergenroether (II, 455, n. 50) attribue Azara comme Azana à la Phrygie Pacatienne, sans les identifier expressément. Les *Taktika* ne connaissent qu'Azanon (c.-à-d. Aizanoi) dans cette province et Azara nulle part.

Pour faire une statistique de la fréquence de ce nom dans les différentes parties du monde ancien et médiéval, les instruments de travail dont nous disposons sont d'une valeur très différente. Pour les pays de langue latine le *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*[65] nous fournit un assez grand nombre d'attestations, surtout épigraphiques, de ce nom ou surnom d'origine grecque. Elles montrent qu'à l'Ouest, il n'était du moins pas extrêmement rare. Cependant, pour l'Orient grec, nous ne possédons aucun ouvrage qu'on puisse comparer, même de loin, à ce *Thesaurus*. On trouve à peu près une vingtaine de personnes du nom Agathon dans le dictionnaire des noms propres grecs édité par W. Pape et G. E. Benseler[66]. La *Realencyclopädie* de Pauly-Wissowa[67] en contient une quinzaine qui ont vécu depuis les temps homériques jusqu'à l'époque de Justinien, presque tous des gens obscurs, p. ex. un vendeur d'huile, un tailleur de gemmes etc. Un seul parmi eux jouit d'une certaine réputation, le tragique Agathon qui, d'ailleurs, figure comme unique personnage de ce nom dans l'Histoire de la Littérature grecque de Christ et Schmid[68]. De même, pour nous rapprocher de notre époque, nous ne trouvons que deux Agathon dans l'index de l'Histoire de la *Littérature byzantine* de Krumbacher[69]. Et encore, l'un des deux n'est pas un Byzantin, mais le pape de ce nom! Mais ce qui nous intéresse davantage—de notre point de vue—c'est la fréquence du nom d'Agathon dans le monde chrétien et surtout parmi les évêques.

Le *Dictionnaire d'Histoire et de Géographie Ecclésiastiques*[70] contient 9 articles sur des personnages de ce nom; le dernier est un Frère du XVIIIe siècle. Les deux premiers articles concernent des martyrs dont on ne sait guère que le nom. Mais il est remarquable que leurs passions soient localisées soit en Egypte soit en Sicile; car il paraît bien que le nom fût particulièrement fréquent et en Egypte[71] et en Occident. Ensuite nous

[65] *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*, I, col. 1272, 59–1273, 44.

[66] Pape-Benseler, *Wörterbuch der griechischen Sprache*, III: *Griech. Eigennamen*, 3e éd. (Braunschweig, 1875), p. 6–7, no. 1–10. Mais sous quelques numéros plusieurs personnes sont mentionnées (comme 7a–7e). Le nombre total semble être 19.

[67] Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, *Real-Encyclop.*, I, col. 759–762.

[68] Christ-Schmid, *Geschichte der griechischen Literatur*, 5e éd., II, 2e partie (Munich, 1913), index p. 1251.

[69] K. Krumbacher, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Literatur*, 2e éd. (Munich, 1897), p. 1153 (index).

[70] *Dictionnaire d'Histoire et de Géographie ecclésiastiques*, I (1912), col. 914–920. Pour comparer la fréquence de certains autres noms, j'en ai choisi quatre dans le même dictionnaire qui, jusqu'en 1939, ne comprenait que les lettres A et B; on y trouve 262 articles "André," 297 "Antoine," 85 "Athanase," 195 "Basile."

[71] Dans son *Namenbuch* (Heidelberg, 1922, col. 5), Fr. Preisigke énumère neuf volumes de collections papyrologiques, dans les indices desquels ce nom figure. J'ai trouvé un peu par hasard deux évêques égyptiens de ce nom, l'un sous S. Athanase (Migne, *P.G.*, XXV, col. 780^B), l'autre sous Théophile (*P.G.*, LXV, col. 44^D. S. Jérôme, *Epist.* 87,1, dans *CSEL*, LV [1912], 141, 5).

trouvons un saint solitaire et abbé (no. 3), des évêques de Lipari et en Sardaigne (nos. 4, 5)[72], un patriarche jacobite d'Alexandrie de l'époque arabe (no. 6), le pape (no. 7)[73] et un archiviste de Constantinople (no. 8)[74]. On voit qu'aucun parmi les évêques n'appartient à l'église grecque proprement dite. Mais pour celle-ci nous avons à notre disposition l'ouvrage capital de Le Quien qui nous donnera tous les renseignements désirables sur la fréquence du nom dans l'Orient Chrétien. Or, parmi les milliers d'évêques[75] énumérés dans cet ouvrage grandiose, un seul figure dans chacun des trois volumes in-folio. Mais deux d'entre eux, le patriarche jacobite d'Alexandrie que nous venons de mentionner, et un autre de Jérusalem qui semble être très mal attesté[76], vivaient sous la domination arabe. Il ne reste donc qu'un seul Agathon dans le patriarcat byzantin, l'évêque de Céraséa en 879! Cette constatation nous permet d'affirmer que le nom était extrêmement rare dans l'église byzantine. Si nous trouvons donc dans le bref laps de temps de six ans deux mentions d'un *archevêque* byzantin appelé Agathon, ce serait vraiment un hasard extraordinaire qu'il s'agit de deux personnes différentes! Nous pouvons plutôt soutenir avec une certitude quasi-absolue que l'archevêque Agathon attesté en 873 et en 879 était un seul et même personnage, un prélat ordonné entre 870 et 873 par le patriarche Ignace pour remplacer en Moravie S. Méthode le 'philosophe" que l'épiscopat allemand venait de "déposer".

X

Byzance et la Moravie de 863 à 885

Cette constatation permettra en outre de rectifier certaines assertions des historiens modernes de cette époque. C'est le mérite incontestable de l'abbé Dvorník d'avoir montré, dans son ouvrage sur *Les légendes de Constantin et de Méthode vues de Byzance*, que la Moravie a continuellement subi l'influence de la culture byzantine. Elle n'était pas du tout, comme on l'a crut longtemps, presque hermétiquement isolée de ce côté par les autres nations qui la séparaient de l'Empire[77]. Cependant, d'après ce savant,

[72] A ces évêques occidentaux il faut ajouter celui de Todi en 855 (Agatho Tudertinus episcopus).

[73] Le pape était originaire de la Sicile: *Liber Pontif.*, éd. Duchesne, p. 193, 1: natione Sicula.

[74] Cf. Dvorník, *Les légendes . . .*, p. 54–55.63. Dvorník mentionne de plus un moine au Mont Olympe (p. 129) et un notaire, participant au VIe concile (p. 51).

[75] Le nombre des membres des huit conciles oecuméniques s'élève déjà à 2000 environ.

[76] Le Quien (*Or. Christ.*, III, 466[B]) renvoie uniquement à un éloge de ce patriarche cité par Papebroch (*Acta Sanct.* maii, III, tract. prael., p. 42, n. 183) d'après Theodoricus Pauli (théologien hollandais de la seconde moitié du XVe siècle; cf. Le Quien, III, col. 142), en ajoutant: "quod undenam desumpserit ille non exprimitur." (Mais cf. A. Papadopulos-Kerameus, Ἀνάλ. Ἱεροσ. Σταχ., I, p. 125, 132, 139, 142, 243).

[77] Dvorník, *Les légendes . . .*, p. 212 sq.

un petit échec de la politique religieuse de Byzance aurait subitement fait cesser ces relations politico-religieuses. "Dès que la politique pontificale eut exploité les résultats obtenus en Moravie par la mission byzantine de 863, Byzance perdit tout intérêt au développement religieux de ce pays. La distance l'empêcha de lutter pour essayer d'y reprendre pied, et elle comprenait d'ailleurs qu'il s'agissait au fond d'un territoire appartenant à la zone du patriarcat romain"[78].

La seule existence de l'archevêque Agathon est une preuve suffisante que l'église grecque ne s'est pas laissé décourager si vite. On voit que le peu que nous savons de ce personnage comble déjà en quelque sorte cette lacune, "ce manque de renseignements que nous déplorons"[79]. Les "bruits sur l'hostilité de l'empereur à l'égard de Méthode"[80] avaient un fond très solide dans l'existence à Constantinople d'un second archevêque des Moraves qui était sans doute toujours prêt à réclamer leur pays pour le patriarcat byzantin, comme Méthode l'avait réclamé pour le Saint-Siège. Dvorník ne peut s'expliquer l'origine de ces "bruits" qu'en supposant que Méthode séjournait à cette époque à Sirmium, et que des missionnaires grecs "étaient bien surpris d'y trouver un compatriote qui revendiquait ce pays pour son diocèse"[81]. Il semble bien qu'à Byzance, on n'était pas si mal informé que cela. Dvorník admet lui-même que les "bruits" furent répandus par le parti de Wiching, donc plutôt en Moravie[82]. Mais contre l'opinion généralement acceptée que Méthode était en Moravie quand il reçut l'invitation de l'empereur, le savant professeur de Prague fait cette objection: "L'empereur n'avait rien à faire en Moravie. Il paraît donc impossible qu'on puisse penser à ce pays."

Nous avons vu ce qu'il faut penser de cette affirmation. Il serait d'ailleurs étonnant qu'à Byzance la Moravie, encore bien vivante, fût déjà tombée dans l'oubli, alors que, longtemps après qu'elle avait cessé d'exister comme Etat indépendant, elle trouvait encore sa place dans le traité de l'empereur Constantin Porphyrogénète sur la politique extérieure de l'empire[83].

XI

Les livres slavons

Nous ne savons pas si l'empereur Basile et Photius avaient l'intention d'envoyer Agathon en Moravie après la mort de Méthode pour l'y remplacer. On pourrait présumer une telle arrière-pensée en vue de l'aimable allusion à la mort imminente du saint qui se trouve dans la lettre par laquelle Basile l'invita[84]. Quoi qu'il en soit, le seul but de cette invitation

[78] *Ibid.*, p. 235.
[79] *Ibid.*, p. 235.
[80] *Ibid.*, p. 276, n. 4.
[81] *Ibid.*, p. 276.
[82] *Ibid.*, p. 276, n. 4.
[83] Cf. *ibid.*, p. 235–247.
[84] *Vie de S. Méthode*, ch. 13.

n'était certainement pas d'accueillir les prières et bénédictions du saint. Nous apprenons par la même *Vie de Méthode* qu'après sa visite, l'empereur "garda auprès de lui un prêtre et un diacre, disciples de Méthode, munis de leurs livres"; car "Méthode ne lui refusa rien".

Le saint avait donc apporté ces livres dont le contenu n'était intelligible qu'à un petit nombre d'initiés. Par suite, nous devons supposer, soit que Méthode, avant de quitter la Moravie (ou Sirmium), avait offert ces livres à l'empereur, soit que ce dernier lui avait demandé de les apporter. Nous nous souvenons que, déjà en 867, les deux frères avaient offert ces livres slavons au pape qui les avait déposés dans l'église appelée Phatné. Mais pour le Saint-Siège le programme symbolisé par ce don devait se révéler par la suite comme la source de grands inconvénients. On se vit bientôt devant le danger de s'aliéner les sympathies du monde germanique en insistant sur la défense des innovations de Méthode. C'est pourquoi nous voyons les papes tantôt permettre, tantôt interdire l'usage du rituel slavon, pour sacrifier finalement après la mort de Jean VIII toute l'oeuvre de Méthode. Pour Byzance, les livres slavons pouvaient acquérir une grande importance en vue de l'expansion de l'élément slave dans l'empire et dans les pays voisins. Cela explique et la déception qu'y a dû causer la défection précédente des saints frères—nous avons vu que ce désappointement fut la cause de l'éclipse partielle de leur mémoire dans la littérature grecque—et la joie qu'éprouvèrent l'empereur et son patriarche alors qu'ils se virent enfin en possession des fruits de l'immense effort que les deux frères avaient voué à leur idéal, la création d'une littérature sacrée en slavon[85]. Les papes, jadis les gardiens jaloux de ce trésor, avaient, dans la suite, renoncé à s'en servir. Il est d'ailleurs douteux si l'empereur et le patriarche, en se procurant la connaissance des livres slavons, avaient encore en vue la mission morave. Nous ignorons jusqu'à quand Agathon resta en vie, et s'il a joué un rôle quelconque dans les années de 880–886. S. Méthode décéda le 6 avril 885, l'empereur Basile en 886. Photius fut déposé la même année. Les disciples de Méthode se virent bientôt persécutés et expulsés de la Moravie. Plusieurs d'entre eux se sauvèrent en Bulgarie, où, accueillis avec joie par le roi Boris et ses successeurs, ils continuèrent tranquillement l'oeuvre commencée par les saints frères. Ils échappaient ainsi à la catastrophe qui s'apprêtait à fondre sur la Moravie. Au début du Xe siècle, l'Etat morave fut détruit par les Hongrois. Cette catastrophe anéantit en même temps les derniers fruits des labeurs de saint Méthode et peut-être aussi d'un autre missionnaire grec dont nous ne savons presque rien: l'archevêque Agathon.

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[85] Sur la raison pour laquelle les inventeurs de l'alphabet glagolitique avaient évité autant que possible la ressemblance avec l'écriture grecque voir J. B. Bury, *A History of the Eastern Roman Empire from the fall of Irene to the accession of Basil I* (Londres, 1912), 398–399.

THE LORDS OF SIDON IN THE TWELFTH AND THIRTEENTH CENTURIES

By JOHN L. LAMONTE

The seigneury of Sidon was one of the principal lordships in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, the lord of Sidon ranking as one of the four chief vassals of the crown. Only the princes of Galilee, the counts of Jaffa and the lords of Outre-Jordan or Montréal were their equals in dignity.[1]

Throughout the entire history of the Latin Kingdom, Sidon was ruled by lords of the house of Grenier, the elder branch of which held Sidon while the cadet held Caesarea. As there is no special study of this family apart from the pages devoted to them by E. G. Rey in his *Familles d'Outremer*,[2] and as that account is incomplete and inaccurate in several instances, a new essay devoted to this important dynasty seems justified at this time.

The fief of Sidon lay along the coast around the city of that name, bounded to the north by the valley of the Damour and to the south and east by the Leitany river. It included the arrière fiefs of Adelon, Sarepta, Schouf and Gezin and the strong fortresses of Beaufort and the Cave de Tyron as well as the two castles in Sidon itself. Not included in Sidon, but dependent thereon were the important fiefs of Caesarea and Bethsan.[3] The lords of Sidon had "court et coins et justice" with burgess courts at Sidon and Beaufort. At the end of the Twelfth century the fief was assessed as owing 40 knights.[4] Although the presence of the mint at Sidon is attested by evidence in the laws and chroniclers, only a few coins remain, mostly from the period of Renaud.[5] Sidon is today one of the most picturesque towns of Syria, and gives but little evidence of the prosperity and splendour which it once enjoyed. The sea-castle at Sidon is one of the best preserved of any of the archeological remains of the crusaders in Syria; the land castle is wholly ruined, however, and only a few walls are standing.

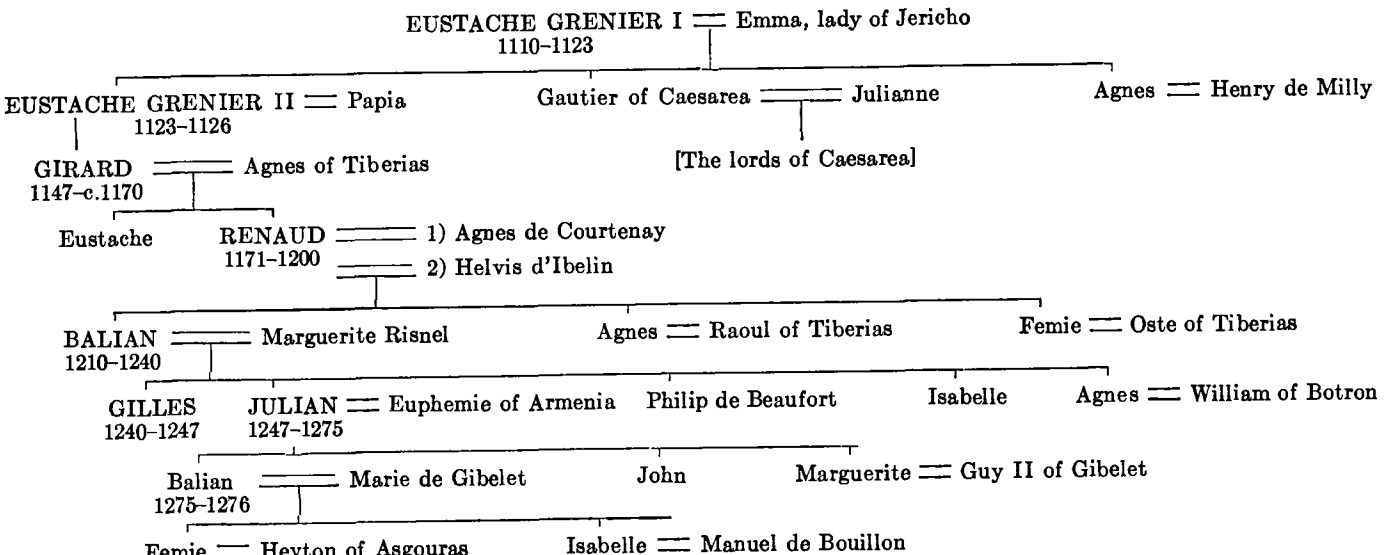
A corrected genealogy and biographies of the lords of Sidon follows.

[1] These are the four chief vassals of the kingdom proper; they are not to be confused with the three great principalities which owed more or less nominal allegiance to the king of Jerusalem: the princes of Antioch and the counts of Edessa and Tripoli.

[2] E. G. Rey, *Les Familles d'Outremer de DuCange* (Paris, 1869) *Documents Inedits Hist. France*), pp. 431–438. L. de Mas Latrie prepared a complete revision of this work which was never published and is to be found in Paris: Bibliothèque National, MSS Fonds Francais, Nouvelles Acquisitions 6795.

[3] E. G. Rey, *Les Colonies Franques en Syrie* (Paris 1883) pp. 509–520. Rey lists all the casales included in the seigneury. C. R. Christomanos, *Abendländische*

The Lords of Sidon of the House of Grenier 1110–1290



EUSTACHE GRENIER I, 1110–1123

In December 1110, King Baldwin of Jerusalem, with the assistance of a Scandinavian fleet under King Sigurd of Norway, captured the coastal city of Sidon, thus adding an important port to his small but growing kingdom. When the city was taken the king bestowed it as a fief upon one of his most trusted barons, Eustache Grenier lord of Caesarea.[6]

This Eustache Grenier was a knight from Flanders[7] who came to Syria, probably some time after the First Crusade, but before August 1105, when he first appears, together with several other Flemish knights, in the host which Baldwin led against the Egyptians in the third battle of Ramla.[8] At some time before September 1110 he had been given the fief of Caesarea,[9] and he is thought to have held the office of viscount of Jerusalem.[10]

Geschlechter im Orient im Anschlusse an Du Cange's "Familles d'Outremer" (Vienna 1889).

[4] "Livre de Jean d'Ibelin" in *Assises de Jérusalem* (ed. Beugnot, Paris, 1841, *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades, Lois*), I, chaps. CCLXX–CCLXXII, 420–427. The bishop of Sidon owed 50 sergeants as well. There is no mention of the quota from the city of Sidon although Caesarea, whose bishop also owed 50 sergeants, owed 50. The lord of Caesarea owed 25 knights and that of Bethsan 15, both of which were listed under the total quota of Sidon which was 80 knights.

[5] G. Schlumberger, *Numismatique de l'Orient Latin* (Paris, 1878) describes the extant coins of Sidon, with plates illustrating them.

[6] William of Tyre (*Rec. His. Crois. Occidentaux*, I, Paris, 1844), XI, xiv, 478. And see P. Riant, *Expéditions et pèlerinages des Scandinaves* (Paris, 1865); F. C. Eiselen, *Sidon* (New York, 1907, Columbia University Oriental Studies, IV) pp. 84–86.

[7] That he was from Flanders is proven by the inclusion of his name in the *Versus de Viris Illustribus Diocesis Taravanensis*, the best text of which is published by Charles Moeller in his "Les Flamands du Ternois au Royaume de Jérusalem" (*Mélanges Paul Fredericq*, Brussels, 1904). He is listed as "Eustachius notus miles cognomine Gernirs". The precise place of his origin is obscure as the *Versus* gives *Belramensis* or *Harbel Ramensis*. Rey (*Familles*, p. 276) suggested that he was from Harbel in the arrondissement of St. Omer, department of the Pas de Calais, but this is based on the faulty second reading of the text. Jacob Meyer, the great Flemish antiquarian in his *Commentarii sive Annales rerum Flandricarum* (Antwerp, 1561) calls him *Beccanensis*, which does not help in identifying the place. Moeller (*op. cit.* pp. 198–99) refuses to hazard any conjecture as to his place of origin. Nor does he attempt to explain the origin or meaning of the name Grenier. [R. Röhricht, *Geschichte des Königreichs Jerusalem*, (Innsbruck, 1898) p. 98, note 1, takes Harbel of Rama to be another knight, wholly separate from Eustache.]

[8] Albert of Aix (*Rec. His. Crois. Occ.*, IV), IX, xlviii, 621. The castellans of Brabant and Flanders appear in the same list.

[9] *Cartulaire* (J. Delaville LeRoulx, *Cartulaire Général des Hospitaliers*, Paris, 1894–1904), I, doc. 20; *Regesta* (R. Röhricht, *Regesta Regni Hierosolymitani*, Innsbruck 1893, with *Additamentum* 1904) doc 57. [All references to the *Cartulaire* and *Regesta*, as well as to other collections of documents are to the document number not the page unless specifically stated.] This document is a charter of Baldwin I confirming grants of lands to the Hospital including lands granted by Eustache in Caesarea. Rey, Moeller, Mas Latrie, and others all assume that Eustache was in Syria in 1101

In 1112, after he acquired the lordship of Sidon, Eustache gained possession of the territory of Jericho, which came to him as the dot of his wife Emma, the niece of the Patriarch Arnulf.[11]

Meanwhile Eustache had been carrying on an active military career. We have already seen him at the battle of Ramla in 1105; in 1109 he was sent, with Paganus of Caiphas, to support Bertrand of Tripoli against the attack of Tancred, and to secure the dependence of Tripoli on the crown of Jerusalem.[12] In 1111 he accompanied the king in his northern campaigns against Shaizar and Apamea, and in the same year commanded one of the siege towers in the abortive siege of Tyre.[13] In 1112 he appears as one of the chief advisors of the king, giving him counsel in regard to treatment of some citizens of Ascalon;[14] and he regularly witnessed royal documents

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and was given Caesarea at the time of its capture, but as Hagenmeyer points out (H. Hagenmeyer, *Fulcheri Carnotensis Historia Hierosolymitana*, Heidelberg, 1913, p. 660, note 7) there is no mention of him before 1105, and no proof that he held Caesarea before 1110. According to William of Tyre (X, xvi, 423) Caesarea, when captured was divided between the Genoese and the king, the former receiving one third and the latter retaining two thirds. There is no mention of its having been granted as a fief to anyone. Eustache appeared as witness on a charter of King Baldwin's in 1108 (C. Kohler, "Chartes de l'Abbaye de Josaphat," *Revue de l'Orient Latin*, VII (1899), doc. 1, pp. 112–13; *Regesta*, 52) where he signs as *E. Granerius* without further title. This does not mean anything however as Eustache always signed without title (with one possible exception). The position of his name on this document shows that he ranked high among the king's advisors, as his name comes high on the list, later than that of Simon the constable, but ahead of Guy de Milly, Ralph de Fontanellis, Pisellus and Girard the chamberlain.

[10] On the act of Baldwin's of September 1110 (*Cartulaire* I, 20, *Regesta*, 57) cited above, Eustache appears among the witnesses as *Eusthacius Graner, sive vicecomes de Iherusalem*. On the basis of this signature, H. Pirie-Gordon (in manuscript notes) and Rey, *Colonies Franques* p. 379 accept Eustache as viscount in 1110. It should be noted however that, if he did employ his title at this time, it is the only occasion on which he ever used any title. Further Pisellus appears with the title of viscount from 1104 to 1115 (*Regesta*, 43, 79), even using it on one document of 1110 (*Regesta*, 59) on which Eustache appears without title. The names of the witnesses are connected by the conjunctives *atque, sive, et, nec non* and I do not believe that Eustache and the viscount were the same person but rather that Eustache and also the viscount were among the witnesses. This is further indicated by the fact that in the text of the document the king confirms grants made to the Hospital by several lords: Gautier Buffumeth, the viscount, Hugh le Puiset, Anselm de Turre David, Eustache, Peter de Lens et al. The grants of the viscount and of Eustache are clearly separated in the text, with those of other barons between them, a very unusual procedure had Eustache and the viscount been the same person. Rey is, I believe, wrong when he says that Bethamis was a casale granted by Eustache when he was viscount.

[11] William of Tyre, XI, xv, 479. At the time William wrote, the property was worth some 5000 goldpieces a year. This alienation of church lands by the patriarch was a matter of considerable scandal.

[12] Albert of Aix, XI, x, 667.

[13] Albert of Aix, XI, xl, 683; XII, vii, 692.

[14] *Assises de Jérusalem*, II, 181–83 note.

from 1108 to 1123.[15] In 1120 we find him listed first among the secular lords who attended the Church Council at Naplouse.[16]

In the last year of his life, Eustache rose to the highest honor that a subject could attain in the kingdom. He had already acquired the high office of constable sometime between 1120 and 1123,[17] and in the latter year, when King Baldwin II was taken captive by the Moslems, Eustache was elected bailli or regent of the realm in the absence of the monarch.[18] According to William of Tyre the election was unanimous and it was with the full assent of his peers that Eustache took over the administration of the state. Nor was it an easy task, for the Egyptians took advantage of the absence of King Baldwin to launch an attack by land and by sea against Jaffa. Eustache, gathering the available forces of the kingdom, met the enemy at Ibelin and won a signal victory.[19] It was his final effort; less than three weeks after the victory the old lord of Sidon died on June 15, 1123.[20]

Eustache is described by William of Tyre as "virum providum et discretum"; his selection as bailli gives evidence of the position he held among

[15] As witness to acts of Baldwin I: 1108—*Rev. Or. Lat.*, VII, 112, *Regesta* 52; 1110—*Cartulaire*, I, 20, *Regesta* 57, William of Tyre, XI, xii, 472-74, *Regesta* 59; 1115—Delaborde 6, *Regesta* 80; On acts of Baldwin II: 1120—Delaborde 8, *Regesta* 90; Rozière 45, *Regesta* 91. He also witnessed acts of Roger bishop of Rama—1115, *Rev. Or. Lat.* VII, 118, *Regesta Add.* 76b; and of Patriarch Warmund, 1123—Delaborde 12, *Regesta*, 101.

[16] William of Tyre, XII, xiii, 532; *Regesta* 89; Mansi, *Concilia*, XXI, 261.

[17] The only mention of Eustache as constable is in William of Tyre XII, xxi, 544 under the date 1123. Hugh Caulis was constable in 1120 (*Regesta*, 91) and William de Buris of Tiberias appears with the title in 1123 (*Regesta*, 102). William succeeded Eustache in the bailliage of the kingdom and may well have become constable at the same time. As William of Tyre was most punctilious in his use of titles, we may assume that Eustache acquired the office after the Council of Naplouse (when William mentions him without it) and 1123 when William states that he had the office.

[18] William of Tyre, XII, xvii, 530; Fulcher of Chartres (ed. Hagenmeyer), III, xvi, 660.

[19] William of Tyre XII, xxi, 432–45; Fulcher, III, xvii, 661–68. William says he raised seven thousand men and slew seven thousand of the enemy. Fulcher says eight thousand men in his army and six thousand enemy slain.

[20] Fulcher, III, xxii, 674–75 and Hagenmeyer's note; William of Tyre, XII, xxi, 545. He was buried in the church of Sta. Maria Latina as shown by an act of Hugh of Caesarea who granted the church certain rights for the soul of his father and grandfather who were buried there. (*Regesta* 342; Paoli *Codice Diplomatico*, doc. 162, pp. 205–06.)

[21] To the Hospital he granted lands in Caesarea and Cacho, the grant being confirmed by the king in 1110 (*Cartulaire* I, 20; *Regesta*, 57). This was subsequently confirmed again by his son Gautier of Caesarea in 1131 (*Cartulaire* I, 94; *Regesta*, 139) and by Baldwin III in 1154 (*Cartulaire*, I, 225; *Regesta*, 293).

To St Sepulchre he grantedl ands in St Quarantena in 1116 (Rozière, *Cartulairede l'Église du St Sépulcre de Jérusalem*, Paris, 1849, doc. 119; *Regesta* 82), and a considerable amount of land in Caesarea territory which was confirmed by Gautier in 1145 and by Gautier's son Hugh in 1166 (Rozière, 71, 155, *Regesta* 237, 425). To the abbey of Josaphat he gave casales in Caesarea and in Sidon as confirmed by the king

his fellow barons and the confidence and respect they accorded him. He was conventionally generous to the Church and religious houses, making grants in lands to the Hospital, St. Sepulchre and the abbey of Josaphat.[21]

Emma, his wife, never appeared with Eustache in any document though she is mentioned without being named in an act of 1116 relating to land and a mill at St. Quarantena in the territory of Jericho.[22] After Eustache's death, Emma married Hugh le Puiset count of Jaffa, with whom she appears on several charters in the years 1123 to 1133.[23]

Eustache and Emma had two sons, Eustache and Gautier, who inherited respectively the fiefs of Sidon and Caesarea; and there is every reason to believe that the Agnes who married Henry de Milly was their daughter.[24]

EUSTACHE GRENIER II, 1123–1126

In spite of the positive statement of William of Tyre that Eustache and Emma had twin sons, Eustache and Gautier, the name of Eustache II has universally been omitted from the genealogies of the lords of Sidon, due to an attempt to reconcile William's statement with that in Chapter XVIII of the *Lignages d'Outremer* which says that they had sons Girard and Gautier. Rey, MasLatrie, Schlumberger and other modern authorities, who have discussed the family, all attempt to identify Eustache II with Girard and explain that he was known by both names. By this ingenious approach Girard is made lord of Sidon for the long period from 1123 to 1164.

In view of documentary materials now available, this theory falls to the ground and it is apparent that Eustache II succeeded his father, and was himself the father of Girard. Chapter XVIII of the *Lignages* is conspicuously confused at best and the attempt to twist the facts to meet the statements of the *Lignages* is erroneous as well as unnecessary.

In addition to the mention of him by William of Tyre, Eustache II ap-

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in 1115 (H. F. Delaborde, *Chartes de Terre Sainte provenant de l'Abbaye de N-D de Josaphat*, Paris, 1880, *Bib. Ec. Fr. Ath. Rome* xix; doc 6; *Regesta*, 80).

A charter of 1158 (*Regesta*, 331) confirms to the Church of Sta Maria Latina properties in Caesarea "quod fuit Eustachii" along with other lands and properties which the church held by the grant of the Lord of Caesarea. This probably refers to Eustache Grenier, as he was buried there.

[22] Rozière, 119, *Regesta*, 82. Emma is only mentioned as Eustache's wife and not by name, but she is definitely named in the confirmation of 1124 (Rozière, 119, *Regesta*, 104).

[23] She does not seem to have waited long after Eustache's death to contract her second marriage as she first appears with Hugh in 1123 (*Rev. Or. Lat.*, VII, 120–21, doc. 9; *Regesta Add.*, 102a). Her other appearances are in 1124, 1126, 1133 (*Regesta*, 104, 112, 113, 147; Rozière, 119, *Cartulaire*, I, 74, 77, 97). William of Tyre XIV, xv, 628. See LaMonte "Lords of Le Puiset" *Speculum* XVII (1942) 104.

[24] William of Tyre XIV, xv, 628: *Lignages d'Outremer* (in *Assises de Jérusalem* II) chap. XVIII, 455–56. This is one of the worst chapters of the *Lignages*, two variant texts being given. I have given my arguments for attributing these children to Eustache in my discussion of each child, see below.

pears on two charters with his mother Emma.[25] Both are confirmations of grants made by his father. On both of these, and on two other charters his brother Gautier appears or is mentioned.[26] In an act of 1126 he appears in the capacity of lord of Sidon, confirming, with the consent of his wife Papia, his barons, his mother Emma and his brother Gautier, grants made by his father Eustache.[27] Nothing could be more conclusive than this document. It is only fair to state that when Rey developed his thesis of the Eustache-Girard identity, this document was not known.

Like his father, Eustache never used any title. It is only from the act in which with his barons he confirms the grants of his father that we can prove positively that he held the seigneury of Sidon. However in 1125 he witnessed the treaty of Baldwin II with the Venetians, witnessing among the chief barons of the realm, between Gautier Brisebarre of Beirut and Romanus du Puy (lord of Montréal).[28]

There is no further mention of Eustache. Apart from the one reference in William of Tyre and his appearance on the five charters, we have no knowledge of him.[29] As he was succeeded by Girard, we may assume that he was his father, but of any other issue of Eustache and Papia there is no trace.

Eustache probably died before September 1131. At that time *G. cognomento Granerius Caesaraea et Sydoniae dominus* confirmed to the Hospital grants made by his father Eustache.[30] I believe that Gautier held Sidon as regent during the minority of his nephew Girard and that this act was one done in that capacity. In December 1135 Gautier no longer employs the title of Sidon, calling himself merely lord of Caesarea,[31] which may be construed to mean that his bailliage was ended by that time.

[25] In 1124: Rozière, 119, *Regesta* 104, and in 1126: *Rev. Or. Lat.*, VII, 122, doc. 12, *Regesta Add.*, 114b.

[26] *Cartulaire*, I, 74, 77; *Regesta*, 112, 113. Emma appears in both of these acts as the wife of Hugh of Jaffa, but is not mentioned specifically, as she is in the other acts, as the mother of Eustache.

[27] *Rev. Or. Lat.*, VII, 122, doc. 12, *Regesta* Add 114b.

[28] Tafel und Thomas, *Urkunden zur älteren Handels -und -Staatsgeschichte der Republik Venedig* (Vienna, 1856–58; *Fontes Rerum Austriacarum*, sect II, vols. 12–14) I, doc. 41, pp. 90–94; *Regesta* 105.

[29] A document of 1163 (*Cartulaire* I, 312, *Regesta*, 391) shows a certain Eustache and his wife Agnes, together with William Niger and his wife Osmunda, making grants to the Hospital. This might have been attributed to Eustache-Girard as Girard married Agnes of Tiberias. However as they were not the same person, and Eustache's wife was Papia, there is no reason to think that this is a Eustache of the Grenier family. Hugh of Caesarea confirms the grant without any indication that they were relatives.

[30] *Cartulaire*, I, 94, *Regesta*, 139. The act is witnessed by Gautier's wife Julianne. Mas Latrie attributes the act, and the wife, to Girard of Sidon.

[31] *Cartulaire*, I, 115, *Regesta*, 159.

GAUTIER GRENIER, Lord of Caesarea, 1123–1149, Regent of Sidon 1131

Gautier, the second son of Eustache and Emma, received Caesarea. He was never lord of Sidon, if we accept the title used in 1131 as a temporary one enjoyed during a regency, and so does not come within the competence of this essay.

He married Julianne and had issue Eustache who became a monk of St. Lazarre, and Hugh who ruled Caesarea 1154–1168. Hugh's sons Guy and Gautier II ruled Caesarea until 1187. After the death of Gautier II the seigneury passed through their sister Julianne to her successive husbands Guy of Beirut and Aymar de Lairon. Thereafter it was held by her descendants, lords of the house of Brisbarre-Beirut.[32]

AGNES of Sidon, wife of Henry de Milly

According to the *Lignages*, chapters XVIII and XXVI, Agnes, the wife of Henry de Milly, was the daughter of Eustache I and Emma. Chapter XVIII in the variant reading does not mention any daughter of Eustache, but does mention two unnamed daughters of Girard. Chapter XVI says definitely that Henry married the sister of Renaud of Sidon. Thus there must be considerable doubt as to which generation Agnes belonged in.

However from a comparison of generations, she seems to me to belong better in the earlier generation. Henry's half-sister Helvis of Rama married Balian I of Ibelin whose granddaughter married Renaud of Sidon; Henry's and Agnes' daughter Agnes married Joscelyn III de Courtenay, whose elder sister Agnes was the first wife of Renaud. Henry de Milly himself dates from 1123 to 1145 so that he could have married into either generation, but it seems hardly probable to me that Agnes should have married a man who was the elder half-brother of her brother's wife's grandmother, as she would have done if we are to accept her as Renaud's sister.

Agnes herself does not appear on any charters.

GIRARD, Lord of Sidon and Beaufort, 1147–c. 1170

Girard, whom I believe to have been the son of Eustache II, was one of the most important and influential vassals of Baldwin III and Amaury. He appears as a witness on at least seven acts of Baldwin III's between 1147 and 1160, and on two acts of Amaury's in 1164–65.[33]

[32] The Lords of Caesarea will be the subject of a subsequent study. They do not in general present the problems which the branch ruling Sidon does and the account by Rey in the *Familles* (pp. 274–86) is more satisfactory.

[33] He appears on acts of Baldwin III:
1147: *Cartulaire*, I, 175, *Regesta*, 245
1154: *Cartulaire*, I, 225, *Regesta*, 293
1155: Rozière 53, *Regesta*, 309
1156: *Cartulaire*, I, 244, *Regesta*, 321

In 1148 Girard was one of the barons who participated in the council of Acre which diverted the energies of the Second Crusade into the unfortunate attack on Damascus.[34] In the siege of Ascalon in 1153 Girard commanded the royal fleet of fifteen vessels which besieged the city from the sea and endeavored, however unsuccessfully, to prevent the reinforcement of the town by the Egyptian fleet.[35] Although in the one recorded engagement in which this fleet engaged Girard was worsted and forced to take flight due to the overwhelming strength of the enemy, the fact that he commanded what navy Jerusalem could muster attests the prominence of his position.

To the seigneury of Sidon, Girard added that of Beaufort. He probably acquired it in 1139 when it was taken from the Moslems, but as he never used the title of Beaufort we cannot be precise at exactly what date he received the fief.[36] Unlike his father and grandfather, Girard never used the name Grenier but always called himself Girard of Sidon, witnessing every one of the royal acts on which he appears with that title. An act of 1158, in which he consents to a rental of a casale in the territory of Sidon by one James of Sidon, knight, shows Girard surrounded by "all his curia" including his constable Eustache and several vassals.[37]

Girard is probably most celebrated for his famous quarrel with King Amaury which resulted in the issuance of the famous *Assise sur la Ligece.* Girard on his own responsibility and without consulting either his own vassals or the king, disseised one of his vassals of his tenement. The vassal appealed to King Amaury who supported him against Girard. The result was that Girard was forced to restore the vassal in his fief, and the High Court placed on record, in the *Assise sur la Ligece* the principle that in Jerusalem a vassal could always be protected by the royal court against any illegal action on the part of his suzerain.[38]

In conformity with the customs of the time, Girard made the usual

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1157: *Cartulaire* I, 258, *Regesta*, 325

1160: Rozière, 54, *Cartulaire*, I, 296, *Regesta*, 354, 355.

I am also of the opinion that the treaty of Baldwin III with Marseilles in 1152 which is witnessed by Rainaldus of Sidon, should read Girardus or Giraldus (Méry, *Histoire de Marseille* (Marseille, 1841) I, pp. 183–84, *Regesta*, 276). Renaud could not possibly have witnessed a royal charter at that date, and it fits in with Girard's activities.

He appears on acts of Amaury's: 1164: Rozière 144, *Regesta*, 400.

1165: Müller, *Documenti sulle Relazione delle Citta Toscane* (Florence 1879), doc 9; *Regesta*, 412.

[34] William of Tyre, XVII, i, 759.

[35] Willim of Tyre, XVII, xxi, xxiii, xxv, 794–801.

[36] He is referred to as lord of Sidon and Beaufort in the *Assises* I, 214. See also Rey, *Etude sur les Monuments des Croises en Syrie* (Paris, 1871), p. 135.

[37] *Rev. Or. Lat.*, XI (1905–08), 181–83. Delaville LeRoulx suggests that this James may have been a relative, but it seems more probable that he was merely a vassal.

[38] Ibelin CXL in *Assises* I, 214–15. See LaMonte, *Feudal Monarchy in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem* (Cambridge, Mass, 1932), p. 21 ff.

donations to religious houses. By an act of 1162 he granted the Hospital certain rights in Sidon including the privilege of having gates in the city wall,[39] and in 1164 he gave the abbey of Josaphat olive trees in lands in the Sidon territory.[40] Neither were especially munificent grants, but they probably sufficed to keep Girard in the good graces of the Church.

Girard married Agnes de Tiberias, niece of William de Buris and widow of Renier Bruce of Banias, by whom he had Eustache and Renaud.[41] He died sometime between 1169 and 1171.

The exact time and circumstances of Girard's death are not known. It is my belief that he was still living in 1169 and that he died between 1169 and 1171, as I shall endeavor to prove in discussing the marriage of Renaud of Sidon and Agnes de Courtenay. Certainly we know from documents that Girard was still alive and active at the royal court in 1165, and this is in itself enough to refute the story given by Michael the Syrian that he was executed for brigandage and treason in 1161. Michael tells in considerable detail how Girard armed some ships and engaged in piracy whereupon King Baldwin drove him out of the kingdom. Expelled from his own lands, Girard, according to Michael, fled to Antioch where the prince welcomed him and gave him the castle of Bagras. There he again reverted to brigandage and the prince of Antioch was compelled to drive him out. From here on the story is told by both Michael and Abu'l Faraj though Abu'l Faraj never mentions the lord of Bagras by name. Driven out of Bagras, he took refuge in the lands of the sultan, and Nureddin gave him troops with which he promised to capture some of the sea coast for the Moslems. However the king of Jerusalem (Baldwin according to Michael; Amaury in Abu'l Faraj) defeated him and took him to Jerusalem where he executed him by burning at the stake. Both chroniclers date this adventure in the year 1160–61, Abu'l Faraj directly and Michael by placing it in his chronicle in the same section with the marriage of Manuel Comnenus to Marie of Antioch and the capture of Renaud de Chatillon, both of which events occurred in 1160–61.[42]

[39] *Cartulaire*, I, 302; *Regesta Add* 376b.

[40] *Rev. Or. Lat.*, VII, 145, doc. 36, *Regesta Add.* 393c.

[41] William of Tyre, XIV, xix, 634. Renier only appears on documents from 1125 to 1138 (*Regesta* 105, 181). His successor Humphrey de Toron held Banias in 1157 (William of Tyre, XVIII, xii, 837; *Cartulaire* I, 258, *Regesta*, 325) and had had it for some time then. The exact date of Bruce's death is not known and we cannot date the marriage of his widow to Girard.

The *Lignages* XVIII says he had two sons Eustache and Renaud; the variant text gives the two sons and adds two daughters, I have shown above that I do not think that one of these was the Agnes who married Henry de Milly.

[42] Michael the Syrian (*R. H. C. Arm.* I) 354–55; *The Chronography of Abu'l Faraj called Bar Hebraeus* (edit. Walles Budge; Oxford, 1932, I) 287. Michael's chronology is confused in this period.

Obviously there is something wrong with this story. Girard was certainly alive in 1165 and was surely not executed by Baldwin III as he quarreled with King Amaury. Argument from the silence of William of Tyre, Jean d'Ibelin and the *Lignages* in regard to so spectacular an event is suggestive but inconclusive, but Girard's presence on the documents is incontrovertible. The whole episode might have happened after 1165 and have developed out of Girard's quarrel with Amaury, but I am personally inclined to believe that Michael was in error in assigning this fate to Girard of Sidon and that the whole story should be attributed to someone else. This conclusion is further strengthened by the fact that Renaud appears to have entered into his father's inheritance without any difficulty, whereas, had Girard been guilty of treason as Michael states, his fiefs and properties would have been forfeited forever and his heirs disinherited. I cannot imagine King Amaury making an exception to this rule in favor of Renaud because of any special love he bore to the house of Sidon.

EUSTACHE III

Eustache III, the eldest son of Girard, never apparently inherited the seigneury of Sidon. The *Lignages* describes him as "n'estoit mie bien sene," one version saying that he died, and the other that he never married.[43] William of Tyre mentions him in passing when he tells about hostages which Renaud gave for the ransom of his brother Eustache in 1175.[44]

RENAUD, lord of Sidon and Beaufort, 1171–1200

Renaud "estoit durement lait et moult sage" says the *Lignages*, "et le firent seignor." One gains the impression that he was preferred to his more handsome but weaker elder brother and that his inheritance of the seigneury was in violation of the rights of primogeniture. At any rate he first appears with his father on an act of 1164, wherein Girard "with the consent of his son Renaud and of his heirs" granted rights to Josaphat.[45]

[43] The *Lignages* XVIII says: "Huistace n'estoit mie bien sene et moru; Ranaut fu sire". The variant says: "Estace n'estoit mie bien sene et estoit biau, et n'ot point de feme; Renaut estoit durement lait et moult sage, et le firent seignor. . . ."

[44] William of Tyre XXI, viii, 1018. It is impossible to state when Eustache was taken captive. William only says that the hostages which Renaud had given for him were kept at Hims. As the hostages seem to have been all together, it may be argued that he was captured along with Raymond, Joscelyn and Bohemond of Antioch in 1165.

Carl Hopf in a review of the *Familles* (*Revue Critique* [Paris, 1871], p. 238), gives the dates for Eustache as 1174 to 1192, but I cannot find on what evidence.

[45] *Rev. Or. Lat.*, VII, 145, doc. 36, *Regesta Add.*, 393c.

His first attestation as Renaud of Sidon occurs in 1171; thereafter he appears continuously on the documents of the various kings until October 1200.[46]

It is worthy of note that with all his appearances on charters, there has not a single act come down to us wherein Renaud himself granted anything

[46] Renaud's appearances on documents are: (a) Witnessing charters of Amaury:
1171: *Archives Orient Latin*, II B, doc. 27, pp. 144–45; *Regesta*, 487.
1173: Strehlke, *Tabulae Ordinis Theutonici* (Berlin, 1869), doc. 6; *Regesta*, 496 (spurious ?).
1174: Strehlke, 7, *Regesta*, 517.
(The act of 1177: Strehlke 8, *Regesta* 548 is definitely spurious.)
(b) On acts of Baldwin IV:
1176: *Cartulaire* I, 496, *Regesta*, 537.
1178: *Cartulaire*, I, 550, *Regesta*, 562.
1179: Strehlke, 11, 12, *Regesta*, 587, 588.
1180: *Cartulaire*, I, 582, *Regesta*, 593.
1181: *Cartulaire* II, p. 909, doc. 20, *Regesta*, 601; *Cartulaire*, I, 606, 607, *Regesta*, 603, 604; *Regesta*, 606; Strehlke, 13, *Regesta*, 608.
1182: *Strehlke*, 14, 15, *Regesta*, 614, 615.
(c) On acts of Guy de Lusignan:
1190: Strehlke, 25, *Regesta*, 696.
(d) On acts of Conrad de Montferrat:
1188: Müller, 28, *Regesta*, 675 (on this act Renaud is giving consent to a treaty).
1191: Müller, 33, Regesta, 703.
1192: Tafel-Thomas I, pp. 213–15, doc. 76, *Regesta*, 705; *Liber Jurium Ianuensis* (Turin 1854), I, doc. 401, *Regesta*, 704.
(e) On acts of Henry of Champagne:
1192: *Liber Jurium*, I, 405, *Regesta*, 707.
1193: *Cartulaire*, I, 954, *Regesta*, 709; Strehlke, 29, *Regesta*, 710; Müller, 37, *Regesta* 713; Strehlke, 28, *Regesta*, 716.
1194: *Cartulaire*, I, 972, *Regesta*, 717; Strehlke, 30, *Regesta*, 720.
1195: Müller, 40, *Regesta*, 721; Strehlke, 31, *Regesta*, 722; *Rev. Or. Lat.*, VII, 164, doc. 53, *Regesta Add.*, 722a; *Liber Jurium*, I, 410, *Regesta*, 724.
1196: Strehlke, 32, *Regesta*, 727.
1197: Müller, 45, *Regesta* 735. (Strehlke, 34, *Regesta*, 733 is spurious.)
(f) On charters of Aimery de Lusignan:
1198: *Rev. Or. Lat.*, VII, 166, doc. 57, *Regesta Add.*, 740b; *Cartulaire*, I, 1032, *Regesta*, 743; Strehlke, 35, *Regesta*, 744; Paoli, *Codice Diplomatico* (Lucca, 1733) I, 287, *Regesta*, 746; Mas Latrie, *Histoire de l'Ile de Chypre* (Paris, 1852–62), II, 24–25, *Regesta*, 747.
1200: Strehlke, 36, 38, *Regesta*, 774, 776.
Apart from royal charters Renaud appears on:
1173: *Cartulaire*, I, 551, *Regesta*, 503,—act of Constance, countess of St Gilles.
1179: *Cartulaire*, I, 558, *Regesta* 572,—act of Eudes de St Amand, Master of Temple.
1179: *Cartulaire*, I, 573, *Regesta*, 589,—act of William Rufus, viscount of Ascalon. A *Magna, lady of Sidon*, appears on this same act.
1187: *Liber Jurium*, I, 363, *Regesta*, 659,—treaty of the Jerusalemite barons with Genoa.
1200: Strehlke, 37, *Regesta*, 773,—act of Agnes de Courtenay and James de la Mandelee. Renaud consents to and witnesses this act of his niece.

to any religious house or order. He seems to have been one of those Frankish-Syrian barons who came strongly under the influence of the Moslem civilization. He spoke Arabic, was familiar with Moslem theology, and his actions reveal that he was not insensible to the advantages of trying to live peacefully with his Moslem neighbors. Beha-ed-Din has given us a clear picture of Renaud, as he impressed that old cadi when he came on a mission to Saladin:[47]

> This man held high rank amongst the Franks, and was distinguished for his keen intellect. He knew Arabic and was able to speak it; he also possessed some knowledge of history. I had heard that he had a Moslem in his suite whose duty it was to read to him and expound. His manners were truly charming. . . . He argued with us on the subject of our religion, and we reasoned with him in order to show him the vanity of his beliefs. He talked well, and expressed himself with great moderation and courtesy.

Renaud's early career was much like that of any other baron of his class and country. He served with the royal army at the battle of Ascalon in 1177 without winning either conspicuous praise or blame.[48] In 1179 when Saladin was ravaging the territories of Sidon and the king was endeavoring to drive him out, Renaud and his forces arrived too late to take part in the battle. The Christians had won an initial success but had been repulsed and were suffering badly as the result of a Moslem counterattack. Renaud and his men were met by one of the parties of refugees from the battle, and, upon hearing their story, turned back to Sidon rather than jeopardize their lives in a futile encounter. This turning back brought on Renaud the most scathing criticism from William of Tyre who said:[49] "This act is believed to have been responsible for manifold disasters that day. For if he had continued his march to the fortress, he could probably have saved many from the enemy with the help of the townsfolk and the country people who knew the locality."

In the troubled years from 1180 to 1192 Renaud consistently followed the party-line of the baronial faction which was opposed to the so-called "court party," and which favored the seeking of a rapprochement with Saladin. This party, which was led by Count Raymond III of Tripoli, was composed of the more important Franco-Syrian barons who had been born and bred in Syria and who had lost any religious fanaticism. They had learned to live with their Moslem neighbors and were willing to make terms with them if by so doing they could gain the greater security for their

[47] Beha ed Din (translation by C. W. Wilson, London 1897, Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society, XIII) pp. 142–43.

[48] William of Tyre, XXI, xxii, 1041–42.

[49] William of Tyre, XXI, xxviii–xxix, 1054–57. The passage is quoted from the English translation by E. A. Babcock and A. C. Krey, (N. Y., 1943, *Records of Civilization*) II, 443.

lands. They had no confidence in Guy de Lusignan and the court faction and they repudiated the lawlessness of Renaud de Chatillon. This mistrust of Guy and realistic policy in regards to Saladin has been called treason, and Renaud, as well as Raymond, has been accused of lack of faith, cowardice and treachery. Yet viewed dispassionately and from the point of view of the Syrian Franks, it must be termed, if "appeasement," at least the more sensible and realistic policy.[50]

Renaud had shown his party alliance as far back as 1174 when he was one of the barons who supported the claims of Raymond of Tripoli for the regency for Baldwin IV.[51] In 1183 he was with the host which refused to follow Guy against the enemy and thus enabled Saladin to escape combat with the largest force which had to date been raised against him by the Christian kingdom.[52] That same year he was one of the barons who urged and carried through the coronation of young Baldwin V as a means of securing the throne and preventing Guy from becoming king.[53] At the death of Baldwin V in 1186 Count Raymond summoned the High Court at Neapolis to determine the question of the succession; the barons declared for Isabelle and her husband Humphrey de Toron.[54] While Renaud's name is not mentioned specifically at this time it is quite reasonable to suppose that he took part in this meeting of the Court as all his colleagues and partisans participated. When however, Humphrey showed himself but a broken reed and Guy's position on the throne could no longer be denied or profitably contested, Renaud was one of the barons who went to Count Raymond in Tiberias in 1187 to attempt a reconciliation between the count and the king.[55]

In the supreme hour of crisis, Renaud, however reluctantly, followed King Guy in the disastrous march towards Tiberias which brought them to the field of Hattin. From that debacle Renaud fled. Here again he may be said to have followed the most sensible line of conduct. Certainly it was the course followed by Count Raymond, Balian d'Ibelin, the Tiberias brothers and others of the baronial group.[56] Seeing that all was lost at Hattin, due to the employment of a tactic which they had opposed and protested, these barons sought to escape that they might save what remained of the kingdom and organize what resistance they could.[57] Renaud

[50] The best account of the politics of this period is to be found in M. W. Baldwin; *Raymond III of Tripolis* (Princeton, 1936), chapters 4 and 5.

[51] William of Tyre, XXI, iii, 1008.

[52] Id., XXII, xxvii, 1122.

[53] Id., XXII, xxix, 1127.

[54] *Eracles* (Continuation of William of Tyre, *Rec. His. Crois. Occ.*, II, 30–31.

[55] *Eracles*, p. 37.

[56] *Eracles*, p. 65. Ernoul (ed. Mas Latrie, Paris, 1865) p. 170.

[57] Thus Balian d'Ibelin went to Jerusalem where he reorganized the defense, and later secured favorable terms of surrender (*Eracles*, p. 70).

was one of those who fled to Tyre. The steady advance of the Moslem armies, the gradual reduction of the Palestinian cities and fortresses, made any resistance seem futile. Further the generous terms of surrender which Saladin granted, and lived up to, made capitulation to so honorable a conqueror much to be preferred to the horrors of siege and starvation. Renaud consequently opened up negotiations for the surrender of Tyre. He had already sent for Saladin's standard to hoist over the city, when Conrad de Montferrat arrived with reinforcements and took over the command of the city.[58] Renaud withdrew temporarily to Tripoli, but returned soon thereafter as he appears as a member of Conrad's council at Tyre in May 1188.[59]

The tide of Moslem conquest engulfed Sidon in its first wave. Beaufort however withstood the avalanche, and there Renaud betook himself to save what he could of his heritage. In April 1189 Saladin laid siege to the castle and Renaud entered into a series of tortuous and ambiguous negotiations. Perhaps he counted on his past record of amity with the Moslems to deceive the sultan, perhaps he honestly desired to come to a peaceful agreement with Saladin, at any rate he came to Saladin with offers to surrender his castle peacefully if the sultan would give him a safe refuge and a pension in Damascus. The sultan accorded him a three months truce in which to remove his family from Tyre. At the expiration of that time, Renaud came again to Saladin's camp and requested an extension of the truce for another nine months. As the Moslems had observed that the time had been spent by Renaud, not in attempts to extricate his family from Tyre, but in repairing and strengthening the fortification of Beaufort, Saladin was justly suspicious of his good faith. He accused Renaud of manoeuvring for time and demanded the immediate surrender of the castle. Renaud sent agents to secure the capitulation, and when it was refused, went himself before the walls and demanded that the garrison surrender. As he evidently had arranged in advance that any such demands should be ignored, and as he addressed the garrison in the language of the Franks so that the Moslems who accompanied him had no idea what he said, this appeal was equally without effect. As Saladin had granted him a safe-conduct he could not seize him on the spot, so Renaud started back for Beaufort. But a certain Moslem scribe in Renaud's employ offered to capture him and bring him back to Saladin. The sultan agreed and the ambush was prepared. Renaud was captured as he was about to reenter Beaufort, and was again brought before the sultan who ordered him sent to prison at Banias. After a few weeks imprisonment he was brought back and subjected to some torture to force a capitulation. When this failed

[58] *Eracles*, pp. 76–77 and variant pp. 73–74. Ernoul, p. 182.

[59] On a treaty with the Pisans: Müller, 28, *Regesta*, 675.

he was sent to prison in Damascus, where he remained until the castle finally surrendered in April 1190.[60]

In September 1190 Renaud appears at the siege of Acre, where he witnessed the only charter of King Guy's on which he ever appeared.[61] The next year he had rejoined Conrad, serving as his envoy to Saladin in conversations which Conrad initiated with the idea of holding certain Syrian cities as fiefs from the sultan.[62] That November he was one of the barons who was active in securing the divorce of Princess Isabelle from Humphrey de Toron and her marriage to Conrad.[63]

The Treaty of Jaffa, which ended Richard's campaigns in Palestine in

[60] The story of this siege and these negotiations is told by both the Moslem and Christian sources, and with considerable variations. The Moslem account is found in Beha ed Din (*Rec. His. Crois. Or.*, III), 121–23, 129–32, 151 and in the *Livre des Deux Jardins* (*Rec. His. Crois. Or.*, IV), 395–400 (based on El Imad and Beha ed Din). The Frankish account is in the *Eracles* 187–88 and in the variant 110–111. The *Eracles* says that Saladin forced Renaud to come to him and offered bribes but Renaud always refused to surrender, while the Moslem accounts both agree that Renaud started the negotiations. The episode of the ambushing of Renaud is found only in the *Eracles* variant. In general I have preferred to follow the Moslem point of view because Beha ed Din himself took part in the negotiations and met and talked to Renaud at the time. His account is by far the most circumstantial. The variant text of the *Eracles* (p. 111) says that Renaud was tortured under the walls and that the castle surrendered at his request. The main text (p. 188) however says that it held out and surrendered only when its supplies were exhausted. El Imad says that it surrendered only after a year's siege. Beha ed Din gives the date,—but the editors incorrectly transpose it into the Christian calendar. Röhricht, *Geschichte* p. 487, accepts the date April 1190. Pirie-Gordon dates the siege as from July 28, 1189 to April 22, 1190 (Mss. notes).

Renaud was so associated with Beaufort that he gave his name to the castle which is known in the Arabic chroniclers as Schekif-Arnun (modern Kalaat es Schekif).

F. C. Eiselen, *Sidon*, p. 91, errs when he says that Renaud sent supplies to the Moslem garrison at Acre. The reference in Ibn el Athir which Eiselen cites as evidence for this statement (*Rec. His. Crois. Or.*, II, 32) clearly says that the supplies were sent by the governor of Sidon, the Emir Saif ed Din Ali ibn Ahmed al Mashtub, who was one of Saladin's most trusted officers and was commander of the garrison at Acre when it was forced to surrender.

[61] Strehlke, 25, *Regesta*, 696.

[62] Beha ed Din, 283, 287. Conrad had had previous negotiations with Saladin in which he offered to break with the crusaders, capture Acre for the sultan, and aid him in return for the lordship of the cities of Beirut and Sidon (Beha ed Din, 303).

Ambroise *Estoire de la Guerre Sainte* (ed. G. Paris, Paris 1871; translated by M. J. Hubert and J. L. LaMonte, N. Y., 1941, *Records of Civilization*), lines 8711–8714, says of Renaud in connection with this embassy:

> There was Renaud of Sidon who
> Had come to seek and to pursue
> A peace unclean and foul and lewd,
> By dogs he should have been pursued.

[63] *Itinerarium Regis Ricardi* (ed. Stubbs, London, 1864, Rolls Series, vol. 38, part 1) p. 121; Ralph de Diceto (Ed. Stubbs, London, 1876, Rolls Series, 68) II, 86. The *Eracles*, p. 151–54 does not mention Renaud by name.

1192, did not include Sidon or Beaufort among the places which were to be restored to the Christians. However Saladin voluntarily gave to Renaud the town and fief of Sarepta with half the territory and revenue of Sidon.[64]

The accession of Henry of Champagne to the throne had ended the rivalry between the two political parties in the kingdom, and what remained of both the court and baronial parties rallied to the new monarch. Guy de Lusignan departed for his new kingdom of Cyprus; many of the old leaders were dead and those that remained aligned themselves with the new king Renaud was one of his most prominent advisors, appearing on no less than thirteen of Henry's acts in the years 1192–1197. With Henry's death Renaud accepted Aimery de Lusignan, and witnessed six acts of that monarch.[65] His last documentary appearance was in November 1200; he was dead sometime before 1204 when his widow remarried.[66]

Renaud was married twice. His first wife was Agnes de Courtenay, the mother of Baldwin IV and Sibylle, who married Renaud as her fourth husband. William of Tyre says concerning this:

> After Hugh's death [Hugh d'Ibelin her third husband] and while Amaury was still living [King Amaury, her second husband], Agnes entered into the same bonds of affection with Renaud of Sidon, son of Gerard. This alliance is said to have been not less illegal than her former relation to King Amaury. For Gerard, the father of Renaud, a blood relation of both as he certainly was, established by his sworn statement the consanguinity of these two, as he had heard it from his ancestors. A second annulment consequently followed in the manner already described.[67]

As Hugh d'Ibelin was still alive in 1169[68] and as King Amaury died in 1174, we can certainly place the date of the marriage between these two points. Further, as we have seen, Renaud first appeared with the appelation "of Sidon" on an act of 1171.[69] This would indicate that Girard was dead by that time. And as Girard gave the testimony as to the consanguinity of Renaud and Agnes presumably after their marriage, we can further narrow the time down to sometime between 1169 and 1171. We must assume however that the annulment did not take place immediately after the evidence therefor was produced by Girard, for William of Tyre mentions Agnes as the wife of Renaud in 1175.[70]

After his separation from Agnes, Renaud married Helvis d'Ibelin, the daughter of Balian II d'Ibelin and Marie Comnena. Although the *Eracles*[71]

[64] *Eracles*, p. 198, variant 199. "Apres Salahadin vost amender a Renaut de Saete ce que il li avoit meffait quant il le prist en sa fiance . . ."

[65] See note 46 above.

[66] *Eracles* p. 263. She married Guy de Montfort. Hopf. *Revue Critique*, p. 238, says Renaud was dead by 1202.

[67] William of Tyre, XIX, iv, 890. Translation quoted from Babcock and Krey, II, 302.

[68] Agnes consents to and witnesses an act of Hugh's in Jerusalem in 1169 (*Archives Orient Latin*, II B., doc. 25, p. 142–43; *Regesta*, 472.

[69] *Archives Orient Latin*, II B, doc. 27, pp. 144–45; *Regesta*, 487.

[70] William of Tyre XXI, xi, 1025.

[71] *Eracles* variant, p. 111.

says that this marriage took place after Renaud's release from captivity [1190] this is certainly an error, for the safety of his wife and children in Tyre was one of Renaud's points in his negotiations with Saladin in 1189. By Helvis, Renaud had Balian, Agnes and Femie.

BALIAN [d'Ibelin] of Sidon, 1210–1240

With Balian the prestige and importance of the house of Sidon reached their apogée. Allied through his mother with the great house of Ibelin, Balian often called himself by that name, although he was never, like his relative John of Caesarea, dominated by the strong personality of his uncle the lord of Beirut. Bailli of the kingdom, Balian was, with Eudes de Montbéliard the constable, the leader of the group of barons who strove to maintain the balance between the emperor and the barons of the Ibelin faction in the civil war which disturbed the realm for over a decade.

Philip de Novare lists him among the "grans plaideors," those best acquainted with the law and most eloquent therein, classing him with John d'Ibelin of Beirut and Ralph of Tiberias as one of the three greatest legists of the realm.[72]

Balian's first appearance was at the coronation of King John de Brienne at Tyre in 1210, when John came from France to marry the little Princess Marie of Jerusalem.[73] Then for eight years we lose all trace of him, until he reappears at the siege of Damietta in 1218.[74] That he was already a man of considerable reputation in the kingdom at this time is evidenced by two facts: at Damietta he married Marguerite de Risnel, the niece of King John,[75] and it was to Balian that the Moslem governor of Damietta, when he saw that further resistance was futile, chose to surrender his city.[76]

Thereafter in 1220–1222 Balian appears regularly on the charters of John de Brienne. The royal charters of this period are few, but Balian appears on the four that exist signing always among the first three secular lords.[77]

[72] Philip de Novare in *Assises* I, 525, 559, 570, "Et le seignor de Saieste qui moult fu sage et courtois et soutil de science en court et dehors, et moult ama sapience et science et moult fu larges et vigerous."

[73] *Eracles*, p. 311.

[74] Balian is conspicuously absent among the witnesses to the charters of John de Brienne which are witnessed by Garnier l'Aleman, Aymar of Caesarea, Ralph of Tiberias et al. (*Regesta*, 853, 855, 857, 892, 898 etc.) Nor is he on any of the Cypriot, Antiochene or Armenian documents of the period. He is not mentioned among the barons who met with Andrew of Hungary to plan his campaign in October, 1217 (*Eracles*, pp. 322–23).

[75] *Eracles*, p. 332. She was the daughter of Arnoul de Risnel and Ida, the sister of John de Brienne. She accompanied Cardinal Pelagius to Egypt and there married Balian. Joinville (par. XCI, edit, De Wailly, *Soc. His. Fr.*, p. 466) says she was the aunt of his own wife and the cousin of Gautier de Brienne, count of Jaffa.

[76] *Eracles*, p. 346: "car il tenoit a seignor come celui cui ses ancestres et son lignage estoit homes de lui et des suens."

[77] He appears on charters of John: March, 1220—*Arch. Or. Lat*, II B doc. 2, p. 166; *Regesta*, 930; May, 1220—Strehlke, 53, *Regesta*, 934; March, 1221—Strehlke, 55, *Regesta*, 940; April, 1222—Strehlke, 57, *Regesta*, 953.

He did not accompany King John to the west after the failure of the Fifth Crusade, but remained in Syria, where we next encounter him assisting at the coronation of Isabelle de Brienne at Tyre in 1125.[78] Then with Simon archbishop of Tyre, he led the group of nobles who escorted the young queen to Brindisi to meet her husband, the Emperor Frederick II.

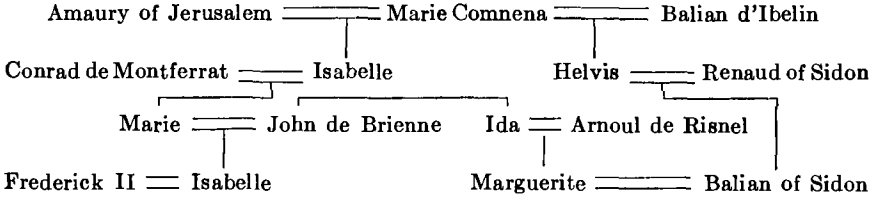
After the emperor had married Isabelle again in Brindisi, he demanded the homages of the barons of her retinue, which they gladly accorded.[79] Frederick was the legal king as the husband of the queen, and the reign of John de Brienne, who himself had acquired the throne by marriage, legally ended with the marriage and coming of age of his daughter. Throughout the whole struggle that was to follow Balian conducted himself in strict accordance with the laws of the kingdom. He strove to secure for Frederick what was his due and at the same time to prevent any encroachment by the emperor on the traditional rights of the baronage.[80]

Balian remained in Italy for several months. He appears on an act of Queen Isabelle and on two charters of Frederick II's in 1226,[81] his last Italian appearance being at San Miniato in July 1226.

Balian returned to Syria sometime in 1226 or 1227, perhaps accompanying the expedition, which Frederick sent on in advance of his own coming, under Thomas count of Acerra, whom the emperor appointed his bailli in Jerusalem. He was already back home when a second contingent of the crusaders under Patriarch Gerold and the Duke of Lemburg arrived at Limassol in the fall of 1227, as he was one of the Syrian barons who went to Cyprus to meet them.[82] This army devoted its energies to repairing the

Balian's only other appearance in this period is on an act of April, 1222 of Inioran-nus lord of Bova (Strehlke, 56, *Regesta* 954).

[76] *Eracles*, p. 358; *Les Gestes des Chiprois* (ed. G. Raynaud, Geneva, 1887, *Soc. Or. Lat.*) pars. 90, 116. The *Gestes* call Balian "cousin german of the said queen" a relationship explained by the following table:



[79] *Eracles*, pp. 358–59. The only other baron mentioned by name as accompanying them was Daniel de Terremonde. Frederick sent the bishop of Melfi to Acre to secure the homages of the barons there, which he did.

[80] For this matter of the legal position of the emperor and the history of the Imperial-Ibelin struggle see LaMonte, *Feudal Monarchy in Jerusalem*, pp. 56–73, and LaMonte and Hubert, *The Wars of Frederick II against the Ibelins in Syria and Cyprus* (New York, 1936, *Records of Civilization*), pp. 17–57.

[81] Strehlke, 58, 59, 60, *Regesta*, 974, 975, 978. Salimbene tells how Balian acted as his god-father in Parma in 1225.

[82] *Eracles*, p. 364. For the date of Acerra's coming to Syria see LaMonte *Wars of Frederick* p. 25 note 5.

defences of the kingdom, refortifying Caesarea and Sidon and building at Sidon the sea-castle on a small island just outside the harbor.[83] In February 1228, we find Balian granting to the Teutonic Knights lands and gardens in the territory of Sidon.[84]

Meanwhile Frederick continued his preparations for his crusade. Another contingent was sent to the East under the command of Richard Filanger, marshal of the Empire. Then just as Frederick was about to depart himself, Queen Isabelle died, just after giving birth to a son Conrad on April 23, 1228. This completely changed the legal situation in Jerusalem. As long as Isabelle lived the barons were quite willing to recognize Frederick as their king and to accept the rule of his appointed bailli. But when Isabelle died, Frederick became only the regent for Conrad and the commission of Thomas of Acerra, his bailli, was automatically rescinded. Only in the High Court could a bailli be appointed, and the barons met at Acre to elect for themselves baillies to administer the realm until Frederick should arrive in person. The choice of the barons fell upon Eudes de Montbéliard, the constable who had already served as bailli for King John in 1223, and on Balian of Sidon.[85] Neither of these men were at all hostile to Frederick personally, in fact both showed themselves quite partial to him, and Balian was one of the Syrian barons who went to Limassol to meet him when he finally reached Cyprus on his way to Syria in July 1228.[86]

Balian proved himself a most loyal follower of the emperor throughout his sojourn in the East. He accompanied him in Cyprus on his short campaign against Balian's relatives the Ibelins; he served with him in Acre and on the march to Jaffa; during Frederick's stay in Syria Balian appears as witnessing no less than sixteen documents between October 1228 and May 1229.[87] His most signal service was however the conduct of the negotiations for the Treaty of Jaffa, in which Balian and Thomas of Acerra acted as Frederick's agents.[88] For these services Balian was well rewarded since one of the terms of the treaty was the return of that portion of Sidon

[83] *Eracles*, p. 365, *Gestes*, par. 125.

[84] Strehlke, 62, *Regesta*, 986.

[85] *Assises*, II, 399. John d'Ibelin of Beirut and Balian were the first choice of the Court but Ibelin refused to serve and de Montbéliard was elected. Eudes had been appointed bailli by King John in 1223, and had been continued by Frederick in 1225 but replaced by Thomas of Acerra in 1227.

[86] *Eracles*, p. 367, *Gestes*, par. 130.

[87] *Regesta*, 994, 995, 1002, 1003, 1004, 1005, 1006, 1007, 1008, 1009, 1010, 1011, 1012, 1013, 1014, 1016. Most of the originals are given in Huillard Breholles, *Historia Diplomatica Friderici Secundi* (Paris, 1852–61) III, Strehlke, and the *Archives Orient Latin*. The last act (*Regesta*, 1016, Winkelmann, *Acta Inedita* (Innsbruck, 1880), I, 303, p. 273) dated in May 1229 at Tyre, must have the wrong date, as Frederick left from Acre on May 1 of that year, unless Frederick stopped at Tyre on his way from Acre to Limassol.

[88] *Eracles*, p. 370, 372; LaMonte, *Wars of Frederick II*, 33–37.

which was still held by the sultan.[89] Further, when the emperor left Acre in May 1229, he left behind as his baillies Balian and Garnier l'Aleman,[90] entrusting to Balian the custody of the castle of Tyre.

In the performance of his duties as bailli, Balian showed himself efficient and loyal. He sent troops to repulse a Bedouin attack on Jerusalem in the fall of 1229,[91] and it was under his guidance that the High Court rejected the claims of Alice of Cyprus to the throne and reasserted the rights of King Conrad.[92] On the other hand he seems to have always respected the rights of the barons and the sovereignty of the High Court. Frederick, angered at the opposition of John of Beirut, ordered the confiscation of the Ibelian holdings in both Syria and Cyprus. His baillies in Cyprus attempted to enforce the order only to be defeated in battle by Ibelin. Balian ordered the confiscation of the Syrian fiefs, but seems to have yielded to the will of the High Court which declared such confiscations illegal, and made no effort to enforce them.[93]

Frederick, however, was determined that his authority should be respected without opposition in Syria and Cyprus. To this end he sent ships and men to the East to secure the destruction of the Ibelins. In the fall of 1231 these forces arrived in Cyprus but were unable to land there because of the strong forces which Ibelin had concentrated in the island. They therefor directed their ships towards the mainland of Syria and against the city of Beirut. One force was sent to secure the surrender of the citadel of Tyre, which was surrendered by order of Balian;[94] while the rest of the expedition descended on Beirut. There the city was surrendered by the bishop, but the castle, although depleted of men by Ibelin's concentration of troops in Cyprus, refused to yield so that it became necessary to invest it.[95] Richard Filanger, the commander of this force, then proceeded to Acre where he presented to the High Court letters from the emperor appointing him his bailli in Syria. At first the barons were quite willing to accept Filanger as bailli, but when his intention became clear to them, they solemnly protested his actions. In this protest Balian of Sidon acted as spokesman for the Court, and his speech is one of the most eloquent defences of the sovereignty and sanctity of the law that has ever been ut-

[89] For the terms of the treaty of Jaffa see LaMonte, *Wars of Frederick II*, p. 37, and note.

[90] *Eracles*, p. 375; *Assises*, II, 399; *Gestes*, par. 138.

[91] *Eracles*, p. 384.

[92] *Eracles*, p. 380. See Mas Latrie, Histoire de Chypre, I, 262–63, LaMonte, *Feudal Monarchy*, p. 63–64.

[93] *Assises* I, 325. We presume Balian's failure to act from Ibelin's continued possession of Beirut.

[94] *Gestes*, par. 163. The *Eracles*, p. 388 says that Aymar de Lairon surrendered Tyre, but he may have done so at the order of Balian.

[95] *Gestes*, pars. 158–59; *Eracles*, pp. 386–88.

tered.[96] Whether the barons withdrew their recognition of Filanger as bailli at this time, I cannot determine. Balian used the title of bailli in an act of September 28, 1231, in which he confirmed a sale of lands to the Hospital,[97] but that was probably before the arrival of Filanger in Acre. It was probably to complain of Filanger's actions that Balian, Eudes de Montbéliard and Garnier l'Aleman went to Italy to see the emperor. They are found with Frederick in Ravenna in December[98] but do not seem to have remained long in the West as they were back in Syria the following spring.

John d'Ibelin had no intention of allowing his city of Beirut to be taken from him by Filanger and began his preparations for its relief in December 1231. It was not until the following February that he was able to start transporting his forces from Cyprus to the mainland.[99] At that time he sent letters to Acre to Balian, John of Caesarea and others of the barons asking them to assist him to save his citadel and recapture his city. These letters were read in the house of Balian, thus showing that he had returned from the West by this time. The response of John of Caesarea and of the ardently pro-Ibelin barons was to arm and join John at Beirut, but Balian, Eudes, the Masters of the Hospital and Temple, the consuls of the Italian communes, and several of the higher clergy attempted to arbitrate between the two parties.[100]

The situation had, however, gotten beyond the stage where arbitration was possible. Ibelin secured the support of the people of Acre and of the Genoese and was able to drive the Imperialists out of Beirut. Then on May 3 the Imperialists attacked the Ibelin forces where they were encamped at Casal Imbert and utterly routed them in a surprise attack. Balian had evidently been inclining towards the Ibelin party before this and the news of the defeat threw him, as well as Eudes and the other members of the mediating group, into the Ibelin camp.[101]

The war then entered into a new phase; the Imperialists invaded Cyprus where they overran the island until stopped and defeated at Agridi on June 15, after which they were bottled up and besieged in Kyrenia.[102] Frederick, seeing the failure of his arms and realizing the unpopularity of his bailli, then sent letters to the Court of Acre offering to appoint a new co-bailli, one Philip de Maugastel, brother of the archbishop of Tyre, who

[96] *Eracles*, pp. 389–90. (English translation in LaMonte, *Wars of Frederick II*, 121–23).

[97] *Cartulaire*, II, 1996, *Regesta*, 1027.

[98] Huillard-Breholles IV, 278–79; Strehlke, 76, *Regesta*, 1034. They did not leave Syria before October 27th as all three of them are witnesses to acts of Bohemond IV's at Acre on that date (*Cartulaire* II, 2001, 2002, 2003, *Regesta*, 1031, 1032, 1033). And see E. Winkelmann, *Kaiser Friedrich II*, (Leipzig, 1889–97) II, 387, note 3.

[99] *Gestes*, par. 161; *Eracles*, p. 392.

[100] *Gestes* par. 163; *Eracles*, pp. 393–94.

[101] *Eracles*, pp. 397–98.

[102] *Gestes*, pars. 177–204; *Eracles*, p. 399 ff.

would be bailli in Acre while Filanger held Tyre.[103] This arrangement was accepted by Balian and Eudes, who had succeeded Garnier l'Aleman in the bailliage, but when it was proposed to the barons, John of Caesarea violently opposed the measure and a riot broke out in which the bell of the commune was sounded and the Imperial envoy barely escaped with his life. John d'Ibelin was reelected mayor of the commune and Eudes and Balian were declared the only true baillies. Thereafter Balian and Eudes cooperated completely with the baronial party, and in October 1233 they were both parties to the treaty which Ibelin contracted with the Genoese.[104] The complete adherence of the middle-party to the baronial side and the total expulsion of the Imperialists from Cyprus caused a stalemate in the civil war and it ceased to be a pressing issue. The Imperialists held Tyre and Jerusalem while the Ibelin-Cypriot faction held the rest of the country. In 1236 Balian was one of the barons to whom Pope Gregory IX addressed letters giving his decision in the arbitration which he made between the emperor and the Ibelins.[105]

The next few years were peaceful ones and Balian seems to have devoted himself to the routine of managing his fiefs. In 1237 he confirmed to the Hospital grants made them by his ancestors,[106] and the next year Pope Gregory confirmed that Balian himself gave properties in Sidon to the Church of Sta Maria.[107] He appeared as a witness on an act of Count Gautier de Brienne in 1238,[108] and in the same year was one of the barons who wrote Thibaut of Navarre sending him directions for the planning of his crusade.[109]

When Thibaut arrived and war with the Moslems was begun, Balian was present at the disastrous battle of Gaza in 1239 in which the Christian army was destroyed.[110] He escaped and returned to take part in the following year in the negotiations with Damascus which resulted in the return to the Christians of Beaufort, among other territories.[111] He did not long enjoy the possession of his newly returned fiefs however, for he died in that same year of 1240.[112]

Balian's wife, Marguerite de Risnel, does not appear with her husband in any of his acts. After his death however there are several references to her in chronicles and documents.

In 1250, we are told by Joinville, Marguerite received the bones of her

[103] *Gestes*, par. 205–06; *Assises*, II, 399.

[104] Mas Latrie, *Histoire de Chypre*, II, 58, note; *Regesta*, 1047.

[105] *Regesta*, 1071; *M.G.H., Epistolae XII Saec.* I, doc. 674, p. 571.

[106] *Cartulaire*, II, 2160; *Regesta Add.*, 1076a.

[107] Ughelli, *Italia Sacra*, VII, 39, *Regesta*, 1085.

[108] *Regesta*, 1080, *Bib. Ec. Chartes* (1872), p. 174.

[109] *Regesta*, 1083, *Cartulaire*, II, 2211.

[110] *Eracles*, p. 414; *Gestes*, par. 213.

[111] *Gestes*, par. 215; *Eracles*, p. 552. The *Gestes* say it was given to the Templars, but this must be wrong as Julian sold it to them in 1260.

[112] *Gestes*, par. 217.

cousin Gautier de Brienne when they were returned by the Egyptians, and gave them formal burial with great pomp in the church of the Hospital at Acre. At the funeral each guest made an offering of a coin, King Louis offering a gold besant, and all the coins were, out of courtesy to Marguerite, those of the mint of Sidon.[113]

Two years later in 1252 Marguerite appears negotiating a marriage agreement for her son Julian, who married Euphemie, daughter of King Hayton of Armenia.[114] By the terms of the agreement Euphemie brought a dot of 25,000 besants against which Julian guaranteed to give her certain dower lands.

Marguerite died, according to the *Eracles*, on June 5, 1254.[115] This is confirmed by her will which is dated June 1 of that same year, in which she endowed a chaplaincy in the Church of St. John.[116] She may have entered some religious house before her death as a charter of Julian's in 1253 speaks of a house in Sidon which belonged to "madame Marguerite ma mere, *qui ja fu dite dame de Sidon.*"[117]

Marguerite and Balian had five children: Gilles, Julian, Philip, Isabelle and Agnes.[118]

AGNES, daughter of Renaud and Helvis

Agnes married Raoul de Tiberias and had two daughters: Eschive who married Eudes de Montbéliard, and Helvis who married Peter d'Avalon.[119]

FEMIE, daughter of Renaud and Helvis

Femie married Oste de Tiberias, the brother of Raoul. They had a son Oste who died, and a daughter Eschive who married Aimery de Rivet.[120]

GILLES of Sidon 1240–1247

Gilles, the eldest son of Balian and Marguerite, succeeded to the lordship of Sidon on the death of his father in 1240. He died without issue in 1247 and was succeeded by his brother Julian.[121]

JULIAN, lord of Sidon and Beaufort, 1247–1275

Concerning the appearance and character of Julian, the last Frankish lord to rule Sidon, we are well informed by two paragraphs in the *Gestes*:[122]

[113] Joinville, par. XCI, p. 466; G. Schlumberger, *Numismatique de l'Orient Latin* (Paris, 1878).

[114] *Cartulaire*, II, 2581; Langlois, *Trésor des Chartes d'Arménie* (Venice, 1863) p. 146; *Regesta*, 1202.

[115] *Eracles* p. 441, where she is called Marthe by mistake.

[116] *Cartulaire*, II, 2686, *Regesta* Add., 1215a. This was confirmed by Julian in 1266 *Regesta*, 1344a. *Cartulaire*, III, 3231.

[117] Strehlke, 103, *Regesta*, 1205.

[118] *Lignages*, chap. XVIII.

[119] *Lignages*, XVII, XVIII.

[120] *Ibid.*

[121] *Gestes*, par 260; *Lignages*, XVIII.

[122] *Gestes*, pars. 304, 374.

Cestu Julien fu i chevalier prou et hardy et vygourous, mout estordy et legier de la teste, et de persone grant et menbru, et gros os et fournis [avoit] et estoit mout lussirous de ses chars et grant jouour de hazart, et y mist por le jeuc à nient . . . cestu seignor de Sayette, ja soit ce que il esteet home de volonté et avoit maufait ses afairs, toute fois en conseill et prou et hardy et grant et fort. . . .

From the "durement lait et moult sage" Renaud to his grandson who was a great gambler and who "avoit maufait ses afairs" is a long drop. Misfortune overtook Julian at the very outset of his career, and he evidently lacked the ability of his father and grandfather to overcome obstacles. In 1249 a Damascene army overran Syria and sacked Sidon in its passing. St. Louis set about rebuilding the place on his arrival in Syria and by 1252 managed to refortify the castles, though the walls of the town were not rebuilt.[123] The advantageous marriage with Euphemie of Armenia, which his mother arranged for Julian in 1252, brought Julian an access of wealth,[124] but he was not long in ease and comfort: in the following year the Damascenes again captured and ravaged the territories of Sidon, sacking the city with great slaughter, though the sea-castle, guarded by Simon de Montbéliard, was able to withstand their attack.[125] Once again St. Louis came to the rescue, and again the city was refortified. It was while he was engaged in the rebuilding of the walls of Sidon that Louis heard the news of the death of his mother, which prompted his return to France.[126]

Meanwhile Julian had begun that process of alienating his lands which was to result in the total dissipation of the seigneury. In 1253 he granted Peter d'Avalon (the husband of his aunt Helvis) a property in Sidon quit of all service.[127] The following year, in 1254, Julian sold to the Hospital the territory of Casal Robert, located between Nazareth and Tiberias, for the sum of 24,000 besants.[128] The next year he granted lands and grain at Damour to the Emir of Gharb, Jemal ed Din Haddji.[129] This was followed by a grant in 1257 to the Teutonic Knights of the entire seigneury of Schouf and Gezin, one of the chief fiefs dependent on Sidon.[130] At the same

[123] Makrisi in Bohn, *Chronicles of the Crusades* (London, 1848), p. 545; Jemal al Din in Michaud, *Bibliothèque des Croisades* (Paris, 1829), IV, 453.

[124] Langlois, doc. 20, p. 146–47; *Cartulaire*, II, 2581, *Regesta*, 1202. As opposed to her dot of 25000 besants, Julian gave her dower lands worth 8000 besants.

[125] Joinville, CVII, 197; *Eracles*, pp. 440–41. Joinville says 2000 killed.

[126] Joinville, CVII–CXXI, 197 ff.; *Eracles*, p. 441. Joinville describes the city as fortified with great walls and towers and a deep fosse both within and without.

[127] Strehlke, 103, *Regesta*, 1205.

[128] *Cartulaire*, II, 2688; *Regesta*, 1217. Femie his wife consented to this sale. Julian confirmed this sale in an act of September: *Cartulaire*, 2693, *Regesta*, 1220.

[129] Clermont-Ganneau, *Recueil d'Archeologie Orientale*, VI (Paris, 1905), 2–6.

[130] This transaction was accomplished through a series of acts. First, the Knights bought from John of Schouf the fiefs which he held from Julian, in November, 1256. (Strehlke, 115, *Regesta*, 1252). Then, on January 4, 1257, Julian granted three charters whereby he sold the Order his rights over Schouf, Gezin, and Cave de Tyron (Strehlke, 108, 109, 110, *Regesta*, 1253, 1254, 1255). Julian received 23,500 besants for Schouf. Then, on January 10, Julian confirmed to the Knights the rights he had over the lands held by John of Schouf (Strehlke, 111, *Regesta*, 1256). Later, in March, 1258,

time, in January 1257, he sold the Hospital three casales for 5000 besants,[131] and this was followed the next month by a grant in which he allowed the Hospital to buy lands in Sidon for 1000 besants provided they performed the military duty which was owed by the lands.[132]

Then, in 1260, Sidon was overrun by the Mongols. Julian gallantly defended his city, having two horses killed under him as he defended the gate of the land-castle. With the assistance of the Genoese, the Franks were able to retain control over both of the castles, but they were unable to save the town which was sacked. Before leaving, the Mongols destroyed the walls of the city, leaving it defenseless. In despair of ever being able to rebuild his city, Julian sold both Sidon and Beaufort to the Templars, who could better afford their defense.[133]

This sale of Sidon and Beaufort to the Templars caused considerable trouble; not only did Julian's suzerain the king object that the sale had been made without his consent, but the King of Armenia objected to the alienation of the lands which should have been the heritage of his grandchildren. The quarrel between Armenia and the Templars became part of an old and intermittent rivalry; Julian made his peace with his suzerain by agreeing to continue to provide the full military quota owed by his fiefs, and agreeing that his sons would continue the service in return for money fiefs.[134]

The next year (1261) finds Julian still engaged in settling up his properties: he again confirmed to the Teutons the holdings they had acquired in Schouf and Gezin and those they had acquired from Andrew of Schouf.[135] In October of the same year he was cited by the Hospital to guarantee to them their rights over Casal Robert, which they had purchased from him, against the pretentions of the archbishop of Nazareth who was claiming it by virtue of a Papal privilege.[136] The following year, the Hospital exchanged its holdings in Sidon with the Temple, which thus consolidated its control over that district.[137] Julian seems to have liquidated all his real property by this time, and in 1266 we find him continuing the endowment which his mother had made in the church of the Hospital by making over therefor a revenue of 40 besants a year "assigned against certain goods which he had taken from the city of Sidon."[138] This is Julian's last ap-

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Julian confirmed the sale of a casale by John le Tor, the constable of Sidon (Strehlke, 114, *Regesta*, 1265) and the following June, confirmed the sale made by John of Schouf (Strehlke, 115, *Regesta*, 1267).

[131] *Cartulaire*, II, 2852, *Regesta*, 1257 (this may date from January, 1258).

[132] *Cartulaire*, II, 2856, *Regesta Add.* 1257a.

[133] *Gestes*, par. 303; *Eracles*, pp. 444–45.

[134] *Assises*, I, 530–31. *Eracles*, p. 445.

[135] Strehlke, 117, 118, *Regesta*, 1300, 1301.

[136] *Cartulaire*, III, 2995, *Regesta Add.*, 1306a.

[137] *Cartulaire*, III, 3029, *Regesta*, 1319.

[138] *Cartulaire*, III, 3231, *Regesta Add.* 1344a.

pearance on any document. However, we know from the chronicles that he lived until 1275.

In the year 1270, Julian narrowly escaped an attempt to assassinate him. Baibars, the sultan of Egypt, according to the story in the *Gestes*,[139] wished to destroy Philip de Montfort of Tyre and Julian of Sidon. He sent two Assassins who presented themselves to the two barons as would-be converts. They were received into the households of the two lords and became trusted turcoples in their guards. The Assassin who was ordered to murder Philip of Tyre accomplished his purpose as Philip was in chapel one day, but Julian escaped as he was in Beirut at the time and received warning of Philip's fate in time to arrest his servant.

Whether it was this narrow escape from assassination that turned Julian's thoughts toward religion, or whether he wearied of trying to keep up his secular estate, Julian entered the Order of the Temple. He did not long remain a Templar, however, but transferred to the Order of La Trinité, to which he still belonged at the time of his death in 1275.[140]

Euphemie, his widow, became a nun, entering the convent of Notre Dame la Grande in Tyre. She was greatly interested in the fortunes of the Cypriot knights who were exiled to Armenia by Prince Amaury in 1308–09.[141]

Julian and Euphemie had two sons, Balian and John and one daughter Marguerite.

PHILIP DE BEAUFORT

Philip de Beaufort, the younger brother of Julian of Sidon, is only known as he appears on charters of his brother. He witnessed acts of Julian's from 1254 to 1261, on two of the documents describing himself as the brother of Julian.[142]

ISABELLE

Isabelle, the elder daughter of Balian and Marguerite, and sister of Julian, died young without marrying, according to the *Lignages*.

[139] *Gestes*, par. 374.

[140] *Eracles*, p. 467 (a. 1275): "Et morut a Triple frere Julien de l'Ordre de la Trinité, qui avoit esté sires de Saiete et frere du Temple."

[141] Mas Latrie manuscript notes. Bib. Nat., *MSS. Nouv. Acq. Fr., 6795*. Euphemie's and Julian's married life was not without its storms. In 1264 Pope Urban IV wrote to the patriarch of Jerusalem that he should order Julian and Euphemie to return to their marital status. At Julian's desire Euphemie had left him and, with her sons, had returned to her father in Armenia. She now refused to return to Julian. The Pope insisted that they become reconciled and live together again. We do not know whether they submitted to this ecclesiastical interference in their domestic problems (*Registers of Urban IV*, ed. Guiraud [Paris, 1904], *Ecole Fr. Ath. Rome*; doc. 1466).

[142] *Regesta*, 1217, 1253, 1256, 1257, 1265, 1300, 1301. All are acts of Julian's; in 1300 and 1301 Philip describes himself as Julian's brother.

AGNES

Agnes, the younger daughter of Balian and Marguerite, married William of Botron. A sister of Julian's is mentioned in 1252 in the marriage contract between Julian and Euphemie; she is not named, and therefor it cannot be determined whether it was Agnes or Isabelle who was meant. As Isabelle died a minor, the presumption favors Agnes.[143]

BALIAN II lord of Sidon 1275–1276

Balian, the son of Julian and Euphemie, succeeded to the title of Sidon sometime around 1275 when his father became a religious. He never held any lands, however, but received from the king a money-fief of 7000 besants a year.[144]

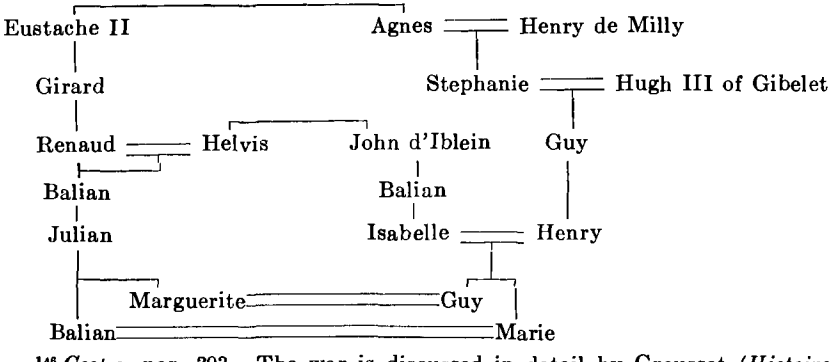
Balian married Marie, sister of Guy de Gibelet, by whom he had two daughters, Femie and Isabelle. In 1290 Pope Nicholas IV wrote to the patriarch of Jerusalem to legitimate the children of Balian and Marie, as the parents did not know when they married that they were within the prohibited degree of relationship.[145]

Balian did not long enjoy his titles. War broke out between his cousin Bohemond VII of Tripoli and his brother-in-law Guy of Gibelet. Balian defended the cause of his cousin the count and was killed in one of the battles of the war.[146] According to the chronology of the *Gestes*, this was in 1276, but it may have been a year or so later.

[143] *Cartulaire*, II, 2581. She is not mentioned in the abstract in the *Regesta*, 1202.

[144] *Assises*, I, 531.

[145] *Register of Nicholas IV* (ed. Langlois, *Ec. Fr. Ath. Rome*, doc. 2001; *Regesta Add.*, 1484a note. An abridged genealogy to show the relationship shows them doubly related:



[146] *Gestes*, par. 393. The war is discussed in detail by Grousset (*Histoire des Croisades*, III, Paris, 1936, pp. 680–691, and Röhricht, *Geschichte*, pp. 972 ff.), Grousset feels that the battle in which Balian was killed probably occurred in 1278 (p. 687, note 5). Bohemond was the son of Sibylle of Armenia, sister of Euphemie.

Balian was the last to hold the title of lord of Sidon. His daughters married, but did not pass on any claims to the title. Femie, the elder, married Hayton of Asgouras, the marshal of Armenia, by whom she had two sons and a daughter. Isabelle married Manuel de Bouillon and had one daughter.[147] The title of Sidon seems to have been in abeyance until it was revived in 1390 for Montolif de Verny.[148]

JOHN

John, the second son of Julian and Euphemie, received from the king a money-fief of 4000 besants a year for which he performed military service.[149] He was drowned in a river in Armenia.[150] Beyond this nothing is known concerning him.

MARGUERITE

Marguerite, the daughter of Julian and Euphemie, married Guy II de Gibelet in 1276.[151] She is mentioned as already deceased in 1289 in a letter of Pope Nicholas IV which declared that their children, Peter, Silvester, Catherine and Marie should be legitimated as their parents did not know they were marrying within the prohibited degrees of consanguinity, and had since sought dispensation from Pope Martin.[152]

MAGNA

Magna, countess of Sidon (?), who appears as a witness to an act of William Rufus in 1179,[153] would seem to have some place in the family but I do not know where to put her. She witnesses just ahead of Renaud of Sidon on the act in question. Could the form Magna be a corruption for Agnes, Reynaud's mother and Girard's widow? This seems most probable. Or she may have been a sister of Girard's; we know nothing of the children of Eustache II and Papia.[154]

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[147] *Lignages*, XVIII.

[148] Mas Latrie, *Histoire de Chypre*, II, 421. He witnessed an act of Jacques de Lusignan with the title "Monteollivo de Vernino domino de Sageta". For the titular lords of Sidon of the Lusignan house see Rey, *Familles*, pp. 439–40.

[149] *Assises* I, 531.

[150] *Lignages*, XVIII.

[151] *Gestes*, par. 390.

[152] *Register of Nicholas IV* (ed. Langlois), 829; *Regesta Add.*, 1484a. The degree of consanguinity is shown in the table in note 145 above.

[153] *Cartulaire*, I, 573, *Regesta*, 589.

[154] Gazellus of Sidon, who witnesses an act of Gautier of Caesarea in 1182 (*Cartulaire*, I, 621; *Regesta* 619), and James of Sidon, knight, whose donation was approved by Girard in 1158 (*Rev. Or. Lat.* XI, p. 181), do not, I think, belong to the reigning house of Sidon and may be dismissed as vassals thereof.

A PAPYRUS REFERENCE TO THE DAMIETTA RAID OF 853 A.D.

By G. Levi Della Vida

References to historical facts are seldom met in private letters. Their writers and addressees are too much concerned with their personal affairs to waste time and ink in recording public events which they happened to witness. Whenever, by chance, a hint of such occurs in a private letter from an older age, it is always worthy of attention, as presenting a contemporary and unbiased view of facts and circumstances the recollection of which has generally come down to us through the channel of literary texts, not always free from alterations, either intentional or unintentional.

Therefore the present writer may be justified in publishing an Arabic letter on papyrus which, short and vague as it is, adds some details to our information about the consequences of the sudden attack on Damietta by the Byzantine fleet on the ninth of Dhu'l-ḥijja, 238 A.H./May 22, 853 A.D. The importance of this episode in the long strife between Byzantion and the Arabs has been pointed out by A. A. Vasiliev in his classic book *Vizantiya i Araby* (1900), and in the French edition of it, for which H. Grégoire and M. Canard are responsible, all Arabic sources for the bold enterprise of Michael III's admirals are translated and thoroughly discussed.[1]

An Arabic papyrus in the University Museum, University of Pennsylvania (Inventory number *E 16274*) bears on its recto (originally, verso) a receipt for the payment of land-tax (*kharāj*) dated as of the twenty-third of the Coptic month Bashnas in the year 241 A.H./May 18, 856 A.D. The land upon which the tax was levied is vaguely located by the words *fī gharbī al-Madīna*, "West of the City"; however, we have good reason to assume that the reference is to the capital of the Fayyūm district, Medīnat el-Fayyūm.[2]

In order to secure cheap material on which to write the tax-receipt the blank side of a sheet of papyrus already written upon on one side was used, after having been cut down to a suitable size (26 x 10.5 cm.); what remains of the older document is only the middle part of the original writing. It consists of nine lines from a private letter, written across the vertical fibres, plus a line on the right margin, parallel to the vertical fibres, the end of which has been cut off. The ink is brownish, and the script,

[1] *Byzance et les Arabes*, I (1935), 212–218; Appendix, p. 276, 315–317, 387, 394 (the complementary notes promised on p. 446 have never appeared). From the translation of al-Kindī's report on the Damietta raid some lines of poetry have been omitted which, in my opinion, are not devoid of interest, since they add a few new touches to the picture of the situation. See below, p. 219.

[2] This document, together with others belonging to the hitherto unexplored collection of Arabic papyri, parchments and papers in the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania, will be thoroughly studied elsewhere.

PLATE I

a rather thick and heavy naskhī, is mostly, if not entirely, distinct. The extant portion of the letter is in general well preserved: to the right, a fibre is detached from the surface, with the consequent loss of two to three letters at or near the beginning of the first six lines; to the left, the last letters of the first three lines are partly broken and partly covered by some Coptic letters; line 9, having been cut through, is only partly legible.

Because of this damage and the loss of the initial part of the letter, the syntactical connection of the introductory sentences is hard to grasp; however, since the first three lines contain nothing but trivial greetings and inquiries about the addressee's and his family's health, nothing essential to the understanding of the text is missed.[3]

Text

1. [. . .] . . . . *lam narā (tarā?) yābā Ja'far ju'illu fidāk [ka]mā katabtu ilayk qabl kitābī* (?) *hāḏā* ± 12

2. [. . .] *li-aktub sa'altuk*[4] *fī kitābī an taktub ilayya 'an kaw<n> ḫālik waḫawā'ijik fa'in šarraftanī*[5] ± 14

3. [*an ta*]*nẓur akramak Allāh an taktub ilayya 'an kawn Umm Ja'far abqāha Allāh wa'ṣ-ṣibyān a'azzahum Allāh* [*waḥafiẓahum*]

4. [*bi-ā*]*bqā 'āfiya yābā Ja'far law ra'ayta mā an-nās fīhi 'indinā al-yawm min at-taḥlīṭ wa's-suḫra yu'ḥad*

5. *a*[*n-nawā*]*tiyya waġayr an-nawātiyya wakullman qadarū'alayh aḥadūhu yadḫulū*[6] *kull yawm bi-jamā'a min kull mawḍi' as'al*[7]

6. *Al*[*lāh*] *al-faraj min'inda raḥmatihi wa'l-amīr ayyadahu Allāh qad ḫaraja ilā al-Maḥalla wa-Dimyāṭ min yawm al-ḫamīs*

7. *wahuwa awwal yawm min Mesorī*[7] *wa'aḫraja ma'ahu jamā'a min al-ḫayl wa-ḏālik annahu warada 'alayh kitāb*

8. *min amīr al-mu'minīn a'azzahu Allāh yušaddid*[8] *'alayh an yurayyiḥ*[9] *'indī rasm kitāb la aqdur an aktub bihi ilayk*

9. *wa'iḏā*[10] *waradat 'alayh al-ḫarīṭa*[11] *la'allahu al-amīr abqāhu <Allāh> ḫaraja . . .*

10.] . . .[12] *Abi'l-'Abbās aḫī abqāhu Allāh yaktu*[*b*] . . . . . .

[3] For typographical reasons, the Arabic text has been transliterated. This, of course, makes the checking of the present writer's interpretation with the facsimile of the original a necessary, although unpleasant task for the reader, to whom I offer my deep apology. I hardly need to remind him that the original, as is usually the case with Arabic papyri, is devoid of diacritical signs.

[4] The letter *sīn* is represented by a continuous line, topped by a semicircular stroke.

[5] A slanting dash is drawn above the *shīn*, which is written as a continuous line

[6] Colloquial for *yadḫulūna*.

[7] The *sīn* is written as stated in note 5 and surmounted by a slanting dash.

[8] The *shīn* has the same as above.

[9] Colloquial, from the stem *rḥw* (see Dozy, *s.v.*).

[10] Colloquial for *iḏ*.

[11] Although this word is damaged, the strokes of the letters are unmistakable.

[12] Three letters of uncertain meaning (*ḥ r k?*) appear at the beginning of this line.

Translation

1. [. . .] . . . . we did not think (or: you did not think), o Abū Ja'far,—may I be made your ransom—as I wrote you before this letter of mine (?) ± 12

2. [. . .] that I write. I asked you in my letter to write me about your health and your needs; and if you would honor me ± 14

3. [to s]ee—may God give you honor—to write me about the state of Umm Ja'far[13]—may God grant her a long life—and the children—may God strengthen [and preserve them]

4. [in the most] lasting welfare. O Abū Ja'far, if only you could see the confusion and pressure in which people are now here!

5. Both the sailors and those who are no sailors are taken away. They took everybody whom they could reach. Every day they come in with troops from all places. I ask

6. G[od] for relief by His mercy! The Emir—may God assist him—left for al-Maḥalla[14] and Damietta on Thursday,

7. which is the first of Mesori, and took out with him a troop of cavalry. This happened because he received a letter

8. from the Commander of the Faithful—may God strengthen him—urging him to give rest. I have a copy of a letter about which I cannot write you;

9. and since the message[15] arrived to him, perhaps the Emir—may God give him a long life—left . . .

10. . . . . my brother Abu'l-'Abbās—may <God> give him a long life—; he will wri[te] . . . .

The gist of the letter is that the writer's dwelling place has been thrown into confusion and despair because of a levy of sailors and non-sailors. The word *sukhra* (line 4) besides its usual meaning of "pressure" has the special meaning of "compulsory service, corvée" (see Dozy, *s.v.*).

[13] Obviously the addressee's wife. It was customary for a married woman to take her husband's *kunya*.

[14] Although many towns in Egypt bear the name al-Maḥalla, the one referred to here is undoubtedly al-Maḥalla al-Kubrā, on the road from Ṭanṭā to Damietta (see J. H. Kramers, in *Encyclopedia of Islam*, III, 110–111, and compare, for a later time, the statement of the monk Bernard quoted by G. Salmon, "Rapport sur une mission à Damiette," in *Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale au Caire*, II (1901), 80: "de Maala transfretavimus ad Damiatem" [*Itinera Hierosolymitana*, I, 313].

[15] *Kharīṭa* means originally "leather bag", and specifically the bag for carrying the mail. Hence, it takes the significance of "official message" (see A. von Kremer, "Beiträge zur arabischen Lexikographie," *Sitzungsberichte der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien*, phil.-hist. Kl., CIII (1883), 226, and cf. *Glossarium Ṭabarī*, p. cxlii and ccxix; see also aṭ-Ṭabarī, 3, 2160_2).

When did a levy of sailors take place in Egypt during the third century from the Hijra?[16] Although our document bears no date,[17] it is not likely to be much older than the receipt written on the opposite side of the sheet, which, as we saw, is of the 23rd of Bashnas, 241 A.H./May 18, 856 A.D. On lines 6–7, Thursday is given as the first day of the Coptic month Mesori, which begins on July 25. This occurred in the year 855 A.D., and before that, in 849, 837 etc. If we assume that the date closest to the land-tax receipt is the most likely to be the correct one, the letter would be only ten months older than the receipt. However, the date of the former may also be 854, since the Moslem week days recorded in connection with month-days are often one day ahead of the actual date[18]. Be that as it may, our document, in all likelihood, is one or two years later than the Byzantine raid on Damietta.

A passage of al-Maqrīzī (*Khiṭaṭ*, II, 191_{2-7}), which Vasiliev and his continuators translated almost literally (p. 218) and I have retranslated in full with a few slight differences in the interpretation of some words, states that the deep consternation in which the Egyptian people and the whole Moslem world were thrown by the unexpected attack of the Byzantines resulted in the setting up of an Egyptian fleet. Since the days of the Omayyad caliphate, Egypt had ceased to be a base for naval expeditions, and the Arab raids in the Mediterranean were carried out either from Syria or North Africa. The first measure taken by the caliph al-Mutawakkil after the Damietta raid was the fortification of that place,[19] and, says al-Maqrīzī, "from that moment on concern arose about the fleet, which became the most important issue for Egypt. Galleys for the fleet were built, and the fighters on sea received the same kind of compensation (*arzāq*) as the fighters on land. The commanders equipped the fleet with archers, and the Egyptians developed a great zeal in teaching their sons archery and all other kinds of warfare. Officers were chosen for the fleet who were expert in fighting the enemy, and no inexperienced or unwarlike man ever entered the navy. At that time everybody was eager to fight the enemies of God and keep this religion upright, especially because those who served in the navy

[16] That the papyrus belongs to this century is made sure by the character of its script.

[17] Even if it were complete, it would lack a date, since private letters on papyrus never bear one, in contrast to the official letters, which are always dated (see K. Jahn, "Vom frühislamischen Briefwesen," in *Archiv Orientální*, IX (1937), 164–166).

[18] This fact is due to the imperfect observation of the new moon, which marks the beginning of the Moslem months, and is well known to students of chronology (see, *e.g.*, C. A. Nallino, in *Rivista degli Studi Orientali*, VII, 253–254.

[19] al-Kindī, *The Governors and Judges of Egypt*, ed. by R. Guest (E. J. W. Gibb Memorial XIX), 202_{1-2} "The building began on Monday, the third of Ramaḍān, 239 A. H."/February 5, 854 A.D. G. Salmon (see note 14) p. 84 quotes Ibn Duqmāq and Abu'l-Fidā', who both depend on al-Kindī.

enjoyed respect and high rank, so that everybody wanted to be reckoned among them and tried by recommendation to be permanently appointed there. The books of history are full of the raids which the fleet carried out against the enemy's country."

This report arouses a vague suspicion of wishful exaggeration. As a matter of fact, its last sentence is undoubtedly untrue, since in the sources at our disposal we fail to find any record of a substantial activity of the Egyptian fleet previous to the age of the Fatimite caliphate, and no attacks upon the Byzantine fleet or shores are ever mentioned. During the civil strife which resulted in the fall of the Tulunid dynasty in 291–292 A.H./904 A.D., the fleet sent by the caliph al-Muktafī under Damyāna,[20] the commander of the naval station at Tarsos, had no difficulty whatsoever in forcing an entry to the Eastern branch of the Nile (the "Canal of Damietta"), beating the Tulunid fleet, and reaching the capital of Egypt, al-Fusṭāṭ.[21] A few years later, in the month of Shawwāl 307 A.H./March 920 A.D., an attempt by the North African fleet of the Fatimites to raid the coast of Egypt was frustrated in a naval battle between Alexandria and Rosetta; however, the warships which saved Egypt belonged to the same Tarsos fleet.[22] Again, in Sha'bān 323 A.H./July 935 A.D., Damyāna's exploit was repeated by the Syrian fleet of al-Ikhshīd, which beat the Egyptian fleet without much trouble and went up the Nile as far as al-Fusṭāṭ.[23] After the temporary improvement immediately following the Byzantine raid on Damietta, the Egyptian fleet must have been poorly equipped and its crews insufficiently rewarded, since in Ṣafar 310 A.H./June 923 A.D. the latter "went on strike", together with the army, in order to get better pay.[24]

Al-Maqrīzī does not mention his source. It is impossible, however, that it might have been a manuscript of al-Kindī's work more complete than that upon which Guest's edition is based.[25] Obviously, the passage on the rebuilding of the fleet under al-Mutawakkil was drawn from the same source which deals with the organization of the Navy Department (*Dīwān al-usṭūl*) under the Fatimites and the Ayyubids (*Khiṭaṭ*, II, 193–194), and probably its emphasis upon the high standard of the officers and crews, and the eagerness of the people to enter the navy intentionally contrasts the gloomy

[20] He certainly was a foreigner, perhaps a Greek (Δαμιανός?) or a Syrian, since his patronymic is never mentioned, and his current appellation is *ghulām Yazdān*, "the boy-servant of Yazdān". From a passage in aṭ-Ṭabarī, 2243_{14-16} (al-Muktafī ordered Damyāna to build an elaborate throne to be set on the back of an elephant for the Caliph's triumphant entrance into Bagdad after the defeat of the Qarmatians) we learn that he was an engineer as well as a seaman.

[21] al-Kindī 245–247, 260–263, cf. aṭ-Ṭabarī 3, 2251–2252.

[22] al-Kindī 276_9–277_2.

[23] al-Kindī 285_{15}–286_4.

[24] al-Kindī 279_{3-8}.

[25] Compare, for a different view, E. W. Brooks in BZ XXII (1913) 383 note 1.

picture of the decline of the navy under Saladin's successors which is given on p. 194_{17-22} (see below, note 28).

In striking contrast to al-Maqrīzī's rosy picture, our papyrus document presents the unfavorable reaction of the commoners to the new measures. Failing to understand the necessity of protecting Egypt against a foreign invasion, they were painfully affected by the departure of their sons and brothers who were forcibly dragged away to man the warships in the Mediterranean or to toil in the arsenal of Damietta.

From the wording of our letter we must assume that compulsory service in the navy was in effect. That this was the rule in Egypt during the Byzantine age and the early period of the Arab domination is evinced from a number of papyri, both Greek and Arabic, which have been brilliantly illustrated by H. I. Bell.[26] Not only the actual sailors[27] but also the workers in the arsenals were drafted from among the population. In the early period of the Arab rule in Egypt the sailors and workers liable to the levy were of course of Christian extraction; later on, as happened with so many other kinds of taxes and obligations, the same constraint fell also on the Moslems.

This system of conscription is found again in the age of the Ayyubids, at the end of the sixth century from the Hijra.[28] For the long period between

[26] *The Aphrodito Papyri* (*Greek Papyri in the British Museum*, IV, 1910) p. xxxii xxxv: "The Naval organization of the Khalifate". See also the same, in *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, XII (1926), 275–281; also *BZ*, XXVIII (1928), 426 for a document in P. Ross.-Georg. which I have not seen directly. Compare also R. Levy, *An Introduction to the Sociology of Islam*, II (1933) 332–333, and A. Grohmann, in *Archiv Orientální*, VI (1934), 126 and 127 note 6.

[27] By whom we have to understand, besides those living on the seashore, also the men employed on the Nile boats. This is the meaning in which the Greek papyri employ the word *ναύτης* (see J. Maspero, *L'organisation militaire de l'Egypte byzantine* [École des Hautes Études, Bibl. hist., vol. 201, 1912] p. 55–57) from which the Arabic *nūtī* is derived (its "broken" plurals are given in the dictionaries as *nawāti* and *nūtiyya* but the form *nawātiyya* used in our papyrus is listed by Dozy and also found elsewhere, *e.g.*, al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ* II, 195_{13}).

[28] See R. Levy, *An Introduction to the Sociology of Islam*, II, 334–335, who summarizes the following passage of al-Maqrīzī, II, 194_{17-22}: "When the sultan Ṣalāḥaddīn Yūsuf ibn Ayyūb died the situation of the fleet remained unchanged for a while. Afterwards, there was less and less concern about it, until it was never thought of except under need. When necessity required that the fleet be manned, people were sought after and seized on the highways, then they were kept in chains in daytime and jailed during the night, so that they could not run away. They were assigned only a little bread or something of that kind, and often they would stay for days without receiving anything, as is done with enemy prisoners. Therefore the service in the navy (*khidmat al-usṭūl*) became a shameful thing, through which people were abused. When a man in Egypt was addressed with the words; 'you navy man!' he became exceedingly angry, while formerly those who served in the navy were addressed as 'Fighters in the Holy War' and 'Raiders of God's enemies', and people were asking for the blessing of their prayer." As is stated above (p. 217) this passage seems to be intended as the counterpart of the ideal situation depicted for the age of al-Mutawakkil.

the Omayyads and the Ayyubids, information on this subject is not at hand, or at least has remained unknown to the present writer. Possibly the practice was discontinued as long as the military fleet was neglected, and was resumed after the Damietta raid under the pressure of circumstances. The papyrus of the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania affords an unquestionable evidence of it.

Relief from the sad predicament of the Egyptian populace was in sight, according to the anonymous writer. The Emir (undoubtedly the governor of Egypt) had left for al-Maḥalla and Damietta with a large troop of cavalry, which of course was used to escort the drafted men. This meant, apparently, that the levy had been completed; and the writer adds that the reason for the Emir's departure was a letter which the Caliph had sent him and of which the writer claims to possess a copy.

The governor whom al-Mutawakkil (or rather his son and heir apparent al-Muntaṣir, who acted as the actual sovereign) had appointed to Egypt a few months before the attack of the Byzantine was ʿAnbasa ibn Isḥāq aḍ-Ḍabbī, a man of pure Arabian descent, a pious Moslem, and an honest and energetic official. Al-Kindī (p. 200_{18}–201_2) praises him for his justice, religion and simplicity of life. However, he was not popular. Perhaps because of his punctiliousness in performing his duties, he was rumored as a follower of the Kharijite tenets, a charge which at that time meant as much as those of "Fascist" or "Communist" mean nowadays in certain environments.

The feelings of ʿAnbasa's opponents were graphically expressed by an otherwise unknown poet, Yaḥyā ibn al-Faḍl (or al-Fuḍayl), in more than one biting piece of poetry[29] addressed to the Caliph. As Lammens pointed out long ago, in ancient Arabian society the poets were the mouthpiece of public opinion in the same way as journalists are in ours. The fragment from the second of Yaḥyā's poems is interesting enough to deserve a translation (see above, note 1):

"Do you approve of a land which is your sacred property being trampled upon by force and the Moslems considered free booty and ransacked?

"('Anbasa is) an ass[30] who went to Damietta while the Byzantine were attacking Tinnīs within his sight, or even closer.

"They were poised at al-Ushtūm, eager to do what they had succeeded in doing at Damietta; war is (something which must be carried on) steadily.

[31] "However, he did not move even a span[32] from Damietta, without knowing in his inadequacy where he should go and from what he should keep aloof.

"Do not forget that we are in a desperate plight and religion (i.e., the power of Islam) is almost gone."

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[29] The lines in al-Kindī 201_{3-6} and 201_{12-15} belong to two independent poems, as is shown by their different metre and rhyme.

[30] Some lines from the original poem have possibly been omitted by al-Kindī before this.

[31] This line, which is not in Guest's edition of al-Kindī, is found in al-Maqrīzī, I, 214 and in Yāqūt, *Geographisches Lexicon*, ed. Wuestenfeld, II, 603 (cf. I, 276, where

It appears from these lines that 'Anbasa was currently blamed for his strategic blunder of moving his troops towards Damietta while the Byzantine had already left it to proceed eastwards and attack the coast town of Tinnīs and the nearby place al-Ushtūm. We are not in a position to decide whether 'Anbasa's failure to meet the enemy was his own fault or was due to unavoidable circumstances, but the facts were undoubtedly such as they are given by the poet, since his statement agrees with two independent sources, al-Kindī and aṭ-Ṭabarī.[33]

If 'Anbasa was unable to defend Egypt from the raid of the Byzantine fleet, he did his best to prevent its repetition, and proceeded with his customary energy, obviously following instructions from the central government, to reorganize the Egyptian fleet. Less than nine months after the attack, the building of fortifications was begun at Damietta (see above, note 19), and soon after 'Anbasa must have reenacted the old regulations about the levy of sailors and workers which had been discontinued for more than a century.[34]

We saw that the reaction of the populace to this drastic measure was anything but favorable. The hinterland must have shared only slightly in the terror aroused on the sea coast by the landing of the Unbelievers,[35] whereas the burden of the conscription must have been felt heavily. Human nature being inclined towards "defeatism" rather than towards heroism, we may well understand, if not approve, the attitude of the writer of our letter.[36]

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only lines 2 and 3 are given). Incidentally, the raid on Damietta is mentioned by al-Maqrīzī in three passages, and not only in two, as it would appear from *Byzance et les Arabes*, I 387: I, 214 (not II!), II, 312, and II, 190–191. The second of these passages has been translated by P. Casanova in *Mémoires de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale au Caire*, III, 201 (cf. W. E. Brooks in *BZ*, XXII [1913], 383 note).

[32] *shibr*^{an}, obviously the correct reading, is given by 'Alī Pāshā Mubārak, *al-Khiṭaṭ al-jadīda*, XI, 37 from al-Maqrīzī, but the printed text of the latter, and Yāqūt, have the wrong reading *sibr*^{an} (variant: *sayr*^{an}).

[33] The latter also reports that the attack of the Byzantine was successful because 'Anbasa had withdrawn the garrison from Damietta and taken it to al-Fusṭāṭ to parade in the pageant of the Pilgrimage. This is hardly correct: if 'Anbasa had been responsible for this additional blunder, Yaḥyā ibn al-Faḍl would have taken advantage of it in order to increase his criticism. However, it is possible that he actually did so in a passage of his poem which al-Kindī omitted to quote.

[34] It is of course possible, or even likely, that the levy mentioned in our papyrus was not the first measure of that kind, and that others had taken place in the two previous years.

[35] Although the place of residence of the writer of our letter cannot be made out, it must have been south of al-Maḥalla al-Kubrā (see above, note 14), and possibly was al-Fusṭāṭ.

[36] By no means can we assume that he might have been a Copt, and therefore more friendly to the Byzantine than to the Arabs. The name of his correspondent, Abū Ja'far, is typically Islamic, and the writer himself must have been a Moslem.

The Caliph's government must have been impressed by the complaints of the Egyptian populace. Egypt was a province very hard to cope with, and al-Mutawakkil's administration was conspicuous for its weakness. The official order to which our papyrus refers must have marked the end of the attempt to set up a powerful Egyptian fleet, as 'Anbasa had intended. As a matter of fact, six years after the first attack, the Byzantine fleet raided Damietta a second time, and met little, if any opposition.[37] 'Anbasa, at that time, was no longer a governor, having been removed from his office on the first of Rajab 242 A.H./November 3, 856 A.D. Twelve years later, in 254 A.H./868 A.D., Egypt became practically independent of the Caliph, under Aḥmad ibn Ṭūlūn. We saw above that neither he nor his successors appear to have done anything to improve substantially the efficiency of the Egyptian fleet.

Another reference to a Byzantine attack on Damietta in a papyrus has been overlooked so far. An Arabic papyrus in the John Rylands Library at Manchester[38] is a fragmentary letter of an official who obviously reports to the governor[39] on his inspection of the fortifications on the sea coast. Unfortunately the papyrus is so badly mutilated (the whole left half is lost) that a complete understanding of its contents is out of the question. Also its age is uncertain. Since the *Ṭūlūniyya* are mentioned on line 19, Margoliouth inferred correctly that it must be later than 254 A.H./868 A.D. However, in my opinion, it cannot be older than 292 A.H./905 A.D., the date of the fall of the Tulunid dynasty and the temporary restoration of the Caliph's authority over Egypt. It is hard to believe that such an expression as "the partisans of the Tulunid family" might have been used at a time when that family was still in power. Be that as it may, line 20 mentions something (probably a waterway: the place where the word appeared is missing) "by which the army of the Unbelievers entered" (*alladhī dakhala minhu jaysh al-kafara*). This can refer only to the Byzantine raids of 853 or 859.

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[37] If we should accept al-Maqrīzī's report (I, 214: see *Byzance et les Arabes*, I, 217 and 387) between the raids of 853 and 859 another would have taken place in 239 A.H./853–4 A.D. However, since the older sources do not mention it, and al-Maqrīzī ignores the raid of 859, he may have mixed up the dates.

[38] Published by D. S. Margoliouth, *Catalogue of Arabic Papyri in the John Rylands Library, Manchester* (1933) p. 6 (No. I 6).

[39] As is evinced by the title *amīr* given to the addressee. This has been overlooked by Margoliouth.

HUNS AND HSIUNG-NU

By Otto Maenchen-Helfen

The question whether Attila's Huns were identical with the Hsiung-nu of the Chinese has been discussed for almost two hundred years.[1]

De Guigne[2] thought it almost self-evident that the savage hordes which in the last quarter of the fourth century swept over the steppes of South Russia were the descendants of the warlike nomads with whom the Chinese had to fight so bitterly for many centuries. Everything seemed to him to point to the identity of the "eastern" and "western" Tartars. Both were nomads, expert horsemen, and highly mobile. The great Hsiung-nu empire was destroyed in the early Han period. The Hsiung-nu disappeared from the Far Eastern scene. Some Hsiung-nu hordes trekked west. The Huns came from the east. Thus it was obvious that the Huns must be Hsiung-nu. In addition to the historic facts there was the name which clinched the argument.

De Guigne's views, challenged from time to time, prevailed on the whole, though they underwent considerable modifications. His concept of identity was different from that of the romantics of the nineteenth century. He wrote a political history. Even if he had found that the Hsiung-nu perished to the last man, he could have regarded the Huns as identical with them, provided the continuity of the political organization was preserved. For De Guigne, Huns, Hsien-pei, Avars, Turks, and Mongols were all alike "Tartares". The Huns were Hsiung-nu if at one time they had formed part of the Hsiung-nu empire Whether they spoke the same language as the Hsiung-nu, had the same customs, or were of the same "race", was immaterial. De Guigne was only, and exclusively, interested in the genealogy of political entities. He could say, as he actually did, that the Turks were formerly called Hsiung-nu, or that the Mongols were the Turks of olden times.

When the romantics began to search for the various *Urheimaten* of ethnic and, first of all, linguistic groups, the Hsiung-nu-Hunnish problem took on an entirely new aspect. Identity now involved physical descent. Now it had to be proved that the Huns were the physical descendants of the Hsiung-nu, that Hsiung-nu hordes, defined as such by their language, institutions, religion, and physical appearance, migrated west, preserving

[1] See K. Inostrantsev, "Khunnu i Gunny," *Trudy turkologičeskogo seminarija*, I (Leningrad, 1926).

[2] *Histoire gênérale des Huns, des Turcs, des Mongols et des autres Tartares* (Paris, 1756–1758).

their characteristics, or, at least, their language, until they reached the Maiotis. De Guigne would not have been perturbed if it had been shown that the Huns spoke Turkish while the Hsiung-nu spoke Tungus or Mongol. The romantics had to prove the linguistic identity.

Throughout the last century the theory of the identity of the Huns and Hsiung-nu was accepted or rejected mainly on linguistic grounds. If the Huns spoke a Slavic language, as some Russian scholars believed,[3] they could not well have descended from the Hsiung-nu whom even the most fanatic anti-normanist would not have included in the Slavic family. If, however, the meaning of one or the other Hsiung-nu word could be explained with the help of the Uigur or the Yakut, and, on the other hand, the name of a Hunnish ruler sounded Turkish, clearly no further proof was needed. The linguistic evidence was supported by the historic data, and vice versa. The linguists overlooked that the historians meant by 'identity' something quite different from what they called by that term, while the historians accepted the linguistic finds as corroborating their theories.

The aim of this article is to re-examine the problem, or, rather, the evidence brought forward up to 1909. At the time when Fr. Hirth, the protagonist of the Hsiung-nu-Hunnish identity, wrote his articles[4], the Hsiung-nu territory was archaeologically terra incognita. To-day, thanks to the finds of Noin Ula,[5] the excavations in Transbaikalia,[6] and the thousands of Ordos bronzes,[7] the material civilization of the Hsiung-nu, at least in its broad outlines, can be reconstructed.

Forty years ago the ancient pronunciation of the characters which the Chinese used to transcribe foreign words could, at the best, be guessed at. Thanks to B. Karlgren[8] we know by now how they sounded in Chou time and in the seventh century A.D., and the pronunciation in the Han period can be reconstructed with a high degree of accuracy.

Historic geography of the Far East has greatly progressed. While no new sources for the history of the Huns have been made accessible, we

[3] Inostrantsev, *op. cit.* pp. 103–109.

[4] "Ueber Wolga-Hunnen und Hiung-nu," *Sitz. Ber. philol. u. hist. Classe, Akad. Wiss. Munich*, II (1900), 245–278; Id., "Hunnenforschungen", *Keleti Szemle*, 1901, pp. 81–91; Id., "Mr. Kingsmill and the Hiung-nu," *J. Amer. Or. Soc.*, 1909, pp. 32–45.

[5] C. Trever, *Excavations in Northern Mongolia* (Leningrad, 1932).

[6] Cf. J. Werner, "Ein hunnisches Lager der Han-Zeit in Transbaikalien," *Sinica*, 1939, pp. 193–196; G. P. Sosnovski, "Derestuiskii mogil'nik," *Problemy istorii dokapitalističeskich obščestv*, 1935, No. 1–2, pp. 168–176.

[7] See the almost complete bibliography in V. Griessmaier, *Sammlung Baron Eduard von der Heydt* (Vienna, 1936), pp. 10–11.

[8] *Grammata Serica* (Stockholm, 1940).

have learnt to handle the old ones more critically. All this sheds new light on the Hsiung-nu-Hunnish problem.

The evidence adduced to prove the identity of the Far Eastern Hsiung-nu with the western Huns can be grouped under four heads: historic, linguistic, ethnological, and archaeological. The various arguments ought to support and supplement each other. Even if, e.g., it could be shown that both Hsiung-nu and Huns spoke a Turkish language, this would be of little value for deciding the issue. Turkish-speaking Hunnish tribes might have lived for centuries in East Russia without any contact with the Hsiung-nu in Kansu and Mongolia. Some of the customs of both groups are common to all eurasiatic nomads and semi-nomads, from Herodotus' Scythians to the various Hu tribes of the Chinese annals. It has to be proved that a particular feature of Hunnish civilization is to be found nowhere else but among the Hsiung-nu.

A. Linguistic evidence

The Chinese sources contain hundreds of Hsiung-nu words, mostly proper names, but also titles, terms for weapons, etc. In a number of cases the meaning of the word is known. And yet it is impossible to affiliate the Hsiung-nu language with one of the great linguistic families of Eurasia. Some words sound as if they were Mongol, others might well be Turkish or Tungus. Kurakichi Shiratori[9] and Paul Pelliot[10] are inclined to assume that the greater part of the Hsiung-nu vocabulary points to Mongol.

It must not be overlooked that since the 3rd century B.C. the Hsiung-nu have stood in close relationship with Indoeuropean peoples, Tokharians and Iranians. There are good reasons to assume that some Hsiung-nu terms are Iranian loan-words. O. Franke considers the Hsiung-nu as "im wesentlichen türkischen Blutes, aber auch vermischt mit iranischen Skythen und Sarmaten."[11] Kaj Donner thinks that many of the Hsiung-nu artisans were Iranian slaves.[12]

In the far-flung empire of the great shan-yü Mo-tun undoubtedly there lived also Paleosiberians, the ancestors of the present Ket, or Yenissei-Ostyaks, as they are still sometimes called. Some of the Hsiung-nu words taken down by the Chinese might well have been borrowed from the Proto-Ket.

The Hsiung-nu were not a large nation. At *circa* 170 B.C. the Hsiung-nu

[9] "Sur l'origine des Hiong-nou," *Journal asiatique*, 1923, pp. 71 ff.
[10] In R. Grousset, *Histoire de l'Extrême-Orient* (Paris, 1929), p. 207.
[11] *Geschichte des Chinesischen Reiches*, I (Berlin, 1930), p. 328.
[12] *Sibirien, Folk och Forntid* (Helsingfors, 1933), p. 105.

army numbered not more than 60,000 horsemen,[13] and it is probable that already then it contained a more or less large non-Hsiung-nu element.

Whether under these circumstances we shall ever be able to decide what the language of the Hsiung-nu proper, the 'royal' Hsiung-nu, was, is doubtful.

The only Hunnish word the meaning of which is known, namely *strava*, 'funeral',[14] has been explained as Slavic,[15] Gothic,[16] and Turkish.[17] Those proper names which are not simply Gothic[18] resist all attempts to etymologize them.[19]

It has been suggested that the Huns spoke an early form of Chuvash.[20] That may be so. In view of our complete ignorance of the language of the Huns no data to prove that theory could possibly be adduced, and there are no reasons whatever to assume that the Hsiung-nu in Mongolia spoke Proto-Chuvash.

B. Historic evidence

I

The *locus classicus* is a passage in the *Hsi-yü-chuan* (Account of the Western Regions) in the *Wei-shu*, the history of the Wei dynasty. Before Hirth, two Russian scholars, N. A. Aristov[21] and K. Inostrantsev,[22] had drawn attention to it. They, too, believed that this text furnished the decisive proof for the identity of the Hsiung-nu with the Huns.

The "fundamental wichtige Text, der das hunnische Problem löst"[23] runs as follows (column A):

[13] *Hsin-shu* 4(26), cf. G. Haloun, "Zur Üe-tṣï-Frage," *Zeitschr. d. Deutschen Morgenländisch. Ges.*, 1937, p. 306, note 1.

[14] Jordanes, *Getica*, ed. Mommsen, p. 124.

[15] L. Niederle, *Manuel de l'antiquité slave*, II, 53.

[16] Gabelentz, J. Grimm, Müllenhoff, *et al.*

[17] B. von Arnim, "Bemerkungen zum Hunnischen," *Zeitschr. f. slav. Philologie*, 1936, pp. 100–109.

[18] There is now universal agreement that Attila is Gothic; for other explanations of the name see J. Bleyer, "*Die germanischen Elemente der ungarischen Hunnensage*," *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache u. Literatur*, XXI (1906), 454. Attila is the name of a *regulus aulae domesticus* in Venantius Fortunatus, *Vita Sancti Germani*, *M. G. H.*, *AA*, IV, II, 23, 35.

[19] Cf. the quite unsatisfactory etymologies in B. von Arnim, *op. cit.*, p. 100.

[20] W. Barthold, *12 Vorlesungen über die Geschichte der Türken Mittelasiens* (Berlin, 1935), pp. 30–31.

[21] "Zametiki ob etničeskom sostave tjurkskich plemen," *Živaja Starina*, III–IV, 1896, p. 293.

[22] "Khunnu i Gunny," first edition in *Živaja Starina*, III–IV, 1900.

[23] Kiessling, in Pauly-Wissowa, *R. E.*, VIII, Sp. 2584–2585.

A	B	C
Wei-shu, 102,7a[24]	*Pei-shih* 97,9b	*Chou-shu*, 50,6b/7a
1.a. The country of Sutê lies in the west of the Ts'ung-ling.[25]	1.a. The country of Sutê lies in the west of the Ts'ung-ling.	1.a. The country of Sutê lies in the west of the Ts'ung-ling.
		b. Presumably
c. It is the ancient Yentsʻai.	c. It is the ancient Yentsʻai.	c. it is the ancient Yentsʻai.
d. Its other name is Wên-na-sha.	d. Its other name is Wên-na-sha.	d. Its other name is Wên-na-sha.
e. It lies on a great lake in the northwest of K'ang-chü.	e. It lies on a great lake in the northwest of K'ang-chü.	e. It lies on a great lake in the northwest of K'ang-chü.
f. It is 16.000 li away from Tai.[26]	f. It is 16.000 li away from Tai.	
2. Previously the Hsiung-nu had killed its king and taken the country. King Hu-yi[27] made the third generation. Merchants of this country used to go in great numbers to the region of Liang, but on the capture of Ku-tsang[28] all of them were taken prisoners. At the beginning of the reign of Kao Tsung[29] the king of Su-tê sent an envoy to ask for their ransom, which was granted by cabinet order. Since then no envoy has ever arrived to offer tribute.	2. Previously the Hsiung-nu had killed its king and taken the country. King Hu-yi made the third generation. Merchants of this country used to go in great numbers to the region of Liang, but on the capture of Ku-tsang all of them were taken prisoners. At the the beginning of the period Wên-ch'êng[30] the king of Su-tê sent an envoy to ask for their ransom, which was granted by cabinet order. Since then no envoy has ever arrived to offer tribute.	
	3. In the 4th year of Pao-ting[31] of the Chou its king sent an envoy with a tribute of native products.	3. In the 4th year of Pao-ting its king sent an envoy with a tribute of native products.

[24] The references are to the *Ssŭ-pu-pei-yao* edition of the histories. Translation of A in Hirth, *Kingsmill*, pp. 43–44, and Shiratori Kurakichi, "A Study of Su-t'ê" in *Memoirs of the Research Department of the Toyo Bunko*, No. 2, Tokyo, 1928, p. 98; translation of C: Shiratori, *op. cit.*, p. 98.

[25] I.e., the Pamirs.

[26] The capital of the Wei in N. Shansi.

[27] *Hut-ngai-ssï* in Hirth's first translation (*Wolgahunnen*, p. 248) was a mistake; corrected in *Kingsmill* into *Hu-ni*. The two characters are to be read Hu-yi< χuət-ngiei, or Hu-yai<χuət-ngai.

[28] A.D., 439.

[29] A.D., 452–466.

[30] *Idem.*

[31] A.D., 546.

The cornerstone of Hirth's thesis is the identification of the country Su-tê. He argues as follows:

1. Su-tê was known in old times as Yen-ts'ai which name appears for the first time in Chang Ch'ien's Account of the Western Countries, *Shih-chi* ch1. 23.[32] Yen-ts'ai lay about 2000 li northwest of K'ang-chü, "Sogdiana, Marakanda, Samarkand,"[33] thus round the Aral Sea eastward and northward.

2. In the *Hou-Han-shu* ch.118 we read: "The country of Yen-ts'ai has changed its name into A-lan"; according to the *Wei-lüe* Yen-ts'ai was also called A-lan.[34] The A-lan are, of course, the Alans. Yen-ts'ai must therefore represent Strabo's Ἀορσοι.[35]

3. Hirth thinks it very likely that Wei Shou, the author of the *Wei-shu*, based his account on the reports of Tung Wang and Kao Ming who between A.D. 435 and 440 had travelled as far as the Caspian Sea. It may be assumed, he says, that they wrote their reports shortly after their return, *circa* A.D. 450–455.

Whether the conquest of Su-tê, the country of the Alans, took place three generations before that date, or three generations before the king of Su-tê sent an envoy to the Chinese court shortly after A.D. 450,[36] in any case the Hsiung-nu must have conquered the Alans in the last decades of the first half of the 4th century. This was the time when, as we know from the classical sources, the Huns made themselves masters over the Alans.

"Since the same nation cannot at the same time be conquered by two different nations, the result is that the Huns and the Hsiung-nu are identical. Q. E. D."[37]

Hirth's thesis gained wide acceptance. By now most historians and archaeologists are convinced that the Hsiung-nu-Hunnish identity has been definitely established.[38]

[32] As we know by now, *Shih-chi*, ch. 123, is pieced together from *Han-shu*, ch. 61 and ch. 96, cf. Haloun, *op. cit.*, p. 250, note 1.

[33] Hirth, *Wolgahunnen*, p. 250.

[34] Id., *Kingsmill*, p. 39; cf. J. Junge, *Saka-Studien* (Leipzig, 1939), p. 77, Fr. J. Teggart, *Rome and China* (Berkeley, 1939), pp. 199–200.

[35] The equation Yen-ts'ai-Aorsi is phonetically impossible. Cf. Teggart, *op. cit.*, pp. 201–203.

[36] The period Wên-ch'êng began in A.D. 452.

[37] Hirth, *Kingsmill*, p. 45.

[38] E.g., F. Lot, *Les Invasions germaniques* (Paris, 1935), p. 53; J. Markwart, "Iberer und Hyrkanier," *Caucasica*, VIII, 1931, pp. 81–83; W. Barthold, *op. cit.*, p. 28; J. Werner, "Bogenfragmente aus Carnuntum" *Eurasia Septentrionalis Antiqua*, VII, 1932, pp. 49–50.

Hirth thought that Su-tê was Sughdagh, Σουγδαία, in the Tauric Ἀλανία;already Tzetzes had identified Σουγδαία and Sogdiana, cf. J. Marquart, Καρμπαλοῖκ, *Keleti Szemle*, 1910, p. 21. For the equation Hu-ni = Hernak see C. A. Macartney, "The end of the Huns," in *Byz.-ngr. Jahrbücher*, X (1934), 113. The validity of those equations is immaterial for Hirth's thesis.

A critical analysis of the Chinese sources does not warrant the conclusions drawn from them by Hirth and his followers.

To begin with, chapter 102 of the *Wei-shu* in which the account of Su-tê occurs does not form part of the original *Wei-shu*. It is well known that this chapter, like a number of others of Wei Shou's work, had been lost before the 11th century. The Sung editors substituted for it the corresponding chapter of the *Pei-shih*; they abridged it and adapted it to the chronological framework of the *Wei-shu*.[39]

If the three parallel columns A, B, and C be consulted, it can be seen that A is a reproduction of B. The *Pei-shih* text (B) itself is not a homogeneous, but a composite document. In compiling the account of the western countries Li Yen-shou, the author of the *Pei-shih*, took from other works what seemed to him worth taking, drawing indiscriminately from old and new sources, and tacked them together with the roughest of editing.[40]

The section on Su-tê consists of three clearly distinguishable parts. It begins with a brief description of the country (1 a–f), followed by an historic account (2), and ends with a notice about an embassy to the court of the Northern Chou in A.D. 546 (3).

Part 2 has been rather clumsily inserted between 1 and 3. The words *hsien shih*, 'before this, previously', with which it begins refer to later events of which, however, the text contains nothing.

Li Yen-shou's source cannot have been the original *Wei-shu*. In part 2 we read that no envoy arrived after the beginning of the period Wên-ch'êng (A.D. 452–466), whereas in the genuine parts of the *Wei-shu* three more embassies from Su-tê after the year A.D. 457[41] are enumerated, viz., in the years A.D. 475, 477, and 479.[42]

The *Pei-shih* (B) was published *ca.* A.D. 644, the *Chou-shu* (C) about eight years earlier. Li Yen-shou could thus have found the notice about the embassy to the court of the Chou (B 3) in the *Chou-shu*. But it is also possible that B (1 and 3) and C (1 and 3) go back to a common source. It could not be the original *Wei-shu* in which embassies to the Chou would, of course, not have been mentioned.

The slight difference between B1 and C1 is of considerable importance. In the *Pei-shih* (B 1c) the identity of Su-tê with Yen-ts'ai and Wên-na-sha is stated as a fact; the *Chou-shu* (C 1b) only says "presumably". This "presumably", *kai*, is omitted in B, and not added in C. In *Chou-shu*

[39] Cf. E. Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-kiue occidentaux* (St. Petersburg, 1903), pp. 99–100; J. R. Ware, "Notes on the history of the Wei shu," in *J. Amer. Or. Soc.*, 1932, p. 45.

[40] Cf. Haloun, *op. cit.*, p. 266, note 1.

[41] *Wei-shu*, 5,6b.

[42] *Wei-shu*, 7A, 8a, 14a, 17b. About earlier histories utilized by Wei Shou see Ware, *op. cit.*, p. 37; Chou Yi-Liang, "Wei Shou chih shih-hsüeh," in *Yenching Journal of Chinese Studies* 1935, No. 18, pp. 112–146.

59,6a; 59,8a; 60,1a identifications are introduced with *kai*; they are *verbatim* reproduced in *Pei-shih* 96,10b; 96,13b; 99,1a, *including* the word *kai*. We may, therefore, regard the *Chou-shu* text (C) as the better one.

Our analysis of the *Wei-shu* text, the basis for the identification of the Hsiung-nu and Huns, has so far led us to the following conclusions:

1. The *Wei-shu* text, as we have it, is copied from the *Pei-shih*;
2. B2 and C2 (or C2 > B2) are taken from a source written before A.D. 475;
3. Either the author of the *Chou-shu* or his source *surmised* that Su-tê was the same as Yen-ts'ai of old times.

Now Kurakichi Shiratori has proved beyond any doubt that Su-tê and Yen-ts'ai were *not* identical.[43] The two countries are provided with separate descriptions in *Hou-Han-shu*, ch. 88 (fifth century, but based on reports of the first and second centuries A.D.). K'an Yin says in his *Shih-san-chou-chih* (written *ca.* A.D. 430)[44] that Yen-ts'ai and Su-tê had each of them their own rulers.[45] Born in the frontier-town of Tun-huang, deeply interested in geography, K'an Yin had in Ku-tsang, at the court of the Pei Liang,[46] ample opportunity to gather information about the western countries. Merchants from everywhere came together in the city which was situated on one of the main routes to the Tarim basin. We have learned that in the autumn of A.D. 439 when it fell after a short siege to the Wei,[47] merchants from Su-tê were there. To its numerous monasteries flocked monks from all parts of the Buddhist world. At the end of the 4th century the famous Kumārajīva lived there. He and his disciples translated there many texts into Chinese. K'an Yin was thus in an incomparably better position to know the West than the cabinet scholars in the capital.

When we now return to B1 and C1 we see clearly that 1e was simply taken from the *Han-shu* account of Yen-ts'ai and inserted because of the assumed identity. After the elimination of the sentences referring to Yen-ts'ai (1 b,c,e) the text of the *Chou-shu* runs as follows:

"The country of Su-tê is situated west of the Ts'ung-ling. Its other name is Wên-na-sha. In the 4th year of Pao-ting its king sent an envoy with a tribute of native products."

The text of the *Pei-shih* (B) is a *contaminatio* of earlier sources and glosses. We can distinguish:

1a: *Chou-shu* (or its source)
1 (b and) c: gloss in the *Chou-shu*

[43] *Op. cit.*, pp. 99–100.
[44] Cf. Haloun, *op. cit.*, pp. 275–276.
[45] Ed. *Kuan-chung ts'ung-shu*, 5b.
[46] Cf. Haloun, *op. cit.*, p. 276, note 2.
[47] O. Franke, *Geschichte des Chinesischen Reiches*, II (Berlin, 1936) pp. 197–198.

1d: *Chou-shu*
1e: *Han-shu* ch.96
1f: gloss by Li Yen-shou
2: an account of Su-tê, written before A.D. 475
3: *Chou-shu*.

Su-tê,[48] ancient pronunciation sịwok-d'ək<sịuk-d'ək is soγdak, Sogdiana,[49] known to the Chinese as a fertile, densily populated country, famous for its excellent wine.[50] The Yen-ts'ai lived 400 and more miles away from it, northwest of K'ang-chü which is not Sogdiana, but the territory of the Chu, Talas, and the middle Sir Darya.[51] They were nomads[52] and hunters.

The *Wei-lüe* (*ca.* A.D. 260) still clearly distinguished between Sogdiana [53] and Yen-ts'ai.[54] The two countries have been already identified by the beginning of the 5th century. K'an Yin's remark was obviously directed against that identification. Later we find it tentatively established in the *Chou-shu* (or its source) and the *Pei-shih*, accepted as a fact in the *Kua-ti-chih*[55] and Tu Yu's *T'ung-tien*.[56,57]

Shiratori thought that it was perhaps the phonetic resemblance of Wên-na-sha, the other name of Su-tê, to Yen-ts'ai "that tempted the pen which described Suk-dok (i.e., Su-tê) to arbitrarily connect it with the older country." But that is more than improbable. Wên-na-sha was ancient ·uən-nâ-ṣa, while Yen-ts'ai was ·ịām-ts'ât.[58]

If it were the Hephthalites who conquered Su-tê, as Shiratori assumed, we would easily understand why the Chinese transferred the name of Yen-ts'ai to them. The Hephthalites appear in the Chinese sources as ·ịāp-t'ât, ·ịəp-t'ât, or ·ịəp-tât.[59] Some of the characters used to transcribe the

[48] In the later Han period: Su-yi<siwok- jək<*sịuk-dịək.

[49] Shiratori, *op. cit.*, pp. 94–100; P. Pelliot, *Le nom du χwārizm dans les textes Chinois*, in *T'oung-pao*, 1938, p. 148, note 1.

[50] *Hou-Han-shu*, ch. 88; *T'ung-tien*, ch. 193, ed. *Wan-yu-wen-k'u*, p. 1043.

[51] Cf. Haloun, *op. cit.*, p. 252, note 3.

[52] *Han-shu* ch. 96.

[53] Shu-yao<žịwok-ịāu (<*dịog).

[54] Cf. Shiratori, *op. cit.*, pp. 99–100.

[55] 7th century.

[56] *Sub voce* Yen-ts'ai. In the commentary there our passage B 2 is quoted as a passage from a *Hou-Wei-shih*. Hirth, *Wolgahunnen*, p. 254, failed to distinguish between text and commentary. The text alone is quoted *T'ai-p'ing-yü-lan* 993, 10 a/b.

[57] Modern Chinese scholars identified the Su-tê with the Goths (*sic*). Cf. Hung Chün, *Yüan shih yi wen chêng pu*, 27A, 6b–8b; Ting Ch'ien, *Wei shu ko wai kuo chuan*, II, 12a (*P'êng lai hsüan ti li hsüeh ts'ung shu*); Wang Hsien-Ch'ien in his commentary *Hou-Han-shu* 88, 16b–19b.

[58] Or -sât, cf. *Hung Chün*, op. cit. 6a.

first syllable have an alternative reading yen <·jäm.[60] It was, in my opinion, the resemblance of ·jäm-t'ât (Hephthalites) to ·jäm-ts'ât (Yen-ts'ai) that led to the equation Su-tê = Yen-ts'ai and its consequences. Wên-na-sha is in all probability *Huna-sha, the Kings of the Hūṇa (Sanskrit Hūṇa, Sitahūṇa, Śvetahūṇa).[61]

The date of the conquest of Sogdiana by the Hephthalites cannot even approximately be established.[62] If Hu-yi was the king who sent an envoy in A.D. 457 which, however, is not quite certain, his grandfather could have conquered the country at any time between *ca.* A.D. 370 and 435, or even later. The phrase 'in the third generation' is by far too vague to base on it any chronological reconstruction. Between the beginning of the reign of a ruler and the end of his grandson's more than 80 years may have elapsed; as little as 13 years may separate the end of the grandfather's reign and the beginning of the grandson's.[63]

There is no need to comment at length on the diplomatic relations between Su-tê and the Wei in the later half of the 5th century. After the annexation of Pei Liang the route to the countries west of the Pamirs was still blocked for a number of years. The princes Wu-hui and An-chou, supported by the Jou-juan, held out in the northern Tarim basin. The Wei conquered Shan-shan in 445, Yen-ch'i in 448, I-wu in 456. It was not before the middle of the seventies that embassies from Su-tê came again to the Wei court.

To summarize: Su-tê of the *Chou-shu* (> *Pei-shih* > *Wei-shu*) is the Zaraf-shān-valley; its conquerors were probably Hephthalites.

II

"The people of the Huns dwelled beyond the Maiotic Sea near the ice-bound ocean." That is all Ammianus Marcellinus knew about their original home. The Goths, he adds, had never heard of them before; they were to the Germanic tribes in South Russia "invisitatum antehac hominum genus," arisen from a hidden nook of the earth, *ex abdito sinu coortum*

[59] Sung Yün: ye-t'a<·jäp-t'ât; *T'ang-shu:* yi-t'a<·jəp-t'ât; *Suei-shu*: yi-ta <·jəp-tât.

[60] The first character in Yen-ti-yi-li-t'o = Ἐφθαλάνος (*Liang-shu*) has the readings ye<·jäp; yen< ăm; yen<·jäm. In the phonetic series Karlgren, *Grammata Serica* No. 616, yen and ye interchange.

[61] J. Marquart's reconstruction 'hunastan ("*Die nichtslawischen Ausdrücke in der bulgarischen Fürstenliste,*" *T'oung-pao*, 1911, p. 661) is not acceptable. Shiratori explained Wên-na-sha as Wên (proper name)—na ('nine', Iran. *na*)—shah ('kings').

[62] Cf. Menanders, *Exc. de legat.*, p. 450: *οἱ Σογδαῖται οἱ πρὸ τοῦ μὲν Ἐφθαλιτῶν κατήκοοι* (since when?).

[63] E.g., from the death of the Hsiung-nu ruler Wu-huan to the end of the reign of P'o-p'o, his grandson: 84 years; from T'o-pa Kuei to T'ai-wu Ti 66, resp. 14 years; from T'ai-wu Ti to Hsien-wen Ti 48, resp. 13 years.

(XXXI, 3,8). Eunapius of Sardis, Ammianus' contemporary, says that "no one has told anything plainly of whence the Huns came and by which way they invaded the whole of Europe."[64]

From the unsatisfactory information of the earliest writers about the original history of the Huns it has been concluded that the invaders must have come from far away. For, it is argued, they could not have escaped the attention of the geographers and ethnographers if they had lived in the known oecumene.

The *argumentum ex silentio* will not do for two reasons. First, we know by now that the Magyars lived for three hundred years practically unnoticed by the Byzantines in the region of the Dnieper, Bug, Dniester, Pruth, and Sereth before they swept over Central Europe very much like the Huns.[65] Secondly, the Huns *were* known long before A.D. 370.

Ammianus speaks of the *monumenta vetera* to which the people of the Huns was *leviter nota*. The only passage in the extant literature before Ammianus in which the Huns occur is Ptolemy III, 5, 10.[66] It has been suggested that Ammianus refers to a map, the same on which Ptolemy presumably found the name.[67] This is certainly possible. But on the other hand we know that Ptolemy also made use of other than literary sources. All we can say is that Huns already lived somewhere in the Pontic region before the middle of the 2nd century, probably between Bug and Dniester.[68] Although there are no data whatsoever to indicate that those Pontic Χοῦνοι came there from the east, they, too, have been declared as Hsiung-nu. They are supposed to have migrated from Central Asia to

[64] Cf. A. A. Vasiliev, *The Goths in the Crimea* (Cambridge, Mass., 1936), pp. 24–25.

[65] Cf. H. Grégoire, "L'habitat 'primitif' des Magyars," *Byzantion* XIII (1938), 267.

[66] μεταξὺ δὲ Βαστερνῶν καὶ Ῥωξολανῶν Χοῦνοι (*v.l.* Χουνοί). As the Φρῦνοι (Φαῦνοι) Strab., XI, 11, 1 have been repeatedly identified with the Hsiung-nu and the Huns (J. Charpentier, "Die ethnographische Stellung der Tocharer," *Zeitschr. d. Deutschen Morgenländ. Ges.*, 1917, pp. 354–455, with bibliography) it may be well to quote W. W. Tarn, *The Greeks in Bactria and India* (Cambridge, 1938), pp. 84–85: "Who the Phryni or Phuni were cannot be said; most certainly they were not the Hiung-nu, whose power was not extended into Chinese Turkestan till after 174 B.C. The Ch'ien han-shu gives the names, in the first century B.C., of a great number of peoples and states in Chinese Turkestan, none of which seems to represent Phryni; but before they had more exact knowledge the Chinese had lumped together the peoples of the Tarim country on their western border under the general name of K'iang, and in the same way Phryni may be a general term for the peoples of the Kashgar-Yarkand or the Khotan country." J. Marquart thought the names Φαῦνοι and Φαῦροι may represent Bhauṭṭa or Bhuṭa = Tibetans, cf. "Ueber das Volkstum der Komanen," *Abh. Ges. Wiss. Göttingen, Phil.-hist. Kl., N.F., Bd. XIII, N.1* (1914), 64–65. I do not think it necessary to refute the equation Γρυναῖοι (Ptolemy VI, 13,3), Chrinni (Jordanes, *Getica*, ed. Mommsen, p. 65) as suggested by Charpentier, *op. cit.*, p. 355.

[67] Kiessling, *op. cit.*, 2591–2592.

[68] See the map Teggart, *op. cit.* p. 172.

South Russia after the fall of the Hsiung-nu power in K'ang-chü in B.C. 36.[69]

The 'mighty empire' of the Hsiung-nu ruler Chih-chih whom even De Groot called "den zur Zeit mächtigsten Potentaten Mittelasiens"[70] is a myth. After it has recently been exploded by Professor Teggart[71] I can limit myself to a few remarks.

In 43 B.C. the king of K'ang-chü enlisted the services of Chih-chih, then in Chien-k'un, the Kirghiz country north and south of the Sayans. Chih-chih came to K'ang-chü with only 3000 men, but the warlike *hospites* made themselves soon masters over their hosts. They terrorized the K'ang-chü, sent plundering expeditions to the neighboring countries, among which was also Ho-su (= Yen-ts'ai), and Chih-chih built for himself a fortress on the river Tu-lai.[72] In 36 B.C. the Chinese put an end to the Hsiung-nu in K'ang-chü. They took Chich-chih's stronghold, executed him and more than half of his people, carried off a number of prisoners and distributed the rest among the local lords who had assisted them.[73]

The ephemeral Hsiung-nu power (it had existed for barely seven years) disappeared without leaving any traces. Ptolemy's Χοῦνοι have with Chih-chih's Hsiung-nu only one thing in common, namely the initial guttural in their name.

C. Ethnographic evidence

The main source for the ethnography of the Huns is Book XXXI of the *Res gestae* of Ammianus Marcellinus. He had at his disposal the scanty information given by ancient writers (see above) and what people who had participated in the various campaigns against the Huns told him. Ammianus himself had very probably never seen a Hun. His informants, more interested in killing barbarians than studying them, sometimes grossly misinterpreted Hunnish customs. When they, e.g., observed Huns putting raw flesh under the saddle, they explained what was strange to them by assuming that those savages warmed the meat in this way. Actually the Huns, like many equestrian nomads, used raw flesh for preventing and healing wounds caused by the pressure of the saddle.[74] The shoes of the Huns were certainly 'formed upon no lasts', 'calcei formulis nullis aptati.' But it was not the bad shoes which prevented 'their walking with free

[69] Hirth, *Hunnenforschungen*, p. 85; Kiessling, *op. cit.*, 2592.

[70] J. J. M. De Groot, *Die Hunnen der vorchristlichen Zeit* (Berlin, 1921), p. 229.

[71] *Op. cit.*, p. 153.

[72] = the Talas river, cf. Wang Kuo-Wei, *Kuan t'ang pieh chi, pu yi* 10–11.

[73] Cf. J. J. L. Duyvendak, "An illustrated battle-account in the History of the Former Han Dynasty," *T'oung-pao*, 1939, pp. 249–264.

[74] Cf. A. Solymossy, "La légende de la 'viande amortie sous la selle,'" *Nouvelle Revue de Hongrie*, August 1937, pp. 134–140.

steps', as Ammianus says.[75] All nomads who spend a great part of their life on horseback waddle when they dismount and walk.

In his description of the Huns Ammianus adhered to the traditional picture of the Scythians and northern barbarians in general. He transferred to them not only the stock epithets;[76] he took also the primitive traits which the Stoics found ennobling, and used them as evidence of Hunnish savagery.[77] If we subtract all that and those features which the Huns necessarily shared with all the nomads of the Eurasian steppes,[78] only a very small number of characteristics that may be regarded as specifically Hunnish are left.

The description of the Huns in Claudian's *In Rufinum*, I, 323-331[79] is largely based on Ammianus' discourse, and served, in its turn, as a model for the stilted verses in Sidonius Apollinaris' *Panegyric on Anthemius*, 243–269.[80]

[75] Cf. St. Jerome's letter to Heliodorus (written A.D. 396) on the Huns: "Romanus exercitus, victor orbis et dominus, ab his vincitur, hos pavet, horum terretur aspectu, qui ingredi non valent, qui, si terram tetingerint, se mortuos arbitrantur" (*Select letters of St. Jerome, Loeb Class. Libr.*, p. 304). Suidas, s.v. *ἀκροσφαλεῖς*, quotes from an unknown author: *δ δὲ ἐκέλευσε χωρεῖν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄποδας καὶ ἀκροσφαλεῖς Οὔννους· ἄνευ γὰρ ἵππων οὐ ῥᾳδίως ἂν Οὖννος τὴν γῆν πατήσειεν.*

[76] The Huns are, e.g., "totum furori incitatissimo tribuentes" like the Scythians, "gentes iracundissimae" (Seneca, *De ira*, II, 15). Already Plato blamed them for their *θυμοειδές* (*Rep.* IV, 435). Cf. E. Norden, *Die germanische Urgeschichte in Tacitus Germania* (Berlin, 1922), pp. 110–115.

It seems that in describing the Huns Ammianus largely used Trogus Pompeius' description of the Scythians.

Ammianus: "Nemo apud eos arat. Omnes sine sedibus fixis, absque lare vel lege aut victu stabili dispalantur, semper fugientium similes . . . vagi montes peragrantes et silvas. Indumentis operiuntur . . . ex pellibus silvestrium murum consarcinatis."

Trogus Pompeius: "Neque enim agrum exercent. Neque domus illis ulla aut tectum aut sedes est . . . per incultas solitudines errare solitis. Pellibus ferinis ac murinis utuntur (in Justin, *Hist. Phil. epit.*, II,11).

Like the Alemanni who avoid cities as if they were tombs ("ipsa oppida ut circumdata retiis busta declinant," Amm. Marc. XVI, 2,12) the Huns avoid buildings like tombs ("velut ab usu communi discreta sepulcra declinant").

[77] In Julian's time the romantic notion of Scythian nobility and simplicity had almost completely faded. Ammianus spoke contemptuously of the Huns who "peregre tecta, nisi adigente maxima necessitate, non subeunt: nec enim se tutos existimant esse sub tectis morantes," while Seneca praised "secundum naturam domus, in qua libebat habitare nec ipsam nec pro ipsa timentem" (*Epist. mor.*, XC, 34).

[78] The Huns lived in wagons like so many *φερέοικοι* of the South Russian steppe, cf. E. Sadée, "Frühgermanische Wagenzüge und Wagenburgen," *Festschrift für August Oxé (1938)*, pp. 169–174. Ammianus cannot avoid to use almost the same words in describing the Alans he had used a few pages before for the description of the Huns, e.g., "nec enim apud eos vel arundine fastigatum reperiri tugurium potest" (Huns); "ne tugurium quidem culmo tectum cerni usquam potest" (Alans).

[79] Written early in 396. I use the text in Harry L. Levy, *The Invective in Rufinum of Claudius Claudianus* (Geneva, N. Y., 1935).

[80] Recited to the Senate on January 1,468. I use the text as established by W. B. Anderson, *Sidonius, Poems and Letters, Loeb Classical Library*.

In the following those features which to a certain degree of probability may be ascribed to the Huns will be confronted with what we know of the Hsiung-nu.

I

a. The Huns had no beards

"Since the cheeks of the children are deeply furrowed with the steel from their very birth,[81] in order that the growth of hair, when it appears at the proper time, may be checked by the wrinkled scars, they grow old without beards and without any beauty, like eunuchs" (Ammianus XXXI, 2, 2).[82]

Jordanes, *Getica*, 127, says that the Huns cut the cheeks of the males "so that before they receive nourishment of milk they must learn to endure wounds," which is obviously nonsense.

Whether beardlessness was the aim or the by-product of scarification[83] is immaterial. The fact that the Huns had no beards is not only attested to by literary sources; the Hun, perhaps Attila himself, on the gold solidi struck by Valentinian III and Marcian is also beardless.[84]

From Jordanes' description of the Huns, and especially of Attila, it has been concluded that they were Mongoloids. While Ammianus speaks about their ugliness in general terms, Jordanes says that the Huns had "a sort of shapeless lump, not a head, with pin-holes rather than eyes . . . they were short of stature . . . broad-shouldered . . . with firm-set necks." Attila was "short of stature, with a broad chest and large head, small eyes, a flat nose and a swarthy complexion."

Small eyes are not oblique eyes, and the other features are too indefinite to permit any conclusion as to the race of the Huns. Jordanes' description would e.g., fit the Ostyaks quite well. However, the hairiness (the Huns protected their hairy legs, *hirsuta crura*, with goatskins [Ammianus, XXXI, 2, 6]) sets the Huns definitely apart from the Mongoloids who have very little hair on the body and whose beard is but poorly developed.[85]

b. The Hsiung-nu were fully bearded

In A.D. 349 Shih Min, a Chinese, became king of Chao, a country in northern Honan, which until then had been under Hsiung-nu rule. He ordered the extermination of all Hsiung-nu. In and around Ye, the present

[81] "Frontem secari ludus" (Claudian, 327); "ita vultibus ipsis infantum suus horror inest" (Sidonius, 245–246).

[82] I follow the translation by J. C. Rolfe, *Loeb Class. Libr.*

[83] Cf. Sidonius Apollinaris, Panegyric on Avitus, 238–240: "vulnere vel si quis plangit cui flesse feriri est/ac ferro perarasse genas vultuque minaci/rubra cicatricum vestigia defodisse" (refers possibly to the Huns).

[84] See E. Babelon, "Attila dans la numismatique," *Revue numismatique*, 1914, pp. 300–314, fig. 5.

[85] Cf. L. D. Buxton, *The peoples of Asia* (London, 1925), p. 60.

Chang-tê, more than 200,000 men, women, and children were slain. The Hsiung-nu soldiers were recognized by their "high noses[86] and full beards."[87]

The date at which the stone figures at the tomb of the famous Ho Ch'ü-ping[88] were executed cannot be established with absolute certainty. Their style dates them in the Eastern Han period at the latest.[89] The barbarian whom Ho Ch'ü-ping's horse tramples under its hoofs is one of the Hsiung-nu over whom the general had gained so many brilliant victories. He is clad in short trousers and sleeveless tunic, his arms and legs apparently bare. His face "has nothing of the Mongoloid in it, unless it be the somewhat high cheek-bones."[90]

The Hsiung-nu has a mustache and a full beard.[91]

II

Hunnish and Hsiung-nu hairdress

The Hsiung-nu wore their hair in queues like the Su-shên, Mo-ho, Nü-chên, and many other peoples of Northern Asia.[92]

When envoys of the Avars came to Constantinople for the first time, everybody wanted to have a look at them, for "such a people had never been seen before." They had long, thick queues, interwoven with ribbons.[93] Corippus called them "colubrimodis Avarum gens dura capillis;[94] John of Ephesus spoke of the "cursed tribes with the plaited hair who are called Avars."[95] The young Avar on a bronze, found at Egyházas-kér, Hungary,[96] wears the long queue described by Theophanes.

[86] Attila had a flat nose (Jordanes).

[87] *Chin-shu*, 107,8a. Marco Polo's relation of a Chinese conspiracy under the Mongols offers an interesting parallel. (The conspirators) "sent word to their friends that they had determined to massacre all the men with beards. The reason why they spoke of massacring the bearded men was that the Cathayans (i.e. Chinese) naturally have no beards, whilst beards are worn by the Tartars, Saracens and Christians" (book 2, ch.23).

[88] Died in 117 B.C.

[89] Cf. J. C. Ferguson, "Tomb of Ho Ch'ü-ping" in *Artibus Asiae*, 1928–29, No. 4, pp. 228–232.

[90] C. W. Bishop, "Notes on the tomb of Ho Ch'ü-ping," *ibid.*, No. I, p. 37.

[91] See the close view in Bishop, *op. cit.*, fig. 1.

[92] Kurakichi Shiratori, "The Queue among the Peoples of North Asia," *Memoirs of the Research Dept. of the Toyo Bunko*, No. 4 (Tokyo, 1929), pp. 1–69. In tomb 6 at Noin Ula no less than fifty queues were found.

[93] πᾶσα ἡ πόλις συνέτρεχεν εἰς τὴν θέαν αὐτῶν ὡς μηδέποτε ἑωρακότες τοιοῦτον ἔθνος· εἶχον γὰρ τὰς κόμας ὄπισθεν μακρὰς πάνυ, δεδεμένας πραν δίοις, καὶ πεπλεγμένας· ἡ δὲ λοιπὴ φορεσία αὐτῶν ὁμοία τῶν λοιπῶν Οὔννων (Theophanes, ed. De Boor, p. 232).

[94] Ed. Bonn, p. 136.

[95] Cited in J. Marquart, *Osteuropäische und ostasiatische Streifzüge* (Leipzig, 1903), p. 43, note 4.

[96] See A. Alföldi, *"Zur historischen Bestimmung der Avaren-Funde," Eurasia Septentrionalis Antiqua*, IX (1934), 291, fig. 2.

The chronicler emphasized that it was the strange hairdress that impressed the Greek so much, for otherwise "they were like the other Huns." As the Byzantines had ample opportunity to see Huns, it seems obvious that the Huns could not have worn queues.

This is corroborated by Priscus. The renegade Greek man-of-business whom the historian first presumed, from his Hunnish dress, to be a native, had his hair "neatly clipped all round his head", ἀποκειράμενος τὴν κεφαλὴν περιτρόχαλα, in contrast to the "unkempt heads" of his less fortunate compatriots.[97]

Procopius gives an interesting description of the Hunnish hair-dress in a passage where one would hardly expect it. In ch. 7, 10 of the *Secret History*, speaking about the Blue and the Green, he says: "The hair of their heads they cut off in front back to the temples, leaving the part behind to hang down to a very great length in a senseless fashion, just as the Massagetae do. Indeed for this reason they used to call this the Hunnic fashion," διὸ δὴ καὶ Οὐννικὸν τὸ τοιοῦτον εἶδος ἐκάλουν.

III

Killing the aged

Claudian, *op. cit.*, v. 328 says the Huns hold it "a righteous act to swear by their murdered parents," "occisos pulchrum iurare parentes." That would be valuable information if Claudian could only be trusted. In the list of barbarians who invaded the Balkans, *op. cit.*, 308–311, besides Getae (i.e., Goths) and Alans also Massagetae and Geloni occur. The Massagetae still "cruelly wound their horses that they may drink their blood", and the Geloni still "paint their limbs", as they did in Virgil's and Seneca's time.[98]

Claudian may have transferred on the Huns what since the earliest days of Hellenic ethnography has been a stock accusation of many eastern barbarians.[99] Gesander, prince of the Iazyges, even swore by his father whom he had killed, obeying the custom of his people.[100]

It is also possible that Claudian attributed to the Huns what was true for their Germanic allies and subjects. The Heruli killed the aged, *teste* Procopius.[101] The same was said of the Goths.[102]

[97] *Exc. de legat.* ed. De Boor, p. 135.

[98] Virgil, *Georg.* II, 115; III, 463. Seneca, *Oedipus* 470.

[99] Cf. J. Koty, *Die Behandlung der Alten und Kranken bei den Naturvölkern* (Stuttgart, 1934), pp. 175–178.

[100] Valerius Flaccus, *Argonautica*, VI, 123–128, 288–291.

[101] *Bell. Goth.*, II, 14, 2–4. Cf. F. Paudler, Alten- und Krankentötung als Sitte bei den indogermanischen Völkern, *Wörter und Sachen*, Bd. XVII, Sonderabdruck, p. 5.

[102] Γότθοι πατέρας ἀπέκτειναν. In a homily Εἰς τὴν πεντεκοστήν, dating from the beginning of the fifth century (Migne, *P.G.*, LII, 803). Cf. E. Mayer, "Zur Altentötung," *Anzeiger für deutsches Altertum*, XXXVIII (1918), 181–182.

If, however, Claudian was correctly informed the Huns would have been different from the Hsiung-nu in this respect too. The Chinese historians could not have failed to mention a custom, so utterly abhorrent to them, if their hereditary enemies had practised it. But they never accused the Hsiung-nu or, for that matter, any of their northern or eastern neighbors of killing the aged.[103] In *Shih-chi* ch.110 a remarkable conversation between the Chinese Chung-hang Yüe, who had deserted to the Hsiung-nu, and a Chinese envoy is reported.[104] The envoy accused the Hsiung-nu of treating their parents not respectfully enough. Chung-hang Yüe answered that in time of war the old people renounce good and fat food voluntarily so that the warriors get what they need. Ssŭ-ma Ch'ien, the author of the *Shih-chi*, has nothing to add.

IV

Cranial deformation

The Huns who under Hormidac invaded Dacia had deformed heads. Sidonius, op. cit., 246–247 says: Consurgit in artum massa rotunda caput, and, *ib.* 253–257: "tum, ne per malas excrescat fistula duplex, obtundit teneras circumdata fascia nares, ut galeis cedant: sic propter proelia natos maternus deformat amor, quia tensa genarum non interiecto fit latior area naso."

There exists no evidence that the Hsiung-nu ever practised cranial deformation.

The custom of head-flattening was widespread over the Eurasian steppes, from South Russia (Hippocates, *De aere*, 14) to Kuchā (Hsüan Tsang, transl. Beal, I, 19). It occurred among Europeids[105] and Mongoloids.[106]

In the Hunnish horde were almost certainly Sarmatians among whom the custom of head deformation was common, and possibly also Germanic warriors. Germanic tribes took over the practice of head-flattening from the Sarmatians.[107]

D. Archaeological evidence

"In this most famous war of the bravest tribes (i.e., the battle of the *locus Mauriacus*), one hundred and sixty five thousand are said to have

[103] See Ma Ch'ang-Shou, "Chung-kuo ku-tsai hua-chia shen-ts'ang chih ch'i-yüan yü tsai hsien," in *Min-tsu-hsüeh yen-chiu chi-k'an*, No. 1 (1937), pp. 270–272.

[104] De Groot, *Hunnen*, p. 81.

[105] E.g., the Kushānas, see the well-known coins of Kujula Kadphises, and the representations on the stamped tiles found at Harwan in Kashmir, Chandra Kak, *Ancient Monuments of Kashmir*, pl. 20, 22, 23.

[106] E.g., tombs on the Kenkol, Kirghizia, see *Amer. J. of. Archaeology*, 1943, p. 246.

[107] Cf. A. Schliz, "Künstlich deformierte Schädel in germanischen Reihengräbern," *Archiv f. Anthropologie*, N.F. 3 (1905), pp. 191–214; Fr. Holter, "Das Gräberfeld bei Obermöllern," *Jahresschrift f. Vorgeschichte der sächsisch-thüring. Länder*, XII, 1 (1925).

been slain on both sides" (Jordanes, *Getica*, 219). The figure is, of course, absolutely untrustworthy. It has to be reduced to a fraction, a fifth or even less.

As a considerable part of the Hunnish army consisted of Attila's Germanic and Alanic subjects, the number of the king's own Huns killed cannot have amounted to more than ten thousand. Already in the next year Attila could set forth with another large army. When we consider the long frontiers of the loosely knit empire which had to be guarded while the mobile army was in Italy, the total number of the Hunnish warriors must have been somewhere in the neighborhood of twenty thousand. It may have been greater, perhaps thirty thousand, but it is unlikely that it was smaller.

The Hunnish army probably numbered, like the armies of the Germanic nations,[108] a quarter or a fifth of the population. We may thus conjecture that the whole nation numbered around hundred thousand. But even if they were only fifty thousand which, however, is hardly admissible in view of the fact that the subjugated peoples were themselves warlike and would not have obeyed their masters if the latter had been numerically too weak, even then their archeological vestiges should be traceable. This should be true especially for Hungary which the Huns held occupied for about eighty years and where Attila had his residence.

It is all the more surprising that so few Hunnish objects have been found there. For a while it was thought that the Keszthely culture was that of the Huns. But Andreas Alföldi could prove that it represents the civilization of the Avars.[109]

It is, first of all, the great similarity of the Hunnish civilization to that of the Sarmatians which makes it so difficult to single out the specifically Hunnish elements from the material found in the tombs of the late 4th and the first half of the fifth century. By the end of the 4th century the Alans were "Hunis per omnia suppares, verum victu mitiores et cultu" (Ammianus Marcellinus). The longer the Huns lived together with them, the deeper the influence of the related civilization penetrated the whole fabric of Hunnish society. At the time of Attila the Hunnish aristocrats had already adopted so much from their Germanic and Sarmatian subjects that it is almost impossible to recognize the native elements in the syncretic civilization at the royal court as Priscus described it.[110]

After a careful survey of the archaeological material Alföldi came to the conclusion that there are not more than four groups of objects that can be regarded as exclusively Hunnish.[111]

[108] Cf. J. B. Bury, *The Invasion of Europe by the Barbarians* (London, 1928), p. 42.

[109] *Der Untergang der Römerherrschaft in Pannonien*, Bd. 2 (Berlin, 1926), pp. 2–17.

[110] Cf. F. Vámos, "Attilas Hauptlager und Holzpaläste," *Annales de l'Institut Kondakov*, V, 131–148.

[111] "Funde aus der Hunnenzeit und ihre ethnische Sonderung," *Archaeologia Hungarica*, IX (Budapest, 1932).

There is first the compound bow the ears of which were stiffened and reinforced by pairs of long bone pieces.[112] However, since 1932 many more bone strips and bows similar to those of the supposedly Hunnish tombs in the Volga region and Lower Austria[113] have been found. They are distributed across central Europe from the British isles to the Mongolian steppes in contexts which date them from the 2nd to the 6th century.[114] It is now conceded that the type was not exclusively Hunnish even in the fifth century.[115]

Whatever the cultural circle and the period in which this bow was invented may be,[116] there is no reason to assume that the Huns inherited it from the Hsiung-nu. F. E. Brown thinks it has been developed by Medic and Persian tribes on the Oxus.[117]

Gold leaves with scale-patterns, the second Hunnish element,[118] are common to Hungary and the 'Hunnish' tombs in the Volga region. The fact is of great importance for the analysis of the complex civilization of the Danube-Theiss plain in the migration period. But as so far nothing similar has been found in the Hsiung-nu territory, those gold leaves rather set the Huns apart from the Hsiung-nu than connect them.

Another group of plaques, Alföldi's third group,[119] are poor imitations of South Russian metal work. They, too, have no bearing on the Hsiung-nu-Hunnish problem.

There remain the bronze cauldrons.[120] The bell-shaped body, divided by sharp raised lines into four compartments, rests on a low stand. The two square lugs start vertically from the rim of the vessel.

Within the group of cast bronze cauldrons that show those features several sub-groups can be distinguished. There is, first the Danubian

[112] *Ibid.* pp. 18–24.

[113] E. Benninger "Der westgotisch-alanische Zug nach Mitteleuropa," (*Mannus Bibliothek* 51, pp. 76 ff.) and E. Polaschek (*Wiener Prähistor. Zeitschr.*, 1932, pp. 239 ff.) consider the finds of Vienna-Simmering and Carnuntum as typically Alanic.

[114] Cf. F. A. Brown, *A recently discovered compound bow* in *Annales de l'Institut Kondakov*, IX (1937), p. 5.

[115] J. Werner in *Germania*, 1934, p. 237.

[116] Recent finds: 1. Han period: Noin Ula; Ilmovo near Troitskosavsk; Nizhne-Ivolginsk on the Selenga (G. P. Sosnovski in *Problemy istorii dokapitalističeskich obščestv*, 1934, No. 7–8, pp. 150–156); Qum-darya in the Lop-nor desert (F. Bergman, *Archaeological Researches in Sinkiang* (Stockholm, 1939), pp. 121–124; fortress on the lower Edsen-gol river, Inner Mongolia (*ibid.*, p. 123); Yar-Khoto west of Turfan (Huang Wen-Pi, *Kao-ch'ang t'ao chi* (Peiping, 1933), vol. II, pl. 2). Han or Post-Han period: Kenkol, near the headwaters of the Talas (*Antiquity*, 1940, pp. 416–417). Early Imperial time: Yrzi, North Mesopotamia (Brown, *op. cit.*); Mainz (K. Stade, "Beinplatten zur Bogenversteifung aus römischen Waffenplätzen," *Germania*, 1933, pp. 110–114).

[117] Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

[118] Alföldi, *op. cit.*, pp. 24–31.

[119] *Ibid.*, pp. 31–34.

[120] *Ibid.*, pp. 34–36.

sub-group, characterized by flat mushroom-like protuberances on the lugs and the rim. To the two vessels from Törtel[121] and Kaposvölgy,[122] known since many years, recently another fine specimen, found at Dessa on the left bank of the Danube in Little Wallachia,[123] has been added. The fragment from Bennisch (near Troppau, Silesia, Czechoslovakia)[124] belongs also to this sub-group.[125] Unfortunately none of those cauldrons was obtained by scientific excavations. As a similar, though much plainer vessel, found at Höckricht, Upper Silesia,[126] can by the context be dated in the migration period, it may be assumed that the Hungarian and Wallachian pieces belong to the same period.

The tombs in the Volga region which Alföldi believes to be Hunnish have as yet not yielded either an identical or even a similar bronze cauldron. Farther to the east and north, however, four vessels have been found which belong to our group. Those from Otoka (Simbirsk)[127] and Verkhnei Konets (Vologda)[128] constitute a separate subgroup; they share with the Danubian cauldrons the surface décor, but the lugs lack the protuberances. A cauldron in the museum of Perm[129] has certain elements of the surface décor in common with one found at Teletskoe (Biisk, Altai);[130] the lugs are different (those of the Altai vessel have three knobs), the body is broader and shorter than that of the Danubian group.

Already J. Hampel pointed out that the vessels of Törtel and Kaposvölgy are stylistically unconnected with the Hungarian finds of the early middle ages.[131] J. Reinecke,[132] B. Posta,[133] and M. Ebert[134] believed that they ultimately go back to classical prototypes. If so, they must have spread far to the east, for bronze cauldrons which are distantly related to the western groups occur among the Ordos finds. Their body has the same

[121] *Ibid.*, pl. XVIII, 2.

[122] *Ibid.*, pl. XVIII, 1.

[123] J. Nestor and C. S. Nicolaescu-Plopşor, "Hunnische Kessel aus der kleinen Wallachei," *Germania*, 1937, pp. 178–182, pl. 39, 3a, b.

[124] *Ibid.* fig. 1.

[125] Fragments (handles, part of the body) have been found in Dunapentele (Hungary) and Hotărani (Little Wallachia).

[126] Alföldi, *op. cit.*, pl. XIX, 9.

[127] "Inner Mongolia and the Region of the Great Wall," *Archaeologia Orientalis*, B Series, vol. I (Tokyo, 1935), fig. 107,2.

[128] *Ibid.* fig. 107,3.

[129] Alföldi, *op. cit.*, fig. 5.

[130] *Inner Mongolia*, fig. 107,1.

[131] *Altertümer des frühen Mittelalters in Ungarn* II (Braunschweig, 1905), p. 131, note.

[132] *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, 1896, pp. 12 ff.

[133] *Archaeologische Studien auf russischem Boden* (Budapest, 1905), pp. 523–524.

[134] "Ein skythischer Kessel aus Südrussland," in *Prahistor. Zeitschr.*, 1924, p. 454.

bell-shape, the square lugs also start from the rim, and the décor also consists of raised lines.[135]

This is not so surprising, for Scythian cauldrons found their way as far as Minusinsk,[136] where they appear already in the second phase of the Kurgan civilization.[137] On the other hand the square vertical lugs of the Ordos cauldrons may have been developed under the influence of Chinese vessels.[138]

It is generally believed that the Danubian cauldrons are Hunnish.[139] That may be so. The term 'Hunnish' is a little vague. The cauldrons may have been cast by the Huns in their western sites.[140] The Huns could as well have brought them with them from the east. We cannot exclude a third possibility, i.e., that those vessels were imported goods carried over large distances until they were finally buried hundreds or thousands of miles away from the place where they were cast. The cauldron of Otoka was certainly not cast there, and the Huns never lived in the forests of North Russia. The Chinese bronzes (Huai vessels) that were dug up at Cambridge and Rome,[141] the Chinese silks found in the Crimea and Palmyra,[142] the jade porte-épées[143] and the mirrors[144] excavated in South Russia do not testify to the presence of Chinese in the British isles, Syria, or on the shores of the Black Sea.

But let us assume that it was the Huns who cast the cauldrons of the Danubian sub-group. The type could not have developed in the Hsiung-nu territory. None of the hundreds of Ordos vessels we know of show anything even remotely comparable to the surface pattern of the Danubian cauldrons. The Ordos lugs are simple, whereas those of the specimen from the Altai, and especially those of the Danubian cauldrons are extremely elaborate.

To lump all bell-shaped cauldrons with square lugs together, call them 'asiatic', and equate 'asiatic' with 'Hsiung-nu' will not do. We are still far from knowing where and when the prototype originated, whether it spread from east to west or vice versa or from a centre, perhaps somewhere

[135] *Inner Mongolia*, pl. XXVI, 1; J. G. Anderson, "Hunting Magic in the Animal Style," *Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities* 4 (Stockholm, 1932), pl. XIX.

[136] G. V. Merhart, *Bronzezeit am Jenissei* (Vienna, 1926), p. 149.

[137] S. Teplukhov, Opyt klassifikatsii drevnich metalličeskich kul'tur Minusinskago kraja," *Materialy po etnografii*, IV, 1 (1927), pl. I, No. 79, 92.

[138] Cf. *Inner Mongolia*, pp. 183–184.

[139] Cf. Z. Takacs, "Chinesisch-hunnische Zusammenhänge," *Archaeologiai Értesitö* XLI (1927), 164–156, 319–324 (with bibliography).

[140] Cf. Nestor, *op. cit.* pp. 181–182.

[141] Cf. Bergman, *op. cit.* p. 165, note 1.

[142] Cf. my article *From China to Palmyra*, *The Art Bulletin*, 1943, pp. 358–362.

[143] Cf. W. Ginters, *Das Schwert der Skythen und Sarmaten* (Berlin, 1928), pp. 66–75; my article "Zur Geschichte der Lackkunst in China," *Wiener Beiträge zur Kunst- u. Kulturgeschichte Asiens* XI (Vienna, 1937), pp. 49–53.

[144] Cf. Bergman, *op. cit.* p. 165, note 1.

near the Altai, east and west. All we know is that the distribution of the so-called Hunnish bronze cauldrons is limited to a territory west of the Black Sea. They may have developed anywhere in South Russia or in the steppes north of the Caspian and Aral Sea. Their relationship with the Ordos bronzes is about the same as that of Delft vases with blue-and-white Ming porcelains. But that does not prove the conquests of the Netherlands by the Chinese.

While the archaeological arguments brought forward to prove the Hsiung-nu-Hunnish identity are unsatisfactory, those which militate against it are, in my opinion, so strong that they settle the question. It is true that they are purely negative. But a problem of identity can only be decided by confrontation. If none of the elements which constitute A are to be met with in B, we say that A is different from B.

The Ordos bronzes were made by or for the Hsiung-nu.[145] We could check all items in the inventory of the Ordos bronzes, and we would not be able to point out a single object which could be paralleled by one found in the territory once occupied by the Huns. There are the Ordos knives, daggers, axes, picks, belt buckles, chains, discs, buttons, spoons, pendants, tubes, nails, cross-bow fittings, mace-heads, scales of armor, helmets, pole-tops, bells, horse-frontlets, bits, pins, spindle-whorls, etc.,[146] all of which are totally foreign to the Hunnish civilization of the Hungarian and Volga tombs.

There are the well-known motives of the animal style: horses, deer, camels, sheep, goats, argali, carnivores, pigs, owls, hares, hedgehogs, the mating scenes, the multiplication of individuals, masked animals, the ubiquitous combat-scenes.[147] Not a single one from that rich repertoire of motives has ever been found on a Hunnish object.

The hypothesis that the Huns were nevertheless the Hsiung-nu of the Chinese, but had changed their whole way of life on the long trek from Mongolia to South Russia,[148] can, of course, neither be proved nor refuted.

On the basis of evidence available at the present time the question of the Hsiung-nu-Hunnish identity can be summarized as follows:

1. The theory that the Huns originally came from the Far East cannot be supported by any direct or indirect literary or archaeological evidence;

2. There is no evidence to demonstrate that the Huns and the Hsiung-nu spoke the same language;

3. The art of the Huns, as far as it is known, was fundamentally different from that of the Hsiung-nu.

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[145] Cf. my article "Die Träger des Tierstils im Osten," *Wiener Beit äge zur Kunst- u. Kulturgesch. Asiens*, IX (1935), pp. 61–68.

[146] *Inner Mongolia*, pp. 5–205, pl. I–XLV.

[147] Anderson, *op. cit.* pp. 221–315, pl. I–XXXIV.

[148] Alföldi, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

THE LEGEND OF THE ORIGIN OF THE HUNS

By Otto Maenchen-Helfen

All we know about the Huns we know from their enemies. What they relate follows an established pattern for the description of northern barbarians so closely and is embroidered with so many folklore motives and pseudo-learned interpretations, that one sometimes comes to doubt whether anything will be left but a few meagre dates and names, once all the τόποι of traditional ethnography and all the legends are recognized as such.

Vasiliev has shown that the legend of the doe, which guided the Huns across the Cimmerian Straits, is a survival of the ancient myth of Io.[1] The story about the battle of the spirits high above the *locus Mauriacus* appears for the first time in Damascius' βίος Ἰσιδώρου. He had it from the learned sophist Theon[2] who certainly knew his Pausanias. There can be little doubt that he transferred from one decisive battle[3] to another what more than anything else served to illustrate the fury of the fight between the barbarian hordes and the defenders of civilization.[4]

The tradition that Attila died in a wedding-night may be true. But Attila is so much like Holofernes and Ildico so much like Judith[5] that we suspect the tradition, even in its most sober version.

The account of Attila's obsequies as given in Iordanes has a curiously Homeric ring. Albert S. Cook thought the Huns might have become acquainted with Homeric tradition through their contact with the Eastern empire.[6] It seems much more probable that the original account of Attila's funeral has been gradually embellished by literary reminiscences to a degree that it is no more possible to tell between the Hunnish, or Gothic rites and the Homeric additions.

I

The legend of the origin of the Huns in Iordanes' Getica 121–122[7] seems, on the face of it, to belong to a category of its own.

[1] A. A. Vasiliev, *The Goths in the Crimea*, Cambridge, Mass., 1936, pp. 29–30.

[2] Photios, *Bibliotheca*, I, 339b, ed. J. Bekker, Berlin, 1824; R. Asmus, *Das Leben des Philosophen Isidoros*, Leipzig, 1911, pp. 39–40.

[3] The battle of Marathon, cf. Pausanias I, 32, 4.

[4] Cf. O. Kern, *Krieg und Kult bei den Hellenen*, Halle, 1917, p. 18.

[5] Cf. Fr. Klaeber, "Attila's and Beowulf's funeral," *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, XLII, 2, 1927, pp. 257–8.

[6] "The possible begetter of the old English Beowulf and Widsith," *Transactions of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences*, XXV, pp. 339 ff.

[7] Th. Mommsen, *Iordanis Romana et Getica*, Berlin, 1882, p. 89.

Nam hos, ut refert antiquitas, ita extitisse conperimus. Filimer rex Gothorum et Gadarici magni filius qui post egressu Scandzae insulae iam quinto loco tenens principatum Getarum, qui et terras Scythicas cum sua gente introisse superius a nobis dictum est, repperit in populo suo quasdam magas mulieres, quas patrio sermone Haliurunnas is ipse cognominat, easque habens suspectas de medio sui proturbat longeque ab exercitu suo fugatas in solitudinem coegit errare. Quas spiritus inmundi per herimum vagantes dum vidissent et eorum conplexibus in coitu miscuissent, genus hoc ferocissimum ediderunt.

Iordanes does not say in which author he has found the story. Whether he is indebted to Ablabius for it, as Mommsen thought,[8] or to Cassiodorus, as Schirren and Cipolla claimed,[9] has no bearing on our subject. Iordanes certainly had collected neither this legend nor any other from the lips of the people. "Nos potius lectioni credimus quam fabulis anilibus consentimus" (38). All the passages in the Getica which go back, or seem to go back to old Gothic tradition, *prisca eorum carmina* (28), are copied from literary sources. Sometimes Iordanes condensed and abbreviated what he found in other authors. But that is about all he did.

It was the word *haliurunnae* which led to the assumption that Iordanes' source has preserved to us a genuine Gothic folk-tale, and not just another learned concoction. *Haliurunna* is evidently Gothic **haljarūna*, OHG *helliruna*, OE *helruna*, 'hellish magic' > 'hellish sorceress'.[10] But this does not prove that the entire story is of Gothic origin. The Gothic word is mentioned *en passant*. *Haliurunnae* is a gloss to *magas mulieres*, and not vice versa. If the clause "quos patrio sermone Haliurunnae is ipse cognominat" were deleted, the story would not be changed in the least. As it stands, it has not a heathen Gothic, but a decidedly Christian tone.

The legend of the origin of the Huns seems to me to be patterned on the Christian, or rather late Jewish, legend of the fallen angels.

In the book of Enoch we read:

And they (the angels of God) took unto themselves wives, and each chose for himself one, and they began to go in unto them and to defile themselves with them, and they taught them charms and enchantments, and the cutting of roots, and made them acquainted with plants. And they bare great giants, whose height was three thousand ells.[11]

Eusebius says it was the children of the fallen angels, the giants, who γοητείας καὶ τῆς ἄλλης κακοτρόπου μαγγανείας ἐπιτεχνήματα λέγονται παραδοῦναι τῷ βίῳ.[12] More usually the introduction of magic was, as in Enoch,

[8] *Loc. cit.*, prooemium p. XXXVIII.

[9] C. Schirren, *De ratione quae inter Iordanem et Cassiodorum intercedat commendatio*, Dorpat, 1858, p. 17; C. Cipolla, "Considerazioni sulle 'Getica' di Iordanes," *Memorie della R. Academia delle Scienze di Torino*, ser. II, t. XLIII, 1892, pp. 27–28.

[10] Jan de Vries, *Altgermanische Religionsgeschichte*, Berlin, 1935, I, 264.

[11] *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament*. Ed. R. H. Charles. Oxford, 1913, II, 192.

[12] *Praep. evang.* VII, 8, ed. Gifford, Oxford, 1903, I, 392.

attributed to the fallen angels themselves. They, *amatores feminarum*, introduced also astrology.[13] In the East the tradition lived much longer than in the West. Cedrenus still spoke about the apostate angels who διδάσκουσι τὰς γυναῖκας αὐτῶν φαρμακείας καὶ ἐπαοιδίας.[14] In other words, they made their wives, to use the expression in the 'Gothic' legend, *magas mulieres*.

The belief that all magic was the work of demons was held by all Fathers. The Antichrist will perform wonders by the working of magic, since the demons and apostate spirits are at his service.[15] "Magorum ministri angeli sunt refugae et spiritus maligni et daemonia immunda."[16]

There is no sharp distinction between spiritus inmundi, fallen angels, and demons. They are frequently equated. Lactantius calls the children of the angels and the daughters of men *inmundi spiritus*;[17] others, as e.g. Tertullian, speak of them as *gens daemonum*. In Enoch the giants as well as their progeny are the evil spirits.[18] "Spiritus contaminati et perditi vagantur per omnem terram."[19]

The unclean spirits beheld *magas mulieres per herimum vagantes* whom the king had expelled *de medio sui*.[20] "They bestowed their embraces upon them and begat this savage race, the Huns."

The children of the *daemonia immunda* and the women who became *magae* are monsters, "cum diversae inter se naturae permixtio monstra gigneret," as Sulpicius Severus says.[21]

The Huns *were* monsters, "prodigiose deformes et pandi, ut bipedes estimes bestias" (Ammianus Marcellinus), "turpes habitus obscaenaque visu corpora" (Claudian), "quasi hominum genus" (Iordanes). Their legs were hairy, *hirsuta crura* (Ammianus). They were more like centaurs than men: "verum equis prope affixi" (Ammianus), "vix matre carens ut constitit infans, mox praebet dorsum sonipes; cognata reare membra viris" (Sidonius), "nec plus nubigenas duplex natura biformes cognatis aptavit equis" (Claudian).

[13] Tertullian, *De idololatria* 9, Migne, *P. L.*, I, 747.

[14] Ed. Bonn, I, 19.

[15] "Et non est mirandum, si daemoniis at apostaticis spiritibus ministrantibus ei per eos faciat signa," Irenaeus, *Contra haereses*, V, 28, 2, Migne, *P. Gr.*, VII, 1199.

[16] Origen, *In Numeros Homilia XIII*, ed. W. A. Baehrens, pp. 114–115. A few lines below the *daemonia immunda* appear as *immundi spiritus*.

[17] *Divin. Instit.* II, 15, Migne, *P. L.*, VI, 331.

[18] Enoch XV, 9: "The giants who are produced from the spirits and flesh, shall be called evil spirits upon the earth . . . evil spirits have been proceeded from their bodies."

[19] Lactantius, *ibid.*

[20] Cf. Leviticus XX, 6: "Anima quae declinaverit ad magos et ariolos, interficiam illam *de medio populi sui*."

[21] *Historia sacra*, I, 2. Migne, *P. L.*, XXX, 96–97.

These fiendish, repulsively ugly, hairy ogres,[22] roaming over the desolate plains beyond the borders of the Christian Oikumene, from which they set out time and again to bring death and destruction to the faithful, what else could they be but the offspring of the Evil One, "inmundi spiritus, malorum, quae geruntur, auctores, quorum idem diabolus est princeps?"

The *spiritus inmundi* in the wilderness (*herimus*), the fathers of the Huns, were *incubi, fauni, pilosi.* The homunculus "*cujus extrema pars corporis in caprarum pedes desinebat*"[23] told St. Anthony that he was "*unus ex accolis eremi* quos gentilitas faunos, satyrosque, et incubos vocans colit."[24] In the desert "occurrent daemonia onocentauris et pilosus clamabit alter ad alterum."[25]

Isidor of Seville speaks of the "pilosi, qui Graece Panitae, Latine Incubi appellantur, sive Inui ab inuendo passim cum animalibus. Unde et Incubi dicuntur ab incumbendo, hoc est stuprando. Saepe enim inprobi existunt etiam mulieribus, et earum peragunt concubitum: quos daemones Galli Dusios vocant, quia asidue hanc peragunt inmunditiam. Quem autem vulgo Incubonem vocant, hunc Romani Faunum ficarium dicunt."[26] The Spanish bishop was only transmitting what he had found in earlier writings. Augustin said: "Et quoniam creberrima fama est multique se expertos vel ab eis, qui experti essent, de quorum fide dubitandum non esset, audisse confirmant, Silvanos et Panes, quos vulgo incubos vocant, inprobos saepe extitisse mulieribus et earum adpetisse ac peregisse concubitum."[27]

In his commentary on Isaiah v, 12 Jerome explained "pilosi saltabunt ibi," i.e., in the desert, by "vel incubones, vel satyros, vel silvestres quosdam homines, quos nonulli Fatuos ficarios vocant, aut daemonum genera intelligunt."[28]

The term *fatuus ficarius* seems to be somewhat older than *faunus ficarius.* Pelagonius says that 'frequenter equi per noctem fatuo ficario vexantur."[29] Isidor preferred to speak of fauni ficarii. He mentioned them twice in his *Etymologiae,* lib. VIII, II, 103 (see above) and lib. XI, III, 22. The

[22] Note that 'ogre' comes from Hongre, Hungarian.

[23] The Huns did not walk like Christians, they were ἄποδες (Suidas, s.v. ἀκροσφαλεῖς), "ingredi non valent" (Jerome, *Select letters*, Loeb Class. Library, p. 304), their shoes were shapeless, "calcei formulis nullis aptati (Ammianus).

[24] Jerome, *Vita S. Pauli Eremitae*, Opera, Venice, 1767, II, 7.

[25] Isaiah 34, 14.

[26] Etymologiae, VIII, II, 103.

[27] De Civitate Dei, XV, 23.

[28] Opera, V, pp. 174–5.

[29] *Ars veterinaria*, ed. M. Ihm, Leipzig, 1892, p. 41. Cf. W. Roscher, "Ephialtes," *Abh. Sächs. Ges. Wiss.*, phil.-hist. Kl., XX, 1903, pp. 61–62.

latter passage, only slightly varying from Jerome's definition, is especially interesting: "dicuntur quidam et silvestres homines, quos nonulli Faunos ficarios vocant." Landolfus Sagax, taking over Iordanes' c. XXIV in his continuation of Paulus Diaconus' Historia Romana, changed *spiritus inmundi* to *silvestres homines, quos nonnulli phaunos phicarios vocant.*[30]

The 'Gothic' legend resembles the Christian tradition to such an extent, the very words and phrases have so close parallels in Christian literature, that there can be no doubt about its origin. The monstrosity and cruelty of the Huns, coupled with some of their specific features, were reason enough to identify them with the demons, the offspring of the apostate angels and the sorceresses.

But it seems to us that there existed still another reason, of a more scholarly character, coexistent with the first one, supported by it and supporting it in its turn. It was, in our opinion, the term *fauni ficarii* which strengthened the belief that the Huns were indeed demonic beings.

II

Dionysius (first century A.D.) mentions Τόχαροι, Φροῦνοί τε, καὶ ἔθνεα βάρβαρα Σηρῶν.[31] This is the text as given by G. Bernhardy.[32] The MSS have *φροῦνοι*, *φρουροί*, and *φρούριοι*. The latin versions[33] have *Phruri*. So has Eusthatius, with a v.l. *φρῦνοι*.[34] *Erurion* in the anonymous Geographer of Ravenna, II,8, goes back to *Frurion*.[35]

These names of peoples were taken from Poseidonius, either directly or, more probably, indirectly.[36] Poseidonius himself may have found them in a Hellenistic source, the same[37] which Pliny used in *Nat. Hist.* VI,55 where we read: "Ab Attacoris gentes Thuni et Focari et, iam Indorum, Casiri introrsus ad Scythas versi humanis corporibus vescuntur." The oldest reading known[38] is *Thuni et Focari*. Gutschmid's conjecture: *Phuni et Thocari*[39] has been generally accepted. It is, indeed, supported, not only by the Periegesis, but also by Apollodorus' account of the conquests of the Bactrian kings. They extended their rule μέχρι Σηρῶν καὶ Φαυνῶν.[40]

[30] *Historia Romana*, ed. A. Crivellucci, Roma, 1912, I, p. 319.

[31] *Periegesis*, v. 752.

[32] Geographi Graeci minores, I, Leipzig, 1828, p. 42.

[33] Avienus, v. 934–5; Priscianus, v. 727.

[34] τινὲς δὲ Φρῦνοι γράφουσιν ὁμωνύμως τῷ ζώῳ.

[35] Or, possibly, *Frunon*, cf. J. Schnetz, *Itineraria Romana*, Leipzig, 1940, II, 20, note.

[36] Cf. M. Rostovtzeff, *Skythien und der Bosporus*, Berlin, 1931, I, 72–73.

[37] Cf. W. W. Tarn, *The Greeks in Bactria and India*, Cambridge, 1938, p. 515.

[38] In the *Cod. Leidensis Vossianus*, late ninth century, which all editors are agreed is the best MS. So also in the *Cod. Vat. Lat. 3861*, the *Cod. Parisinus Lat. 6795* (both eleventh century), *Cod. Vindobonensis 234* (twelfth or thirteenth century), *Cod. Paris. Lat. 6797* (thirteenth century). An Italian codex of 1459 has *phocari*.

[39] *Ap.* Zangemeister, Orosius, I, 2, 45, praef. VII.

[40] Strabo XI, 516. There are no vv. ll.

I do not intend to reassume the discussion about the Fauni-Fruri, their sites and their names. We do not know who Apollodorus' Seres were. There is only one thing that is certain: they were not the Chinese. The Attacori are no real tribe, but the mythical Uttarakuru of the Indians, north of the world mountain Meru.[41] Between 174 and 160 B.C. the Hsiung-nu conquered the Tochari in Kansu and Ning-hsia west of the Huang-ho. Part of the Tochari stayed in Northeastern Tibet, the main horde migrated westward. Between 133 and 129 B.C. they conquered Bactria.[42]

Pliny's source may refer to the Tochari in Chinese Turkestan or, less probably, to the Tochari in Kansu. To determine the sites of the Fauni with the help of the names of peoples of which one has migrated over thousands of miles and split up into two groups, the other is unknown, the third purely mythical, is evidently a hopeless task.

It has been claimed that the Fauni-Fruri were the Hsiung-nu who, in their turn, are supposed to be identical with the Huns.[43]

The chronological and geographical absurdities to which this theory would lead need not be discussed here. This was done by W. W. Tarn in 1937,[44] and to-day additional arguments could be adduced against it, although it is really no longer necessary to prove that Greek armies could not well have marched across Central Asia as far as Jehol and Chahar. But a few words about the forms of the names must be said.

There are, first, the Hsiung-nu. The Chinese characters which in modern Mandarin are pronounced hsiung-nu, sounded in ancient Chinese[45] χi̯wong-nuo. In archaic Chinese[46] they were pronounced χi̯ung-no.

In transcribing a foreign word, the Chinese had several possibilities. They often selected characters which rendered the foreign sounds as faithfully as possible but suggested, at the same time, either the semantic value of the original or interpreted it *more sinico*.

Hsiung could stand for *hsiung-hsiung*, 'to shout, to yell, to raise inarticulate cries.' The Hsiung-nu attacked their enemies 'like a troop of crows.'[47] Mêng-tzŭ compared the gabble of the people of Ch'u to the croaking of a shrike.[48]

[41] Cf. O. Maenchen-Helfen, "*Śvetadvīpa in Pre-Christian China*," *New Indian Antiquary*, 1939, pp. 166–8.

[42] Cf. G. Haloun, "Zur Üe-tsï-Frage, *ZDMG*, 1937, pp. 243–318.

[43] W. Tomaschek, *Sitz.-Ber. Akad. Wiss. Wien* CXVI, 1888, p. 769; J. Charpentier, *ZDMG*, 1917, p. 355; A. Herrmann, *Das Land der Seide und Tibet im Lichte der Antike*, Berlin, 1939, p. 27, 43.

[44] *Loc. cit.*, pp. 84–85.

[45] The language spoken in Ch'ang-an in the sixth century A.D.

[46] The language of early Chou times.

[47] Cf. J. J. M. de Groot, *Die Hunnen der vorchristlichen Zeit*, Berlin, 1921, I, 61.

[48] Mêng-tzŭ, 3, 4, 14.

Hsiung, written with or without radical 130, means 'breast, chest.' Among the fabulous peoples enumerated *Shan-hai-ching* ch. 6 and *Huai-nan-tzu* ch. 4 occur the *chieh-hsiung*, the people who gird their chests tightly. The custom of wearing a very, sometimes absurdly tight belt, is widespread. The Man in Yung-chou, Hunan, used to tie their chests with a hemp cord so tightly that they could drink only one swallow at a time.[49] The Goths girded their waists so tightly that they looked like insects.[50]

Hsiung-nu could very well be an abbreviation of *chieh-hsiung-nu*, the slaves who tie their chests. The way in which the Chinese liked to play with foreign names is well illustrated by the order issued by Wang Mang in A.D. 16, when he was again on good terms with the Hsiung-nu. Henceforth they should be called not *hsiung-nu*, but *kung-nu*,[51] the 'sincerely respectful Nu'.[52]

As we do not know what hsiung-nu meant in the Hsiung-nu language, and as neither the tribal nor any other Hsiung-nu name has been transmitted in other but Chinese transcriptions, we have to accept χi̯ung-no for what it may be worth.

To identify the Hsiung-nu in Mongolia with the Fauni who may have lived anywhere east of Bactria, and both Hsiung-nu and Fauni with the Huns in the Pontic region is, from any point of view, an idle play with assonances.[53]

The ancients were less exacting. Iordanes thought it self-evident that the Getae were his Goths. He quoted Ablabius who derived the name of the Heruli from ἕλη (117).

The Οὖννοι of Dionysius, *Periegesis*, v. 730, have puzzled historians for a long time until Kiessling proved that Dionysius had written Οὖϊτιοι.[54] The corruption was easy. The scribes altered a name that was meaningless to them into a name which everybody knew. So very little, almost nothing was known about the Uti,[55] and so much about Attila and his hosts. And were not the names almost alike? The MSS of Dionysius have οὖνοι, ὦνοι, ὦννοι, θοῦννοι, and θοῦνοι. As early as the fourth century there must have existed a variety of readings. The conscientious Avienus,

[49] Ma-touan-lin, *Ethnographie des peuples êtrangers à la Chine*, Trad. d'Hervey de Saint-Denys, Geneva, 1883, II, 101.

[50] Eunapius fr. 37, *Excerpta historica*, I, 594.

[51] Ancient Chinese: ki̯wong-nuo; archaic Chinese: ki̯ung-no.

[52] de Groot, *loc. cit.*, p. 283.

[53] Another people about which nothing is known but its name are Ptolemy's Γρυναῖοι (VI, 13, 3). But Charpentier *loc. cit.*, p. 355, thought they might be the Huns, whereas J. Marquart, *Das Volkstum der Komanen*, pp. 64–65, identified them with the Tibetans, and A. Herrmann, *loc. cit.*, p. 138 proposed Γρυναῖοι = Yü-ni in Tashkent.

[54] Cf. his article 'Hunni' in Pauly-Wissowa, *RE*, VIII, 2593–4.

[55] Cf. J. Marquart, *Caucasica* 6, 1, 1930, pp. 32–33; *ibid.*, 7, 1931, pp. 23–24.

not knowing which one to chose, simply left the name out.[56] Priscianus may have found *οὖνοι* or *θῦνοι* in the MS he used. The Priscianus MSS, v. 705, have the readings Unnus, Thymus, Thynus, and Thinus.

Another passage into which the Huns were smuggled is Orosius I, 2, 45. The *codex Rehdigeranus* gives it as "a fontibus Ottorogorrae usque ad civitatem Ottorogorram inter Funos Scythas et Gandaridas mons Caucasus." The *Codex Vat. Pal.* 829 has also *Funos*, but a later hand added *Hunos*. In the *Codex Bobiensis Ambrosianus* we read already *Chunos* as in all the later codices (*Chunos* or *Hunos*).

Orosius' Funi are, of course, Apollodorus' Fauni and Pliny's Thuni (< Phuni). In enumerating the Pliny MSS (note 39) I left out the *Codex Florentinus Ricciardianus*. It has many erratic readings. We are, therefore, not surprised to find in it *chuni* instead of *thuni*.

In Dionysius the corruption ran *οὐιτιοι—οὖννοι*, in Orosius funi-huni, in Pliny phuni-thuni-chuni, thus in all three cases in the same direction. The Huns took the place of the Uiti and Fauni-Funi.

The corruption is due, first, to the similarity of the names, second, to the ignorance of the scribes to whom all the peoples 'hinten weit in der Türkei' were Scythians or Huns, and, third, to the conviction that the Huns were actually fauns. It was, as we believe, particularly the passage in Pliny which, more than anything else, favoured the identification. There the phuni were coupled with the *focari* (< *thocari*). When in the popular tradition the Huns had become demons and in the learned tradition the phuni had been identified with the Huns, it was almost impossible not to identify the *phuni et focari* with the fauni ficarii.

The story of the origin of the Huns and all that followed it, up to the representation of Attila as a satyr on the Certosa di Pavia, grew out of late Roman pseudo-scholarship and Christian legends.[57]

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[56] It should occur in vv. 906–7.

[57] In the twelfth century Caesarius of Heisterbach reinterpreted the legend in a peculiar way: "Cum gens Gothorum de Asia migraret in Europam, sicut in eius gestis legitur, haberetque mulieres deformes in suo comitatu, eiecit illas, timens ne liberos nimis deformes gignerent, sicque nobilitatem Gothorum deformarent. Quae de castris extrusae, cum errarent in nemore, accesserunt ad illas incubi daemones genueruntque ex eis filios et filias. Ex quibus processit fortissima gens Hunorum" (*Dialogus Miraculorum*, Distinctio tertia, Capitulum XII).

DESCRIPTION OF AN ARMENIAN MANUSCRIPT

By K. H. Menges

An Armenian manuscript comprising 637 pages was recently discovered in Turkey. It is slightly over one pound in weight and measures 4 x 5 x $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches; the pages measure $3\frac{1}{2}$ x 5 inches while the written portion averages $2\frac{1}{2}$ x $3\frac{3}{4}$ inches.

The pages of the manuscript, with the exception of the last hundred, have been numbered in a later hand by means of red crayon Arabic figures of the Arabic ductus. The final page, which is not, however, the final page of the text, bears the notation ٦٣٧ صحيفه 'page 637', written in red crayon.

Pages are missing both at the beginning and end of the text.[1] Since the third page contains the Armenian numeral letter Գ (Greek $\bar{\Gamma} = 3$) denoting the commencement of the third quire, this would seem to indicate the loss of twenty-two pages at the beginning. The first four or five quires have been numbered and numeral letters are again found toward the end; but the latter appear to have been added later. The system of notation may be compared with that used in Old Church Slavic manuscripts where the custom of dividing the quire into twelve pages likewise prevails.

The leaves are of heavy quality parchment. Both covers are made of wood and bound in leather, laced with stout cord in the manner of the texts of the Middle Ages. The back cover has been damaged on one side. Both covers were originally lined with green silk and both contain holes in which metal attachments were fastened. These were doubtless removed later for the value of the metal.

The content matter consists of Armenian hymns written in a very elegant clear *bolorgir*. According to expert opinion[2] we may assign the origin of the manuscript, in all probability, to the fourteenth century.

Pages usually comprise twenty-one lines. Chapters and paragraphs are introduced by means of artistically ornamented initial letters in vermillion paint. Such letters show uniformity in style throughout the text. The entire first line of a chapter is also usually written in vermillion. Stylistic flower and leaf designs frequently decorate the margins. These include birds, animals and vases; and sometimes one motif is used in combination with another, such as a bird surmounted by a spray of flowers. Several hundred of these decorations occur. Occasionally a different motif has been used but there are no figurative representations. Chapter headings,

[1] See photographs.

[2] Examined by the armenologist Father Paul of the editorial staff of *Handes Amsorya* (address: Vienna VII, Mechitharisten-Gasse 4).

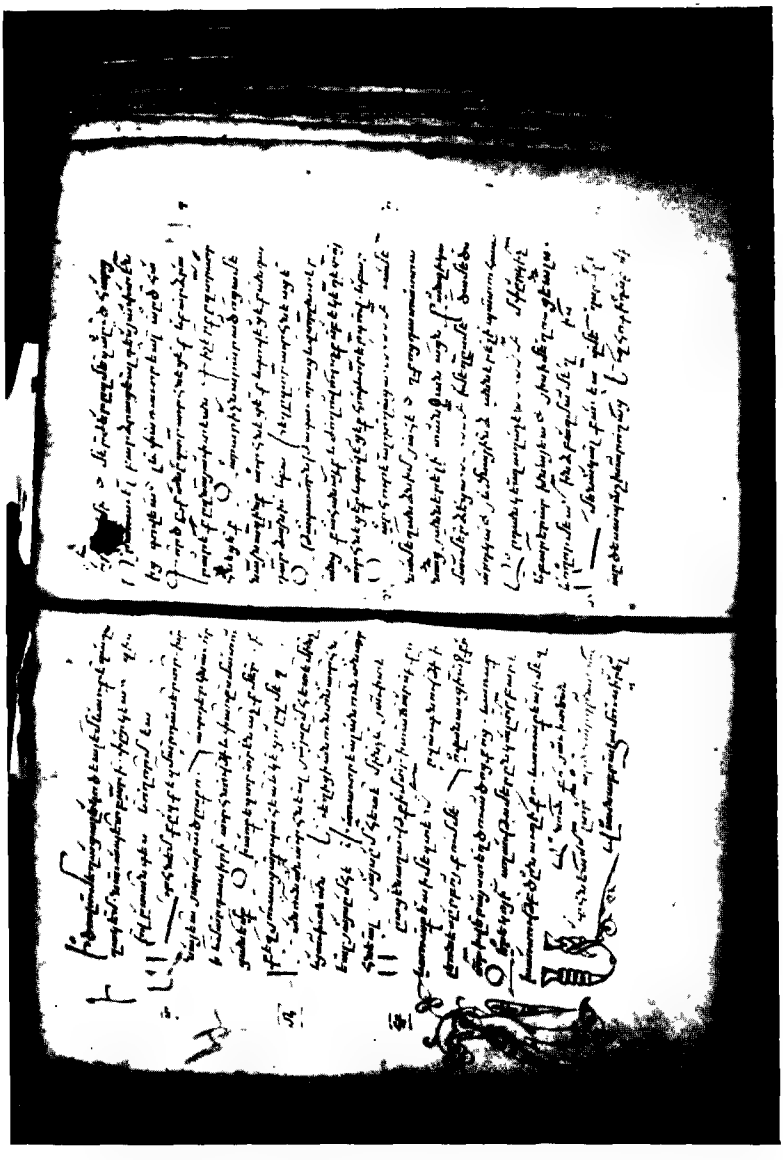

PLATE II. Fols. 78v-79r

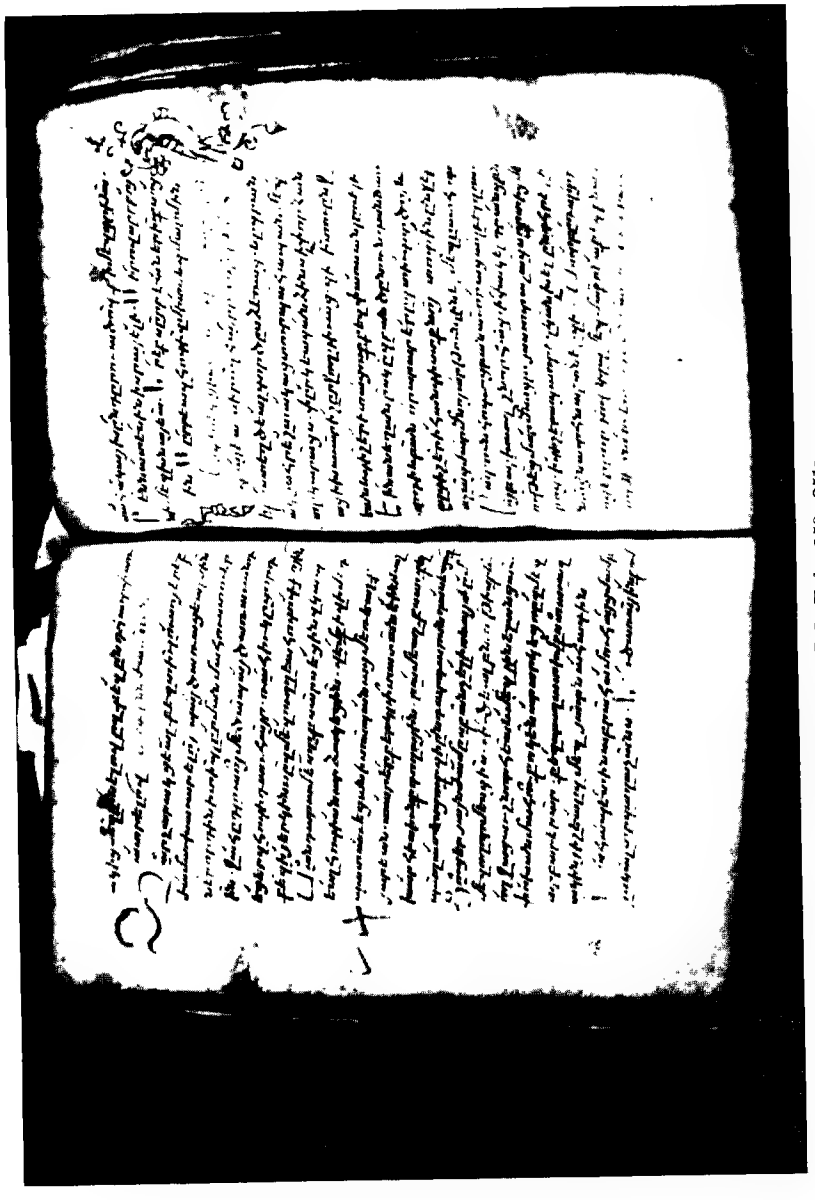

Plate III. Fols. 250v-251r

however, are introduced by larger ornamental borders covering about one-half the page. These have sometimes been torn out and sometimes cut out[3] and it is possible that figurative designs occurred in these places.

The uniformity of the handwriting as far as page 622 would seem to indicate that the text was written by the same hand up to this point. The following pages are apparently in different handwriting, while a few places toward the end of the text, which had faded, appear to have been rewritten later by the same hand. In a few instances a special kind of archaic musical note is found. This has usually been placed above vowel signs or after the word.

Few Old Armenian hymnals are known to be in existence. The discovery of this manuscript helps to increase their small number and its preservation should prove valuable for the student of Armenian both from the linguistic and from the cultural standpoint. A scientific edition of the text may help to clarify many points of uncertainty.

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[3] Pp. 212/3 and apparently, 310/1 and 399/400.

ETYMOLOGICAL NOTES ON SOME PÄČÄNÄG NAMES

By Karl H. Menges

In the *De Administrando Imperio*, Konstantinos Porphyrogennetos deals extensively with the Πατζινακῖται, the Päčänäg horde, which, less than two centuries later was to become a threat to the Byzantine Empire. The Emperor treats of them from the first chapter on, and they are mentioned in more than half of the imperial treatise.

Thus, in the *De Administrando Imperio* many names of Päčänäg tribes and persons are found as well as a number of well-known titles which furnish us with some material regarding the language of the Päčänäg, of which no written material survives, not even single quotations in Byzantine or rather contemporaneous sources. These names were repeatedly discussed by scholars, as e.g. by Markwart in his *Osteuropäische und Ostasiatische Streifzüge* (Leipzig, 1903), in his "Sprach -und kulturgeschichtliche Analekten", *Ungarische Jahrbücher* IX (1929), 68-103, by Markwart and Bang in *Die Chronologie der alttürkischen Inschriften* (Leipzig 1898), by Németh Gyula in the *Kőrösi-Csoma-Archivum* I, 219–225, and in the *Ungarische Jahrbücher*, X (1930), 27–34.

Sources are extant only of the language of the Qomans, the Połovci of the Old-Russian Chronicles, i.e., of the horde which immediately followed after the Päčänäg in their migrations to the West and occupied their territories, their roaming grounds.[1] It was the horde of the Połovci which soon, not without the friendly persuasion of the Byzantine diplomats, destroyed the Päčänäg power and took over their dominant rôle in the South of Russia, on the territory of the modern Ukraine.

The *Codex Cumanicus* of 1303 is an extremely valuable and rich source of the language of the Połovci. We do not know, of course, whether the language of the Połovci, at the time when they destroyed the might of the Päčänäg, was identical with that of the early fourteenth century, since, with the Mongol conquest of South-Russia, some ethnic and also linguistic changes may have taken place. But they were apparently insignificant, since the language of the *Codex Cumanicus* shows definite features of the languages belonging to the Northwestern group of the Turkic languages, and since, if Turks who did not speak a northwestern Turkic language came with the Mongol armies—and the majority of the troops of the Mongol Western Army consisted of Turks—, these Turks would have spoken a

[1] On the history of the Päčänäg Horde cf. preferably the most recent treaty by Dm. Al. Rasovskij, "Печенеги, Торки и Берендеи на Руси и в Угрии," *Seminarium Kondakovianum*, VI (1933), 1–66, with profuse bibliographical notes.

language of the Central-Asiatic Turkic group, (in other words, some language close to Ujγur or later Čaγataj), we would expect to find a strong Central-Asiatic influence in the Codex Cumanicus.

We may believe that the Päčänäg who were so closely followed by the Połovci spoke a language related to that of the Połovci, i.e., a Northwestern language. Proofs for this belief, however, have not yet been found, and we have numerous examples, not only from the Great Migrations, of peoples quickly following each other or even migrating together although they were of very different linguistic origin: tribes speaking Germanic with those speaking Turkic and even Mongol (some Avar tribes), or the Τοῦρκοι of Konstantinos Porphyrogennetos,[2] who spoke Ugric and were the most important ancestor-tribe of the later Hungarians (probably not identical, in their mass, with the Torci, Торьци of the Old-Russian Chronicles) and who were the western neighbors of the Päčänäg and later were immediately followed by them from the East. Another example would be the fact of the numerous Mongol names throughout the steppe regions of Europe and Asia, of tribes nevertheless speaking Turkic (Qyrγyz, Qyjat, Quŋγrat, Barłas, Maŋγyt, Najman, Tatar, Noγaj, etc.).

The Πατζινακῖται occur as Päčänäg in Kāšγarī's Dīwān,[3] as a Turkic tribe in the neighborhood of Rūm, and once they are mentioned as being near the Rūs—both is correct; except that, Päčänäg is a name of a tribe of the Γuzz, and as Печенѣгъ (pl. Печенѣги,-зи) of the Old-Russian Chronicles.

In as far as the Päčänäg names can be etymologized from Altaic, they are definitely Turkic; but as to classificatory marks they are not very revealing.

The etymologies proposed in the following arose from the work in Professor Henri Grégoire's seminar on the rôle of the steppe tribes as mirrored in Byzantine sources.[4]

The famous city of Σάρκελ (ch. IX, ed. Bonn, p. 80, 17) meaning, according to ch. XLII (ed. Bonn, 177,19 ff), ἄσπρον ὀσπίτιον, and to Theophanis Continuator, III,28 (ed. Bonn, 122,16 ff) Λευκὸν οἴκημα, is identical with the Бѣлая вежа of the Old-Russian Chronicles[5]; Svyatosłav marches against the Khazars and takes their city Бѣла вежа; also later under the eventful

[2] Σαβαρτοιάσφαλοι, as they were formerly called, according to chapter XXXVIII, ed. Bonn, p. 169, 10–11. They are, without doubt, identical with the Sevordik' of the Armenian historians, as Markwart, *Osteuropäische und Ostasiatische Streifzüge*, pp. 36, 38 f., 69 says, but the second part of the compound is not the Arabic elative اسفل asfal, "lower, lowest", as Markwart, *ibid.*, pp. 39–40 believed, but is the name of the ancient Spali of Southern Russia, as H. Grégoire demonstrated in *ZDMG*, XCI (1937), 630–641, and in Byzantion, XIII (1938), 267–77.

[3] Ed. Brockelmann, 246.

[4] Held at the École Libre des Hautes Études, winter session 1944–1945.

[5] Cf. e.g., Laurentian Chronicle, s.a. 6473 (965 A.D.).

year 6604 (= 1096 A.D.)[6] it is mentioned. It is furthermore identical with the المدينة البيضاء ("the White City") of Islamic historians.[7]

The first component of this tatpuruṣa-compound is easily explained as containing the Ural-Altaic base for "yellow" (in some languages "whitish, pale, beige"), cf. Turkic saryγ (Osm. sary, Uj. saryγ, Ča., OT, saryq, etc.), WB[8] IV,319 ff, Mongol šira, Xałxa šara, Hungarian šārgå ("sárga") "yellow", Japanese široi "white", Mandžu sarača, sirača "name of a certain tree; yellow wood for dyeing".[9] Since Byzantine Greek σ renders not only the sound s but also serves as a substitute for the sound š unknown to Greek, it is impossible to determine whether we are to consider σ as proto-Hungarian š or a Turkic s. The second element, however, seems to me definitely Ugrian, since it is often found as second component in place-names through all Hungarian history: -häj (the historical Hungarian orthography has -hely) <häĺ <*xäĺ (<*käĺ ?), occurring in place-names as e.g. Keszthely (on the Balaton), Kéthely, Somogyudvarhely, Sátoralja-Újhely. This word or related forms do not exist in Turkic place-names; it seems to be related, however, with a word gil which occurs only in Osman (East-Anatolian dialects) and Azerbajdžānī, designating "house", in the sense of "family". It is not listed in the WB, but the word occurs as second part of compounds in a number of family names such as have newly been created in Turkey.

A. N. Samoilovich wrote a note on gil, some 20 years ago, in one of the numerous publications of the Russian Academy of Sciences, attempting to derive it from a Caucasian language(?). Not only the fact that the Khazars were closely related to the Τοῦρκοι, who were proto-Hungarians, but also the constant use of -hely in Hungarian place-names speak in favor of a Finno-Ugric etymology of Σάρκελ. There is no evidence to support the belief that the Khazars spoke Turkic and not Finno-Ugric. It is not excluded, but rather probable, that while the mass of the Xazars spoke Finno-Ugric, a certain group of them, perhaps even of their ruling classes, spoke (also) Turkic, as we may assume from the title χαγάνος, and moreover, from the "purely" Turkic title πέχ< beg[10]—being itself, though very old in Turkic, of Iranian origin (<O-pers. baga). Thus, Σάρκελ would be explicable as Finno-Ugric < šārga-xäĺ, with complete reduction of the intermediary syllable ("Mittelsilbenschwund"). It should be noted, more-

[6] Edition of the Archeographical Commission, p. 240, top.

[7] e.g. al-Bekrī, 22,4.

[8] W. Radloff, *Versuch eines Wörterbuchs der Türk-Dialekte*, abbreviated as WB; IV, 319 ff.

[9] V. d. Gabelentz, Sse-Schu, Schu-King, Schi-King, etc., Glossar (= *ZDMG*, III,2; 1864), pp. 172,179.

[10] Ed. Bonn, 178,2. The passage there, as Markwart, *Streifzüge*, 27, n. 4 has said, is to be read καὶ ὁ πὲχ Χαζαρίας (not: ὁ καὶ πὲχ X.). Cf. also Theophanis Continuator III, 28, (Bonn, 122,16 ff) ὅτε Χαγάνος Χαζαρίας καὶ ὁ πέχ . . . .

over, that, as Markwart showed,[11] a Turkic name existed for Σάρκελ, which is given by the later Arabic geographers as سارغشر saryγ šār (šār< N-pers. šahar "city, town"), "Yellow City". If Σάρκελ were Turkic, another Turkic name for it would unnecessary. Kāšγarī states that المدينة البيضاء is Saryγšar, "the Capital of the Xazars on the bank of the Volga".[12]

The name of the Volga occurs, at the beginning of chapter XXXVII, in the form Ἀτήλ = Atil (or Atył, if we suppose it to be in accordance with the sound-harmony).[13] Markwart considers it to be the (Proto-) Bulgarian name of the Volga. The variant with *a* in the first syllable occurs mostly in the Byzantine sources: Ἀττίλας, in the report on the embassy of the year 568 under Zēmarkhos, by Menandros Protektor; Theophanes, *ca.* 680, has Ἄτελ (for which Markwart prefers to read Ἄταλ).[14] Arabic forms are given as follows: اتل (='Ātil), by Ibn Ḥauqāl (wrote 977/8 A.D.); آتل is found in the Ḥudūd ul-'Ālam (edd. Minorski); أتل in Abū Ḥāmid al-Andalūsī al-Γarnāṭī's Tuḥfatu-'l-Albāb,[15] and عدل 'Adal, 'Adil, in an Arabicizing form—ἐπὶ τὸ Ἀραβικώτερον—in the Darband-Nāma (edd. A. Kazem-beg). Jāqūt has إتل. The first, the second and the fourth examples suggest forms with *a* in the first syllable, likewise the Armenian form At'l given by Moses Xorenaci.[16] An Ujγur-Mongol compound is found in the Legend of Oγuz-Qaγan: Ätil-Müren.[17] In the modern languages, Qazan had Idьl, but Ťăvaš Aдъл. It is possible that Hill-Čeremis Jêl and Meadow-Čeremis Jul are very old borrowings from Ťăvaš, or proto-Ťăvaš.

It cannot be demonstrated that atył, itil are of Turkic origin, or at least, that the word is a Turkic appellativum meaning "river". It is, of course, possible, that the name of the river Atył, etc., may have become an appellativum in Turkic, as e.g. all large rivers are called, by the Qazan-Tatars, idьl: Aq Idьl is the Bělaja, Qara Idьl the Ufa, and the Kama is Kama Idьl (also Čułman; WB III,2179). With palatal vocalism, the word occurs in Ἐτὲλ καὶ Κουζοὺ (Ch. XL, ed. Bonn, 173, 12); as this passage shows, the name was carried on and designates here either a different river, or it has already become an appellativum. Markwart's explanation of the expression as being an equivalent of μεσοποταμία, where Κουζοὺ is identical with Hung. köze (3.ps. sg. possess. of köz, "center") occurring in Hungarian names of districts,[18] seems correct.

[11] WZKM, XII,194; *Streifzüge*, pp. 1–5.

[12] Ed. Brockelmann, p. 246.

[13] Ed. Bonn, p. 164,9.

[14] "Kultur- und sprachgeschichtliche Analekten," *Ungarische Jahrbücher*. IX 96.

[15] Ed. J. Ferrand, Paris, 1925.

[16] cf. Markwart, *Streifzüge*, pp. 153–4.

[17] Quoted by Markwart, "Analekten," p. 96.

[18] Markwart, *Streifzüge*, p. 33, and n.1.

The Turkic name of the Ural River, in contemporary Turkic Jajyq, Džajyq, occurs here in the form Γεήχ (= Jeïx, Jejix),[19] which shows secundary palatalization from an older jajyq "expanded", jaj-yq, ptc. perf. pass. of jaj- "to expand" (WB jaj-^{5}, in almost all languages).[20] The eastern languages of the NW group and the West-Siberian languages have a strong tendency toward secundary palatalization, esp. after j and palato-alveolars. The original vocalism has been preserved in the forms Δάϊξ found with Ptolemaios, and, half a millennium later, Δαΐχ with Menandros Protektor. These forms furthermore exhibit another archaic feature of Turkic, namely initial voiced dental, *d-, later >*đ-, on the place of a later initial j-. The existence of such an archaic initial *d- or later *đ- can be proved by comparison with Mongol, by early Turkic loanwords in other languages and by the above mentioned Greek records.

The names of the eight ϑέματα[21] of the Pačänäg horde are, in general, correctly explained by Gy. Németh.[22] I do not know which text of the *De Administrando Imperio* is used by Németh; for the first ϑέμα, Bonn gives Ἠρτήμ (= irtim or irdim) which exhibits the vocalism of the NW group, resp. that of the modern Volga-Kama-dialects and the West-Siberian languages, showing i in the base-syllable for an e/ä of the other Turkic languages. The final -j in Κουλπέη < Kül-bej < Kül-beg is remarkable,[23] since Turkic final -g has become -j or O only in the modern languages of the NW group, as the form πέχ seems to indicate. Regular transition of final -g>-j is ancient only in the SW group, while in the NW group it seems to be recent. Cf., however, Old-Russ. санчакбѣи[24] supposing a nom. sg. санчакбѣи < sančaq-beg "lord, commander of a banner, province, district," in the Повѣсть о разрушенииР язаниБ атыемъ ("Narrative on the Destruction of Ryazan' by Baty-Khān"), a text which must have been written shortly after that event.[25] Bej occurs in different hymns of the *Codex Cumanicus*, cf. W. Bang, "Über einen Komanischen Kommunionshymnus," *Bulletin de l'Académie royale de Belgique*, No. 5, (1910), p. 4, "Komanische Texte," *ibid.*, 1908, p. 468, "Beiträge zur Erklarung des komanischen Marienhymnus," *Nachrichten der kgl. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*, Phil.-hist. Kl., 1910, p. 72; likewise, the *Codex Cumanicus* has regularly tej- <teg- "to reach".

The tribe-name, which appears as Кълвягъ, Колвягъ in the Old-Russian Chronicles, is probably the source of the Old-Icelandic tribe-name Kylfingr, which is formed with the Germanic suffix of the nomen originis in -ingr

[19] Chapter XXXVII, Bonn, p. 164,10.
[20] WB, III,5.
[21] Chapter XXXVII, Bonn, 162,22 ff.
[22] *Op. cit.*, *Ungarische Jahrbücher*, X,27 ff.
[23] Chapter XLII, Bonn, 178,2.
[24] Sreznevskij, Матеріалы, III,259—no translation given there.
[25] It took place in the year 1237.

appearing in Slavic as -ягъ,-язь. Later, they appear as the Κούλπιγγοι with the Slavic or Old-Norse suffix resp., as a special guard at the Byzantine Court.[26]

The fifth tribe is called Χαροβόη < Qara-baj "Black-Rich", with the substitution of o for Turkic a which is not always regular; this Turkic a was, without doubt, labialized = å. In Old-Russian renderings of Turkic names we find the same substitution almost regularly in the first syllable.[27] In modern Qazan all a of velar words are close to å, in Özbek of the non-iranianized type all a of the first syllable are å.[28] The Bulgaro-Greek inscriptions of Aboba-Pliska show strong labialization, e.g. Ὀσλα(ρ)νάς < Å(r)slan "lion", βογοτόρ = βαγατούρ < baγadur (baγatur) = N-Pers. bahādūr "hero", etc.[29] It is not necessary to consider those forms due to "Slavic vocalism", as Markwart does, since both Slavic and Greek perceive the same Turkic sound in a very similar way.

The sixth ϑέμα is the Ταλμάτ "dragoman(s)"; this is an important function and high title. Németh writes Τουλμάτζοι without quoting, however, his source. Such a form occurs in Konstantinos Porphyrogennetos, *De Caerimoniis Aulae Byzantinae*, II,15, together with a form Ταλματζίων.[30] Io. Iac. Reiskius says in his Commentarii:[31] "Videntur iidem atque Dalmatae esse; quos novellae publicae saepius nuperrimo bello nomine Talpatschorum citabant. Quo accedit propius altera lectio paulo post B4 occurrens Ταλμάτζιοι. Utramque scriptionem, qualem in membranis inveni, exhibendam duxi." If it is the same tribe name as this one in question, it is closer to its prototype Tołmač than the above one. There are other examples of a Greek substitution of τ for Turkic č, as the Χολιάται of Menandros Protektor for the Qałač, or, as it seems, the Ἀκάτιροι, Ἀκάτιροι Οὖννοι of Priskos against Ἀκάτζιροι for a possible Aqačir, Aγač eri[32] ("tree-people, forest-people"). Markwart considers Byz. τ instead of τζ a graphic purism due to reluctance against the barbarian τζ.[33]

Without doubt, this Päč. tołmač/tałmač means "dragoman, interpreter," as Németh supposed quoting literature as to the importance of this function in the history of Asia, esp. China.[34] This Turkic word is very problematic.

[26] Markwart, "Analekten," p. 84.

[27] P. Melioranskij, Известия отд. русского языка и словесности имп. Академии Наук, VII (1902), 290.

[28] K. Menges, "Drei özbekische Texte," *Der Islam*, XXI, 186 ff.

[29] Markwart, "Analekten," p. 84, n. 5.

[30] Bonn, I,579,16,25.

[31] Bonn, II,682, s.v.

[32] Markwart, *Streifzüge*, 41–2.

[33] *Ibid.*, p. 489.

[34] Op. cit., p. 28.

It is apparently a derivative from Turkic tył (Orxon, Ujγur, Sojoŋ) "(1) tongue, speech, (2), (only in Orxon) spy",[35] cf. Kāšγarī tyl "id", and: "auszuhorchender Kriegsgefangner"[36]; Russian язык has exactly the same meanings.[37] Furthermore, WB lists for Tümän and Qoman (Połovci) tyłmac, telmač, tolmač[38]; the latter two are to be considered Qoman forms from the *Codex Cumanicus*, "dragoman, interpreter." The same meaning have Karaim Tr. tołmač and Kar. Ł. tołmac[39] which seem to be loanwords from Slavic (Polish or Russian), and Altaj (Ojrat) and Teleut tilmäč, Qumandu tälmäš, Ujγ. (Qutadγu Bilig)tilmädži,[40] L'eb'ed' tilbäč, Küārik tilbāc, Qača tilbäš, Qojbał and Saγaj tilbäs,[41] Qazaq tilmäš, Baraba tilmäc,[42] and Osman. dilmadž.[43] The Čaγataj form tilmänč (from Vámbéry's texts, i.e. rather recent)[44] shows a peculiar suffixal formation. The verbal derivative tył-yq- (Kāšγarī) means "to spy, to be denounced". On the different forms of this Turkic word in the Ugric languages see A. Kannisto, *Finnisch-Ugrische Forschungen*, XVII, 197; cf. also F. W. K. Müller, "Zwei Pfahlinschriften aus Turfan", p. 39.

As long as we know nothing of the history of the suffix -mač/-māč, we cannot venture any opinion on the formation of the above word. Its oldest form is without doubt the velar tył (Orxon) and its derivatives in Qoman and Tümän (being understood that Qom. telmač stands for tyłmač, as in the Cod. Cum. e is often used, or found where the sound y is expected or regular). A Qazan form tilmägäj[45] "talker, eloquent, prattler" seems to be formed from til-mä-gāj, the suffix -γaj/-gäj designating the inclination toward something, forming often nomina actoris or simply denominal nouns. But whether -mä is one suffix or whether it may be analyzed as consisting of two elements, can not be decided as yet.

This Turkic word was introduced into Slavic at an early date. The sound group ył yielded here ъл (Old-Russian), or лъ = ł̥ in Old-Church-Slavic: OChSl. тлъмачь "interpres" which according to Miklosich[46] occurs in Glagolitic texts already, Slovenian tolmač and Serbian tolmač are loanwords from Hungarian tolmāč ("tolmács") which itself seems to be a

[35] WB III,1333.
[36] Brockelmann, p. 206.
[37] Pavłovskij, *Russisch-deutsches Wörterbuch*, p. 1335 (Riga, 1879).
[38] WB III,1333.
[39] WB III,1205.
[40] WB III,1390.
[41] WB III,1389.
[42] WB III,1390.
[43] WB III,1770.
[44] WB III,1390.
[45] WB III,1417.
[46] Miklosich, *Lexicon Palaeoslov.-Gr.-Lat.*, p. 992.

loanword from OChSl., if it does not go back to Päčänāg directly.[47] In Russian, its oldest occurrences seem to be found in the Ipatjevskaja Letopis' sub anno 6769 (= 1261 A.D.), later in the Sofijskij Vremennik s.a. 6980 (= 1472 A.D.),[48] always in the later form толмачь, never in the old form тълмачь, under which it is listed in Sreznevskij's Dictionary. Polish tłumacz is regular from *tъłmačь. From Slavic, the word came into Germanic, cf. NHG Dolmetsch(er) —, "interpreter".

As to the semasiology, cf. Mongol kele(n) "langue, langage, etc., langue, espion, avant-coureur d'une armée, soldat qu'on envoie à la découverte," kele-či "interprète, commentateur," kele-mür-či "linguiste, philologue; traducteur".[49] In kele-mür-či, the suffix -mür has the same function as above -mä in Tk. tylmač. Mandžu xelen "tongue, language; spy, prisoner of war used for being questioned, as informant, for intelligence," seems to be loanword from Mongol, cf. xelen džafa- "to make prisoners for questioning, intelligence".[50]

On the other hand, I consider it possible that the Turkic word was formed on the basis of a popular etymology, and that the underlying word is Semitic, cf. Hebr., Aramaic targūm "commentary, interpretation", or the more recent Arabic ترجمه tardžuma "interpretation, translation", ترجمان tardžumān "interpreter, translator", which, as B. Landsberger in Ankara once told me, is not of Semitic, but presumably of "Anatolian" origin. This word might have come—through which mediation?—to the Turks, might there have undergone metathesis and been transformed, by popular etymology, to a good Turkic word, tylmač, etc. But the identity in semasiology of its Mongol equivalent is a weighty argument in favor of an Altayic autochthonity of these words.

Χοπόν, the name of the seventh ϑέμα renders, without doubt, as Markwart assumed,[51] the old Turkic title qapγan, found in the Inscription of Toñuquq, which in Europe became known as the "capcanus (Avarorum)". In Byzantine sources it appears as title of the Bulgars, καυκάνος, καπχάνης, κομχάνος (Skylitzes), or, as κοπανός (Aboba-Pliska). Németh[52] considers it to be Turkic (Qom., Čaγ., Az., Qq., Qn.) qaban "wild boar", having

[47] O. Asbóth (in his remarks to V. Jagić's *Entstehungsgeschichte der Altkirchenslavischen Sprache*, Изв. отд. русск. яз. и слов., VII, 4, pp. 246–320, which incidentally contains valuable observations on the nature of a in OChSl. loanwords in Hungarian) considers it a Turkic loanword in Hung. (p. 288).

[48] Sreznevskij, Материалы, III, 1046.

[49] Kovalevskij, *Dictionnaire Mongol-Russe-Français*, III,2470,2473.

[50] Zakharov, Маньчжурско-русский словарь, p. 411; v.d. Gabelentz, p. 96. As to the T'o-Pa title č'i-wan-čžěn <*k'jət-miʷɒn-ćjěn = Mong. kelemürči,cf. P. A. Boodberg, *The language of the T'o-Pa Wei*, HJAS, I (1936), p. 170, 3.

[51] *Analekten*, 84/5.

[52] *Op. cit.*, 28, top.

also the metaphorical meanings of "hero, fighter,"[53] but on p. 29, top, he accepts the above theory of Markwart's without seeing a contradiction to his first statement. Németh further on says, χοπόν was to be read as k'apan, but in Byzantine Greek no reminiscence of the χ's original aspirate nature (=k̓, kh) existed any more, the Greek χ being but an approximate rendering of the Turkic q. The o again render Turkic a or å. Χοπόν seems to indicate that Greek α must have had an open pronunciation, perhaps as modern Italian or N-Persian a; an 'Ατέλ would possibly mean Åtel, or Åtėl? Päč. qapan < qapγan with zero of the guttural initial of the suffix is a regular occurrence in the SW languages, but is found, as it seems, only in certain uninvestigated cases of the NW languages.

In Τζοπόν, the name of the eighth θέμα, we again see the o designating Tk. a (= å) of the second syllable, < Tk. čoban "shepherd". WB has Ča. čopan, Osm., Qrym čoban[54] "id.". The word has interesting variants in Tk., cf. Ujγ. čołban, Osm. čołpan, Tel. čołbon, čołmon,[55] Saγ., Qojb. sołban, Jak. sołbon "the planet Venus, the morning-star,"[56] probably originally "the shepherd", the word having been contaminated with the supposed former second part of its composition, jołduz, julduz "star". Cf. further Kāšγ. čupan "Gehilfe des Dorfvorstehers".[57] In Päč., too, the word seems to designate a title. It is a loanword from Iranian, but not from N-Pers. šubān, as Markwart assumed;[58] Avest. fšu-pān-"shepherd", Christian-Soγdian xûšpānê <*xšu-pānē, where xš<fš.[59] The borrowing into Turkic goes back to old- or even pre-Soγdian times, since Turkic č- corresponds to Iran. xš- or fš-, not to simple N-Pers. š-; thus, N-Pers. šubān can not be the source. On the other hand, Orxon šad[60] "title of a high dignitary" goes back to Soγd. xšēδ, ixšēδ "id.". As a Turkic title, it must have been borrowed into Slavic at an early date: OChSl. жоупанъ (occurs in the Suprasl.), O-Russ. жюпанъ.[61] The initial ž- in Slav. is difficult to explain.[61a] It seems to

[53] WB II,439.

[54] WB IV,2029.

[55] WB III, 2025 f.

[56] WB IV,555. In Özbek of North-Afghanistan, both čupan and čulpan "shepherd" occur, cf. Gunnar Jarring, Uzbek Texts from Afghan Turkestan, p. 183.

[57] Brockelmann, 59. Cf. ζουπανία, *De Adm. Imp.*, ch. 30, and to its forms ΖΩΑΠΑΝ, ΖΟΑΠΑΝ in one of the Nagy-Szent-Miklós Inscriptions, cf. V. Thomsen, in *Det Kgl. Danske Vedensk. Selsk. phil-hist. Mededelser*, I,1,15 ff. There also references to Brugmann, *IF*,XI,111–2, and Brückner, *IF*, XXIII,217.

[58] Markwart, Analekten, 85.

[59] These forms according to a kind communication by letter of Dr. P. Tedesco.

[60] WB IV,971.

[61] Sreznevskij, I,884.

[61a] Markwart, *Streifzüge*, p. 468, quotes the forms sūbandž and sūpandž occurring in Ibn Rustā's and Gurdēzī's reports on the Slavs as the title of the "prince of the princes" of the Slavs. The punctuation of these Arabic forms, however, is deficient and varies in the different mss. Very similar forms occur also in the Mudžmal at-

go back to a (Turkic?) prototype with voiced initial. Hungarian has išpān (ispán) which is considered by Asbóth[62] a loanword from Serbo-croatian žùpān. But in this case, the Hungarian would exhibit anaptyxis, while actually the initial i- is a prothetic vowel. Between Tk. čopan, čoban etc. and the Slavic and Hungarian forms, a number of intermediary forms are to be assumed which during the course of borrowing and re-borrowing must have contaminated each other. On Balkanic soil, the word came into the local German dialects in vulgar etymology as "Ge-span" (title), unknown to all other German dialects.

Whether Greek π renders, in this case, Turkic p or b, is difficult to answer, since also in this case we observe a great inconsistency; not all β's designate v, as they do in Greek of the tenth century, though some of them might designate Turkic v from older b, as it sporadically occurs in the SW group (cf. Osm. var- "to go", var "existing", ver- "to give", against bar-, bar, ber- of the other languages, while in bil- "to know," buł- "to find" etc. Osman is conform with the other languages). Although the voiced stops b and d had been spirantized, v, đ, long before the middle of the tenth century, the letters β and δ are still used for the transcription of the non-Greek voiced stops b and d, as numerous examples from *De Adm. Imp.* exhibit, e.g.: Βονιφάτιος (25) Bonifatius, Καλαβρία (28) Calabria, Λοδόϊχος (29) Hlodovicus, Ludwig, Βουλγαρία (30) Bulgaria, Βελόγραδον (31/32), Βελέγραδα, Βελάγραδα (40) Бѣлъградъ, Νουγράδε (35) Новъградъ, Γράδεται (35) Градьце, βόϊλαν (acc. sg.), 45, <Tk. bojła; or: Βουβάχαρ (14) ابو بكر, 'Ιζίδ (21) يزيد 'Αβδελάν (acc.) عبدالله (21), Ζουβέρ (21) زبير, καδῆς (21) قديس (sacred"), Βαγδάδ بغداد (25), 'Αβδηραχείμ (44) عبد الرحيم, Συμβάτιος Սմբատ; but: Βενετία (25) Venetia, Τζιβιτὰ νόβα (28) Cività Nova, Βλαστήμερος (32/4) Властимѣръ, βοέβοδοι (38) Воѥводы, ἡ Βενεβενδός Beneventum (27), Μουδάφαρ (50) مظفّر, Μαβέας (20f) معاوية, et al.

The ἄρχοντες, chieftains, of these tribes have the following names: 1. Μαΐτζας, for which I have no etymology. 2. Κούελ could stand for the title kül, if we knew that it had length, *kū̄l. If this ancient title is Turkic, we could connect it with Orxon, Ujγ. kü "name, fame, reputation",[63] Baraba, Teleut kū̄ "id., noise, shouting" which according to occasional

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Tawārīx and with Šukrułłāh ben Šihāb, Ḥāddžī Xalfa, and with Muḥammad al-Kātib (Markwart, l.c. 488, n.3.).—These forms are either simply erroneous, taken down from hear-say, or they might go back to an erroneous spelling with initial sīn instead of initial ṣād, since in the older Arabic texts the sound č, alien to Arabic, is commonly rendered as ṣ. In this case, these forms might represent čupan. The final ج is still to be read as g, which would render a form *čupaŋ, and which may have arisen on Altaic soil. Does Muḥammad al-Kātib's شوپخ (for شوپنج) represent a Slavic form with ž-, a sound equally alien to Arabic?

[62] Asbóth, *op. cit.*, 285.

[63] WB, II,1416–1417.

spellings with two wāws in Ujγur[64] and to the Baraba and Teleut forms seems to have had long root-vowel. On the other hand, this name might be a contraction, *kul or *kōl < köb äl "much people", or a derivative of kök "blue", as Németh supposes, connecting it with Qq. kögāl "light-green".[65] 3. *Κουρκούτας* is the well-known name, being the 2nd sg. imperat. qorqut (qurqut — u in the base-syllable in place of o of other Turkic languages is a feature typical of the NW and West-Siberian languages) "horrify!" (scil. the evil spirits, the devil),[66] from qorq-ut-, causat. of qorq- "to be afraid of, to have fear". It is common as name: everybody knows the Osman folktales "Dädä Qorqut ḥikājäläri", the Tales of Old (grandfather) Qorqut. 4. *Ἰπαός* reminds us of names, preponderantly those of the Połovci, formed with apa (> ypa), opa as second element, as e.g., Аѥпа < aj-apa (aj-opa) "Moon-Father," Китанопа "Qytan-Father",[67] etc. *Ἰπαός* would have the ablaut a/y in the first syllable, which may occur in all Turkic languages, but which is regular only in Jakut. A form like *yp-aγ < *yp-aq < ap-aq "completely white" seems not acceptable to me, since thus γ < q which itself would not be regular in this case, ought to have its expression in the Greek script as well as q would be rendered at least as χ if not as κ.

5. *Καϊδούμ* seems to mean simply "return, coming back, action of returning," a verbal noun from qajt- (in many languages) "to return":[68] qajt-ym /-um > qajd-um. The WB has other derivatives, as qajtam, qajtyš, qajtū "id". Sonantization of the base-final -t and labial vowel in the suffix are not contrary to the rules of Turkic. As Greek β almost in no case means a Turkic v, we have here a δ for Turkic d. In modern Turkic languages only a secundary đ exists which in Türkmen arose from z, in any position, as s became þ, and in Bašqurt and in certain Qazan dialects from an intervocalic d.

6. *Κώσταs* shows a Greek popular short form for *Κωνσταντῖνος*.

7. *Γιαζή* is probably jazy, Orxon, Uj., Qom., Ałt., Tel., Küär. "flat, even, plain; steppe, prairie"[69]; other mss. have *Γιασή* which would be jasy having the same meaning, occurring in Osm., Čaγ., and jesi in Taranči.[70] Kāšγ. has jazy "Ebene", Jakut sysȳ "id.". The Greek form can not render an Arabic غازي "victorious", as Markwart was inclined to assume.[71] This

[64] W. Bang & A. v. Gabain, Analytischer Index (= SBAW XVII, 1931), 26–7.
[65] WB II,1231.
[66] Németh, *op. cit.*, p. 31, n.1.
[67] Qytan, Orxon Qyţań, is a famous tribe name. It is also the name of the founders of the Ljao-Dynasty in N.-China (907–1125).
[68] WB II,29–30.
[69] WB III,229.
[70] WB III,219,220.
[71] Markwart, *Streifzüge*, p. 528.

would require the assumption of a misspelling, and as Γιασή proves, this can not be strengthened.

8. Βατάς, like Ἴπαός, Μαΐτζας, with a Greek ending—ἐπὶ τὸ Ἑλληνικώτερον—is probably the Tk. bat, Kāšγ. "fast, quick", Čaγ., Sart. "id",[72] O.T., Tar.pat "id., soon",[73] but not Orxon, Osman bat "unfit, naughty."[74] Less probable is a derivative from Mongol batu "solid, firm, permanent honest",[75] Monguor p'aDu, Ordos bat'u "id".

The names of the four Päčänäg tribes (γενεαί) beyond (= east of) the Dněpr have been satisfactorily explained by Németh[76] as consisting in the second part of one of the tribe names already mentioned above, and in the first part of a term for color of animals, preponderantly, of course, of horses. Concerning those, only some minor remarks are given here.

1. Κουαρτζιτζούρ < Küärči Čur[77] "pidgeon-blue + čur (title)". Here we have to suppose a Päč. *küvärčin "pidgeon", cf. Osm. gövärdžin, güvārdžin,[78] Ča. (from Rabγūzī) kövärčkän,[79] Qq. kögöršün, Qom. kögürcin, Bar. kögürdzün, Alt. köγürčün, Qyrγyz kögürčkön, kögüčkön, "id.",[80] Qn. kügärčin, Tob. kügälcin.[81] In both Iranian and Slavic, the idea of "blue" and "pidgeon" are closely related, cf. N-Pers. kabūtar "pidgeon" from kabūđ "blue", and OChSl. голꙋбь and Russ. голубóй. As color of horses, cf. Qn. kügät "pale, fallow"[82] and Mong. kükäkčin morin (or gegün) "jument d'une couleur grise-bleuâtre".[83] The term would thus mean "the tribe of the Čur with the grayish-blue horses".

2. Συρουκαλπέη. The second part is certainly a misspelling for κουλπέη discussed above. The first part is, according to Németh, "türkisch suru 'grau' ". In the WB Qazan sœre "gray"[84] and Tob., Qūrdaq, Tel. sur "bluish, grayish-blue"[85] are listed. The word does not occur in Kāšγ. Problematic is the Greek spelling of υ in the first syllable. Nevertheless, a derivative from syr, Siberian languages, "color, variegated, red"[86] is

[72] WB IV,1508.
[73] WB IV,1173.
[74] WB IV,1508.
[75] Kovalevskij, II,1770.
[76] *Op. cit.*, 32 ff.
[77] *Ibid.*, 31, bottom.
[78] WB II,1613. In some Tk. languages, regularly, as it seems, only in Osman, a secondary g < k may become v in position after labial vowels.
[79] WB II,1319.
[80] WB II,1232–1233.
[81] WB II,1427.
[82] *Ibid.*
[83] Kovalevskij, III,2628.
[84] WB IV,591.
[85] WB IV,764.
[86] WB IV,636.

less probable, since thus the second syllable in *συρου-* remains inexplicable. The Συρουκαλπέη would be the tribe of the Kül-beg with gray horses.

3. Βοροταλμάτ is clear: the Ταλμάτ with horses of a dark-gray color. WB quotes Qrm. boru "a color of horses", in Siberian languages poro, pora "dark-gray and white with dark coat (horses)".[87]

4. Βουλατζοπόν "der Stamm Čoban mit scheckigen Pferden", as Németh says. This is not convincing, since in the WB no buła is found. It is listed in compositions only, as e.g. Osm. ała-buła "mixed up, messed up"[88] which is related to buła-, bułγa- "to trouble, disturb, mix up, etc". A Turkic *bułan can be reconstructed from Russian where it survives as designation of horse-color: Russ., Ukr. була́ный, Pol. bułany "dun".[89] I do not believe that similar words, such as Čaγ. bulaγ "horse with an incision in the foot",[90] or Kāš. bulaq "breitrückig (Pferd)", bolaq at "horse with white back", or bol (vowel uncertain) "with a white foot (horse)" underlie this *βουλα-*. It does not seem probable that *βουλα-* represents the Turkic title bojła/bujła which was well known in Byzantion at that time.

Two more tribes are listed in this chapter as belonging to the Κάγγαρ or Κάγκαρ group, the Ἰαβδιηρτί (earlier in this chapter mentioned in the form Ἰαβδιερτίμ as living near to the Rös), and the Χαβουξιγγυλά.

5. The Ἰαβδιερτίμ are, according to Németh, "the valiant with the shining horses". Németh is correct when stating that *ἰαβδι* stands for javdy which he puts equal with Čaγ. jaγdu "shine, splendor, light"; here, we have northwestern v for γ of other Turkic languages; Čaγ. jaγdu, jaγtu[91] < jaγ-yt-u, from jaq- "to kindle (fire)"; Qn. jaqty and Čγ. jaqtu exist also.[92]

6. The Χαβουξιγγυλά are explained by Németh as "the tribe of the Jula with the horses of bark-color". For this purpose, he has to construct a Turkic "K'abukšyn 'baumrindefarbig' ".[93] There exists no *qabuqšyn, *qabuqčyn (these would be the correct phonetic forms) in the WB or in any other dictionary, and the word is a mere reconstruction. Čγ., Osm., Qrm., Kar., Bar. qabuq, Osm. Qrm., Qn., Tob., Qq., Tel., Qom. qabyq "bark, shell",[94] but no derivative of the kind as supposed by Németh. However, as seen from Osm. dialects, the suffix -čyn/-džyn can be attached to nouns: eladžynly-meladžynly "spotted, medley, confused".[95] I doubt, in view of the fact that these nomad cattle-breeders have such a

[87] WB IV,1663,1269–70.

[88] WB IV,1836.

[89] Berneker, *Slavisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch*, p. 100, refers to Miklosich, *Et. Wb.*, p. 417.

[90] WB IV,1837.

[91] WB III,53–4.

[92] WB III,33,35.

[93] *Op. cit.*, 32 top.

[94] WB II,448–449, 455–456.

[95] Dialect of Ankara. Cf. *Anadilden Derlemeler*, p. 119.

great amount of designations for the color of their animals, that they as steppe-dwellers used the color of bark (of which trees?—this is another question) for comparison with that of their animals. In this case, I would give the preference to Markwart's view, who explains X. as a *qapuγčy-juła (or qabuγčy-juła) "doorkeeper-juła".[96] As seen in the case of Γιαζιχο-πόν, the first part of these compounds is not necessarily a designation of color. Professor H. Grégoire thought of a *qavun-čyn, /-džyn as an equivalent for Byzantine-Greek πεπανός "melon-colored (horse-color)",[97] but in this case the ξ would remain unexplained.

The Κάγγαρ or Κάγκαρ are not treated by Németh. He mentions them merely as "tapfer, vornehm"[98] apparently according to Konstantinos Porphyrogennetos' words. Markwart[99] wanted to identify the Κάγκαρ with the old West-Turkic tribe of the Käŋäräs, which he further on connects with a käŋär—as we have to read it, if we consider it Altaic, since the Arabic version quoted by Markwart shows كنكر[100] i.e., the palatality of the word—a name of the Syr-Darjā (Ἰαξάρτης). Markwart says nothing on the formation and etymology of this tribe name. It could be explained as a plural in -s as it is still known in Mongol and Tungus languages, though rare in both groups. Thus, the Käŋäräs could be analyzed as Käŋär-ās or Käŋärä-s (pl.). If we conceive of the element är as an appellativum (cf. the Ἀκάτζιροι as *Aγač ār-i, supra), it would be Turkic är "man" which forms in older Turkic a plural äräŋ (Kāšγarī, e.g.), but its Mongol equivalent is ärä (cf. Türkmen ā̆r, proto-Tk. *ā̆r) which forms its plural ärä-s. But thus, it would be impossible to link it up with Käŋär or Käŋkär كنكر, the name of the Syr-Darjā.

The Greek spelling does not necessitate a palatal form of the word, since Greek α does not necessarily mean ä, but may mean Turkic a, and since Greek κ may mean k as well as q, although one apparently prefers to render Turkic q, at least in initial position, as χ. We encounter the same difficulties in the rendering of these sounds in Old-Russian, e.g., in the oldest period, it seems, q is always rendered as К, while it later on, and mostly in initial position, appears as Х.

The Κάγκαρ are something like the upper class of the horde, and comprise the three tribes Ἰαβδιηρτί, Κουαρτζιτζούρ, and the Χαβουξιγγυλά. The Emperor states twice that they are nobler and more valiant than the others:

[96] "Analekten," p. 85. Markwart's qapuγčy-juła is now well supported by the T'o-Pa title k'o-po-čžĕn <*k'â-b'âk-t́śi̯ĕn, cf. P. A. Boodberg, *op. cit.*, HJAS, I (1936), p. 170, 2.

[97] Cf. modern Greek πεπονὺ(ς) from πεπόνι "melon" (H. Grégoire in an oral communication to me).

[98] P. 28.

[99] In his *Chronologie der alttürkischen Inschriften*", pp. 10–11. Cf. also his *Volkstum der Komanen*, pp. 78, 168.

[100] *Ibid.*, X, 5, n. 5.

ἀνδρειότεροι καὶ εὐγενέστεροι τῶν λοιπῶν· τοῦτο γὰρ δηλοῖ ἡ τοῦ Κάγγαρ προσηγορία,[101] and: τοῦτο γὰρ τὸ Κάγγαρ ὄνομα ἐπ' εὐγενείᾳ καὶ ἀνδρείᾳ ἐλέγετο παρ' αὐτοῖς.[102]

Two Turkic words could be considered from which Κάγγαρ could be derived: 1) qan "blood", 2) qan, the shorter (contracted?) form for qaγan "supreme ruler". I do not believe in a derivative from qan "blood", as the Altaians never connect the blood with "race, nobility, descent" etc.; the blood, in their opinion, is only the receptacle of the soul, the bearer, the element of the soul. Because of this belief, Čingis-Xan, e.g., never had relatives or former friends executed by the sword, but had them strangled, in order that their spirits or souls would be undisturbed after death. By shedding the victims' blood, he would have caused their poor souls eternal unrest after death, and they would not have a place to return to and to rest in. In Chinese popular belief we find the same ideas. Thus, I should prefer to connect Κάγγαρ with qan "ruler", and to analyze it as qaŋγar < qan + nominal suff. -γar. It would be possible to consider the suffix -γar an ablaut-form of a suffix which appears in Byzantine sources as -γουρ-οι in tribe-names: Κουτρίγουροι, Κουτούργουροι, Οὐννουγοῦροι, Οὐτίγουροι, Κοτζάγηροι (-gir!) which is very common among Tungus (Evenki) tribes, being also found in Turko-Mongol tribe-names: -gir/-jir, arising from an older *-γyr/-gir, since both Tungus and Mongol have lost the pre-Altaic sound-group γy. The suffix *-γyr/-gir seems to consist of two elements, -γy/-gi identical with the Altaic locative suffix -qy/-ki/-γy/-gi + the plural suffix -r, which here may have lost its pluralic significance. It is worthwhile mentioning, that certain Tungus languages form a special feminine (the Ural-Altaic languages have no grammatical gender, except in a few uninvestigated cases), in the case of which this -r disappears: -gir, masc., -gi-mĭī, fem., cf. Tungus Barguzin Galdžōhir, masc., Galdžō-hi-mĭī, fem.[103] In Eveŋki, most tribe-names are formed with the suffix -gir: Bulto-gir, Čapo-gir, Čilča-gir, Šama-gir, Maňe-gir, Kindi-gir, Lonto-gir, etc., in Turkic and Mongol, we find a few such as Džałajir (Tk.) = Dzałajir (Mong.), Uj-γur (?). Thus, the Κάγγαρ < Qaŋγar < qaŋ-γar would be the Royal ones, those close to the qan. There would be some similarity with Herodotos' Σκύθαι βασιλικοί, the Σκολόται. We have no dates as to which tribe was the tribe of the χαγάνος, qaγan of the Päčänäg, as we know, e.g., that the Qynyq were the royal clan of the Oγuz[104] or the I-la and the Šjao the royal clans of the Qytaň (Ljao).

Still another etymology is possible; Κάγγαρ could be formed with the suf-

[101] Chapter XXXVII, end.

[102] Bonn, p. 169,2–4.

[103] Cf. N. N. Poppe, Материалы для исследования тунгусского языка, АН СССР, Leningrad, 1927, p. 3.

[104] Brockelmann, p. 247.

fix -γa for denominal verbs and it could assume the suffix of the nomen aoristi: qan-γa-r, a formation like another tribe-name, namely that of the Buł-γa-r. An independent noun *buł is not known, so far; only the verbal derivative bułγa-, Qom., Qrm., Kar., Qq., Čγ., Tar., O.T. "to mix up, to trouble, to stir up, make disorder,"[105] Osm. buła- "id,"[106] Orxon buł-γa-q "confusion, trouble"[105]—Kāšγarī lists it as a man's name[107]—and numerous derivatives. Thus, the Bulgars would be "the troublers". I do not deny, of course, that on the other hand, Bułγar might be a very old form, and as such might go back to formations of a different kind which can not be completely analyzed without the dangerous probability of a large amount of errors. P. A. Boodberg, e.g., is of the opinion that the underlying idea of this tribe-name is "mixed ones" (in an anthropological sense); he, too, derives it from buł-γa- and *buł, but does not say anything of the suffixes or the word-formation. In this case, it would either be a simple formation, *buł-γar, with the ethnikon -γar as discussed above, or a more complex formation for which I could tentatively offer about half a dozen examples.[108]

The names of the ἐρημόκασπρα[109] except that of the first one Ἄσπρον "White" whose indigenous name has not been noted by the Emperor, show -κάται in the second part of the compound. This is erroneously read by Németh[110] as "kataj" instead of katä. In the tenth century, the ancient diphthong αι had long had the phonetic value of ä. This error leads Németh to the supposition that "kataj" correspond to a Čaγ. qataγ "Schanze, Barrière, Befestigung, Schutzwehr"[111] quoted by Radłov from Šäjx Sülejmān's Dictionary and which probably stands for qataq, since Čaγataj orthography has great vacillations and freedom in the spellings of final -γ or -q. Németh adds to his hypothesis "mit der auffallenden Entsprechung γ∼j". I must say, however, that a correspondence γ∼j as quoted for this instance does not exist in the Turkic languages. It is rather convincing to connect -κάται with East-Iranian kat "house > village", as d'Ohsson[112] and Markwart[113] do. The word -κάται was in Päčänäg probably

[105] WB IV,1848.

[106] WB IV,1836.

[107] Brockelmann, 242.

[108] Cf. P. A. Boodberg's "Two notes on the History of the Chinese Frontier, 2. The Bulgars of Mongolia", in HJAS, I,3-4 (1926), 291-307, *ibidem*, reference to Németh's "La provenance du nom bulgar" in *Symbolae Grammaticae in honorem Ioann. Rozwadowski*, II,217-226, cf. further on Markwart & Bang, "Die Chronologie der alttk. Inschr.", pp. 90,94,110.

[109] Chapter XXXVII, Bonn, p. 167,5 ff.—Cf. also Markwart, *Streifzüge*, p. 191, and note 2.

[110] P. 33.

[111] WB II,279.

[112] d'Ohsson, *Des peuples du Caucase*, p. 256 (quoted after Németh).

[113] *Streifzüge*, p. 196, bottom. Hung. hāz ("ház") "house" is also to be traced either to the same or to a closely related Iranian base.

of palatal nature: *kätä, *käte, *kàte, since postpalatal gutturals of IE languages are not velar and are, therefore, automatically conceived of as palatals. There are, however, languages of the NW group, as Qazan and Qazaq, which can treat such borrowings as both, velar and palatal, so that they may appear in one and the same language with all velar or with all palatal sounds.

In Wadding's *Annales Minorum*, VI,227, a Cata is found in a text of a Vatican MS. dated 1314 (sub: "Numerus Provinciarum et Custodiarum Ordinis Minorum"). In a parallel text of 1400, a Slcata is noted which W. Bang corrected into Solqat or Eski Qrym, the name of the ancient capital of the Crimea.[114]

Final -αι is nothing other than the suff. possess. 3rd pers. sg. -i which may show some variations according to soundharmony or language, i.e., it may be -y, -i, -ъ, -ь, or it can have ablaut, as in some Siberian languages, -ä, -e (-a/-ä).[115] Thus, -αι may mean an i-sound dulled toward ä, e. The possessive suffix 3rd person is required, by Turkic syntax, for all rectum-regens-composition.

The first components of these place-names are rather problematic. It is very possible, if not probable that they represent old place- or district-names which might have undergone Turkic vulgar etymologies.

1. Τουγγᾶται. Németh connects it with tün "night", and explains it as "fort of the night-watch"; tün, however, does not mean "night-watch", on the other hand, Németh thinks it could be tun "rest" (so Kāšγ.) which stands for tyn of the other languages. Németh is correct in rejecting a connection with تن Tän (?), Tun (?), the Osman name of the Don River.[116] Τουγ- (= tuŋ) might be explained as toŋ Čγ., OT., Qq., Tob., Ałt., Tel., Leb., Šor, Saγ.,[117] tuŋ Qn. "frost, frozen; rigid (from frost)".[118]

2. Κρακνακάται seems to be the only one to have an unquestioned Turkic etymology. Németh correctly sees in its first part qaraq "look; pupil of the eye; eye",[119] meaning in Ujγ., Čγ., Qn. also "pillage, robbery, damage", being a noun in -q from qara- "to look (for), to observe, to watch out, etc."[120]

[114] SBAW, 1913, p. 245. Possibly -κάται survives in Hungarian place-names composed with káta, as Szent-Márton-Káta, Nagykáta, etc., where the final -a would be the suffix of the possessive 3rd pers. sg.

[115] Cf. L. P. Potapov & K. Menges, "Materialien zur Volkskunde der Türkvölker des Ałtaj, I" (*MSOS*, XXXVII, Berlin 1934), 87 ff.—In Jakut, the suff. poss. 3rd pers. sg. is always -a/-ä. On the other hand, in Hungarian, the same suffix is -á/-ä.

[116] P. 34, n. 1.—Does Markwart's (*Streifzüge*, 191,n.2) Tun-kat تو نكت refer to this? No source for تو نكت is quoted by him.

[117] WB III,1170.

[118] WB III,1434.

[119] WB II,147 ff.

[120] WB II,142 ff.

This composition would thus mean "observation-post, -fort" or so. The element *-να-* not explained by Németh, is the genitive suffix -nyŋ/-niŋ which, too, shows the same ablaut as the possessive suffix 3rd person in *-κάται*. If this is not an insufficient spelling, we would, in this case, have a short form of the genitive suffix, -ny/-ni (here > -na/-nä) as it is known from the Özbek dialects of Taškent and Xiwā̄[121] and from the Qumyq language.[122]

3. Σαλμακάται can be, as Németh is convinced, sałma-kate "the fortress of the patrol"; sałma, Osm. "action of throwing, putting, letting out; going, grazing freely (cattle)," and: "watch, patrol"; in Čaγ. and the languages of Eastern Turkestan it can mean "lasso (for horses), loop, snare, wire"[123] and it has other meanings in the different languages since it originally means "action of putting, placing, throwing", and "thing put, placed, thrown" etc.

4. Σακακάται would, according to Németh, simply be saqa-kate "Pfahlburg, pile-castle," from saqa Qq. "pile, pole, support, post".[124] But Markwart[125] connects it with Lelewel, *La géographie du Moyen-Age*, III,166, with the town of زاقة mentioned by Džajhānī and Idrīsī, and situated at the mouth of the Dňestr. May be, saqa-kate is a Päč. form of this زاقة due to vulgar etymology? A connection with te Iranian tribe-name of the Śaka, Σάκαι, does not seem plausible in this case.

5. 'Ιαουκάται is explained by Németh as "Kriegsfestung" which is read by him "jaju-kataj". The Turkic word for "enemy" and "war" is jaγ, jū, jau, džau, the last two being the forms of the NW group. If the Greek spelling 'Ιαιου- is correct, it is phonetically = jäu, a form which is absolutely possible in a language of the NW group having a strong tendency toward palatalization. On the other hand, it is possible that 'Ιαιου- stands for 'Ιαου- = jau, Qn., Tob. Bar., Čaγ. "id".[126] In neither case is Németh's "strange correspondence γ ~ j" present. If we had to suppose a Greek spelling 'Ιαϊου- = jaju, this word could be a verbal noun in -yγ (appearing in the NW group as -ū) of jaj- < jaḍ- "to expand, scatter, disperse"; thus it could here mean "houses of the dispersion = scattered houses, expanded settlement", or so.

In this connection, I should like to discuss some words of Turkic and probably Päčänäg origin as occurring in the following chapters.

The name of the Κάβαροι[127] could also be explained as a nomen aoristi

[121] Menges, *Drei özbek. Texte*, p. 157 f.
[122] N. K. Dmitrijev, Грамматика Кумыкского Языка, p. 55, bottom.
[123] WB IV,374.
[124] WB IV,241.
[125] *Streifzüge*, p. 196, bottom.
[126] WB III,16.
[127] Chapter XXXIX, Bonn,171.

qab-ar of qap- which occurs in almost all Turkic languages, "to take, grasp, seize, grab, take with hands, arms, claws, teeth; take away, along; rob, steel",[128] Kāšγ. "to steal, attack, seize". From this same base, the title Capcanus of the Avars as occurring in Einhard's Annals,[129] and that of the successor of Eltäräš-Qaγan of the Kök-Türk, mentioned in the Toňuquq-Inscription, namely Qapγan-Qaγan, is to be derived; Radloff transcribes it as *Qapaγan-Qaγan,[130] but on the monument itself no vocalization is given: qpγnqγn. Turkic -p- in intervocalic position becomes voiced regularly in the Siberian languages, as any unvoiced consonant; it is possible that some of the extinct NW languages had a similar sonantization in intervocalic position.

Another possibility is offered by a qabar found in the WB, listed for Azarbajdžānī only[131] meaning "variegated, having the traces of small-pox"; it might be a name used for the color of their horses, if we follow Németh, or indicating that at a certain time the tribe suffered from a severe small-pox epidemic. To which base this Az. qabar belongs, is not clear as yet.

A great difficulty is implied in the phonetic value of the *β*. If the meaning is, in this case, v, there would be only the possibility of a derivation from qav- listed in the WB[132] for Čaγ. only, "to persecute, expel", while in the other languages forms like qov- (Kāšγ., Osm.), qū- (Qrm., Qom., Qn., Qq., Alt., Tel.) are known. The development of Čaγ. qav- seems to be due to a particular development within Čaγataj. A qavar ~ qovar = qov-ar (nomen aoristi) "persecuting, expelling" is not necessarily activic, since in many Turkic languages (Siberian, East-Siberian, NW-group) the designation of the passive is generally omitted. If we conceive of that form in the sense of "emigrants, exiles", it would have some relation to the Emperor's report on their secession from the Xazars.

At the end of the chapter (XXXIX), the Emperor mentions the bilinguism of the Κάβαροι. They were descended from the Χάζαροι, fled to the Τοῦρκοι (proto-Magyars) in the country of the Päčänäg, then, they teach the Τοῦρκοι the language of the Χάζαροι, but "they have also the other language of the Τοῦρκοι."[133] Which was the language they taught the Τοῦρκοι? Since the latter were definitely proto-Hungarians, i.e., speaking Ugric, they must have taught them their Turkic idiom, and that means, the Κάβαροι belonged to that group of the Χάζαροι which originally spoke

[128] WB II,403 ff.
[129] Markwart, *Chronologie*, p. 109.
[130] *Alttürkische Inschriften der Mongolei*, II,93.
[131] WB II,440.
[132] WB II,463.
[133] Bonn, p. 172,2–3.

Turkic. Except that, they knew also the other language of the Τοῦρκοι, i.e., an Ugric language.[134]

In the next chapter, XL, some tribe-names of the same tribal conglomerate are given. Of the six names mentioned, I propose etymologies for only two: Καρή and Κασή.[135] The first seems to be Turkic qary, occurring in almost all Turkic languages, "old, aged".[136] Κασή would be easily explained as Kāšγ. qasy "Hürde, fold, pen (for cattle)" showing in Kāšγ. a NW and SW form for a qasyγ of other Turkic languages[137] (which, in Kāšγ., has a different meaning), verbal noun in -γ from qasy-, qas- Osm. "to tie (up), draw together, to seam".[138] But the easy way is seldom the right one, and thus, it is possible that I have fallen prey to vulgar etymology.

At the end of chapter XL, the title καρχᾶν (later: καρχᾶς, genit. καρχᾶ) occurs;[139] the καρχᾶν as well as the γυλᾶς (= Magyar ḏulå) receive the grain-tax. It is for phonological reasons extremely difficult to connect this title with qapγan > καυχάνος; a form *qauxan could become *qaγxan, but in Turkic no alternation γ ∽ r occurs, except in the recent language of Eastern Turkestan (OT., Tar. = New-Ujγur) where the r is uvular and may therefore be replaced by γ, and vice versa. Thus, I do not consider a development qaγxan > qarxan (with uvular *r*) probable. The WB lists a Tel. qārγan "mythological mediator between Ärlik and Ülgön"[140] which shows length due to contraction, cf. Qaγγyrγān "id" and Qaγyr, Tel., "servant of Ärlik, head of all evil spirits",[141] and Tel. qarγan "old, aged" < qary-γan.[140] The title might also have arisen after disappearance of intermediary syllable, from qaraγan "looking, watching, observing". From the phonological viewpoint, it is better to connect καρχᾶν with one of the latter examples.

The detailed geographical chapter XLII contains a number of names which seem etymologizable from Turkic. It is, of course, impossible to state whether these names belong to Päčänäg or whether they originated long before their arrival in the Pontic steppes.

Τὰ Ἀδαρά, sand-banks, or islands protruding into the Black Sea in

[134] Cf. Markwart, *Streifzüge*, pp. 52 ff., 66, 522. Our views differ, inasmuch as Markwart believes all the Xazars to have formed one linguistic unit, belonging to the Turkic group. In the *Ḥudūdu-'l-'Ālam*, the existence of a compound or mixed group, the Xazaropäčänäg, is stated, cf. V. Minorsky, *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam*, p. 160, 443 f. Are the Covari, mentioned in the *Annales Juvavenses*, cf. Monumenta Germaniae Hist., Scriptores, XXX, 2, identical with these Κάβαροι?

[135] Bonn, p. 172,13.

[136] WB II,167 f.

[137] Brockelmann, p. 149.

[138] WB II,350,347.

[139] Bonn, p. 174,17 ff.

[140] WB II,192.

[141] WB II,74.

the region of the mouth of the Dněpr,[142] are, as J. Duchesne-Guillemin showed,[143] etymologizable from Iranian, and their name survives in Tendra (in the eastern part of the bay of Odessa).

One of the numerous rivers streaming to the Maiotis is the Χωράκουλ[144] in which the *βερζήτικον* is caught. It is without doubt a Turkic qåra köl "black lake." As far as the second part of the compound is concerned, we have seen that ου may represent both Altaic ö and ü. As Türkmen gȫl and Jakut küöl (xüöl) show, the word had proto-Turkic length: *kȫl (or *gȫl). The Mongol equivalent is velar γȫł (spelled: γwwl) and it means "river", not "lake".[145] In Turkic, it has meant, from the Orxon-period on, "lake"; however, Radloff notes for Altaj and Teleut "branch of a river" and for Saγaj "swamp".[146] It is possible, that these meanings are due to the strong Mongol influence on the Turkic languages of Siberia. On the other hand, it is possible that at a certain ancient state of the Turkic languages, there may not always have existed a clear distinction between "river" and "lake". There is no historical reason to suppose Χωράκουλ to be Mongol, and in Greek spelling, the Mongol γ would without doubt have been rendered as γ. Βερζήτικον is not Altaic. Du Cange[147] explains it as "Oxiani pisces sale conditi, seu qui ex Oxo fluvio eruuntur". He also quotes the form *βερτζίτικον*.[148] Bang connects this[149] with modern Turkish (Osm.) märsin and mürsin[150] "sturgeon" and their modern-Greek equivalent *μερσίνι* and *μουρζοῦλιν*. H. Grégoire[151] believes a geographical term to be contained in *βερζήτικον* pointing to Βερζιλία, Βερζυλία, the region from where the Khazars are said to come.[152] This name occurs as early as in the account of Barhebraeus on the migrations of the Bulgars which goes back to the ecclesiastical history of Johannes of Ephesos (written in 585/6) where the country of the Alans is called Barsālia. It is, as Markwart supposed, the name of an Uralic (or Altaic) tribe which is mentioned in the Armenian sources as Barsełk' (also Basilk'); according to Markwart, they were one of the three original tribes of the later Volga-Bulgarians.[153] Their original roaming places seem to have been the southwesternmost part of the North-Cas-

[142] Bonn, p. 180,1.
[143] *Byzantion*, XII (1937), 717–719.
[144] Bonn, p. 181,2.
[145] Kovalevskij, II,1017.
[146] WB II,1217–8.
[147] *Glossarium Mediae et Infimae Graecitatis*, I,191.
[148] Ibid., I,192.
[149] *SBAW*, 1913, phil.-hist. Kl., p. 245.
[150] WB IV,2098,2222.
[151] Communication by letter.
[152] So e.g. Theophanes and Nikephoros; cf. Markwart, *Chronologie*, p. 83, *Streifzüge*, p. 490, quotations: n.3, *Analekten*, pp. 76,90.
[153] Markwart, *Streifzüge*, pp. 15,56–9, 485,489 f.

pian depression, i.e., the steppes between lower Volga and Eastern Caucasus where now the Qalmyqs and Noγajs live.

As far as Βάλ is concerned, I consider it to be a Turkic *bał meaning "clay, löss, mud, mire", so far not attested in any Turkic language (Turkic and Mongolian bał, "honey", is probably the same word having become fixed in this one semasiological function—original meaning: "thick, stiff liquid" —), but we have derivatives of that base such as bałyq, Orxon,[154] Kāšγ. "city, castle"—in the Near East and in Central Asia, the buildings consist mainly of a wooden frame work and clay—, Mongol bałγasun "city", Kāšγ. bałyq and bałq "clay, mud" (dialect of the Arγu); Kāšγ., Osm., Qrm., Qn. bałčyq, Qq. bałšyq "clay, mud";[155] note the name of an ancient street in Moscow, on the island of the Moskva river, Балчуг. Βάλ would thus be the "muddy, clayey (river)", and it would be the only hitherto known reference to Turkic *bał in its original meaning. This Altayic word is probably genuinely related to proto-Slav. *bołto < *boł-to- "swamp, etc."[156]

Βουρλίκ might represent Turkic *Bor-łyq or *Bur-łyq; cf. Osm. bor "residue from dirty, muddy water",[157] *bor-łuq (/-łyq) "containing such a residue"; on the other hand, it might be connected with another Osm. bor "land unfit for cultivation",[157] i.e. *bor-łuq (/-łyq) "region unfit for cultivation," or with Qq. bor, Qn., Tob. bur "chalk",[158] but the geological map of Russia does not exhibit any chalk-layers around the Azov-Sea. Kāšγ. has a bürü "stagnant water",[159] for which a *bürü-lük (/-lik) can be formed, "place, river containing stagnant water", from which later, through reduction of intermediary syllable, *bür-lük, *bür-lik can originate. Turkic bor and bürü are related to Mongol bur "muddy; dark, obscure; pottery clay".[160] I do not consider probable a derivative from Qom., Qrm. bür, Sib. pür "leaf or bud of a flower".[161]

Χαδήρ is definitely Turkic. It is to be read either as Qadyr or as Qaďyr, "horrible, threatening, grim, dire, etc.", cf. Orxon Ujγur qadyr "id"[162] = qaďyr, as demonstrated by Tel. qajyr "steep", Tuba qajyr "rapid current in the water, in a river",[163] and Saγ., Bältir, Qača, Tel.[164] qazyr "horrible, atrocious, grim, threatening, quick, etc."[165] Kāšγ. has qadyr "difficult

[154] WB IV, 1495–6.
[155] WB IV,1505–6.
[156] Berneker, *Sl. Et. Wb.*, p. 70.
[157] WB IV,1661.
[158] WB IV,1662,1815.
[159] Brockelmann, p. 47.
[160] Kovalevskij, II,1212.
[161] WB IV,1886,1397.
[162] WB II,326.
[163] WB II,94–5.
[164] In Teleut, this form is a borrowing from the Abaqan-Saγaj group.
[165] WB II,379.

(thing, region), severe (prince)",[166] without quotation as to dialect. With Kāšγ., occasional alternations d̠ ~ t and ḍ ~ d are found. As a river-name, Qazyr occurs in Southern Siberia, in the Minusinsk district, as that of an Eastern tributary of the Jenisej, streaming down from the NW slopes of the W Sajan Mts. On some Russian maps, it is called, in its lower course, Tuba, and the Qazyr is considered as one of its source-rivers. In Mongol, this word survives, as it seems, only in the name of the gryphon, qadžir (šibaγun),[167] as a translation of Skr. gṛd'ra- or Tibetan bjargod Gri-dra "bird of prey Gridra;" without doubt under the impression of vulgar etymology, Sanskr. gṛd'ra- literally means "greedy"[167a].

Furthermore, the Emperor mentions a νησίον μέγα χαμηλὸν τὸ λεγόμενον Ἀτέχ[168] which is situated in the middle of the Maiotic (Kimmerian) Bosporos, today Strait of Kerč. The second syllable is, according to its Greek spelling, palatal, or in other words, it reminds the form Ἀτέλ for the Volga, as discussed above. An ancient final -γ/-g is here represented as -χ, as it has been found in the word πέχ < beg. The Turkic word for "island" is in the NW group Qom. "atov" (in the Codex Cumanicus, = atau, atâu), Qn. atau,[169] Osm., Az., Qrm. ada[170] Čaγ. adaγ and adaq (various spellings for adaq).[171] The word is lacking in Kāšγ. The oldest form known so far is Qom. atov < atav/ataγ. A definitely NW form would be that with final -v, -u̯ < -γ, as found in Qom. and Qn.

Near the end of the chapter XLII other islands are mentioned, as being located along the coast of Ζιχία, as the Northwesternmost spurs of the Caucasus are called.[172] Two of the names, Τουργανήρχ and Τζαρβαγάνι,[173] seem to be of Turkic origin. The first name seems divisible into two components: τουργαν + ήρχ. The first part could be the nomen perfecti in -γan of tur-, Orxon, etc., in all Tk. languages, SW group dur-, "to stand, be, be erect, established, etc.",[174] in Čaγ. turγan can also mean "watch, guard, watchman", and it is a tribename.[175] The second part -ήρχ admits at least two explanations: 1) irx may stand for Čaγ. irik, erik "hard, rough,

[166] Brockelmann, 140.

[167] Kovalevskij, II,819.

[167a] For the explanation of the Sanskrit and Tibetan forms I am indebted to Prof. B. Geiger.

[168] Bonn, p. 181,10.

[169] WB I,452.

[170] WB I,476–477.

[171] WB I,479.

[172] The Ζίχοι, mentioned already by Ptolemaios, are probably the ancestors of the contemporary A-dyγ-e, the Čerkes, still living in the same region.

[173] Bonn, 181,22.

[174] WB III,1442 ff., 1787.

[175] WB III,1457.

coarse, big, rude, crude",[176] < erig as Baraba äri "id",[177] Qq., Qom., Az., Qrm. iri, Qn. iri "id",[178] Özbek of Xiwa ėri, ėrъ, ėrü "id"[179] prove, consequently Kāšγ. ärik and irik, irük[180] are to be corrected into ärig, irig and irüg. I do not believe that the word is to be connected with irik, Qq., Sib. "spoiled, soury, rotten"[181] from äri-, iri- "to rot, be spoiled, be dissolved".[182] In the final -χ, again the correspondence -χ for -g is found, as in Ἀτέχ and πέχ. As to its monosyllabity, -ήρχ might represent a case of the type Kāšγ. bałq, qyłq, bīrt, yrq which probably originated under the influence of special accentuation or quantity. Thus, Τουργανήρχ would be "Resisting (the waves, storms), Big, Huge".

The name of the other island offers less difficulties, and its etymology is without ambiguity the nomen praeteriti iterativi in -a-γan of čarp- Osm. "to beat, be beaten, become curved, bent, crooked" from beatings, waves, storms, etc.;[183] the word is quoted from Osman only, and it is lacking with Kāšγ. It is probably the same as Qq. šarpy- "to singe a little at the fire".[184] Τζαρβαγάνι may thus mean "permanently being beaten (by the waves and the winds)".

Οὐκρούχ,[185] the name of the river which streams through the country of Ζιχία and down to Ταμάταρχα, probably the Kubaň of today, might also have a Turkic etymology. This can only be established on the base of a rhotacistic Turkic language, and the only known one is the Ṭăvaš language. Without enlarging on the history and the problems of rhotacism in Turkic, we give only the facts: 1) common-Tk. đ > r in Volga-Bulgarian and in Ṭăvaš, e.g. Tk. ađaq "foot" > Ṭăv. ṷra, 2) common -Tk. z > r, as e.g. in säkiz "eight" > Ṭăv. sakkăr, or Tk. qołaγuz "leader, guide" > Bulg. (Aboba-Pliska) κούλουβρος ~ κόλοβρος.[186]

Lacking material on Ṭăvaš at hand, I derive Οὐκρούχ from Proto-Ṭăvaš (Volga-Bulgarian) *ükkər or *ukkər, (probably with gemination, cf. sakkăr, of which also a non-geminated form exists, sakăr) < Orxon, Ujγ. ögüz[187] + common-Turkic diminutive-suffix in -γq/-ik, i.e. ögüz-ük ≷ *ögür-ük/ökür-ük > *ükkər-ük (/*ukkər-uk) > Οὐκρούχ "little river".

[176] WB I,762,1459–1460.
[177] WB I, 761.
[178] WB I,1458–1459.
[179] Menges, *Drei özbek. Texte*, p. 166.
[180] Brockelmann, pp. 23, 67.
[181] WB I,1459.
[182] WB I,761,1459.
[183] WB III,1871 f.
[184] WB IV,958.
[185] Bonn, p. 181,12.
[186] Cf. Markwart, *Analekten*, 88 ff., Beševliev, *God. Sof. Univ.*, XXXI (1934–35), 73–77.
[187] WB I,1811–2 reads Uj. ügüs "river", the Toňuquq-Inscription (cf. Radloff, *Alttürk. Inschr. der Mongolei*, II,92 reads ügüz. After Kāšγ. (Brockelmann, 133, where ögüz/öküz) it is to be read as ögüz.

This phonological fact would definitely speak against the Päčänäg origin of this name. It can be traced back to a Proto-Ṭăvaš (Volga-Bulgarian) tribe which, in these regions, preceded the Päčänäg for about 2–3 centuries, and whose sojourn in these regions is proved of by the name of the Οὐκρούχ.

Ταμάταρχα, the name of a fortress mentioned in this same chapter,[188] which is the Тмуторокань of the Old-Russian Chronicles, will be discussed by H. Grégoire in his article on the Byzantine elements in the *Tale of Igor'*.

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ADDENDUM

P. 265, I should have referred to Beschewliew, "Zur Frage des Lautwertes des Buchstaben β im Spätgr.," *Annuaire de l'Institut de Phil. et d'Hist. Or. et Slaves*, Brussels, V (1937), 65–68.

[188] Bonn, p. 181,7.

THE AVIGNONESE PAPACY AND THE CATALAN DUCHY OF ATHENS

By Kenneth M. Setton

The exploits of the Catalan Grand Company and their expedition to the Levant have been no less a source of pride and inspiration to the Catalan historian Antonio Rubió y Lluch in the twentieth century than they were to the Catalan chronicler Ramon Muntaner in the fourteenth century. The extraordinary history of the Company began in 1302 when, after twenty years of war, the houses of Anjou and Aragon composed at Caltabellotta some of the differences which had existed between them since the Sicilian Vespers. The Catalan Company had been in the employ of King Frederick II of Sicily; now they found the prospect of peace neither profitable nor entertaining, and so they sought and received an offer from the Byzantine Emperor Andronicus II Palaeologus to sell their services against the Turks in Asia Minor (1303). Most of them had no reason not to seek their fortunes in the Levant, and many of them were to find their fortunes there. Their leader was the famous Roger de Flor, who had risen from the docks of Brindisi to become Vice Admiral of Sicily. But Roger was murdered when Michael IX, who shared the empire with his father Andronicus, believed that Roger's future portended more danger than assistance to the Palaeologi and to the empire (1305). The Catalans mastered the difficult situation which the death of their leader left them in; they had already established themselves in Gallipoli by October of 1304, and now they remained there, living off the country, until June of 1307 when they began to make their way westward. Thrace and Macedonia paid further the price of imperial treachery as their fields were ravaged, their towns burned, and their monasteries plundered. Early in 1309 hunger drove the Catalans from Macedonia into Thessaly; in the following year they marched through the pass of Thermopylae and thence into central Greece. They had come to stay.[1]

[1] The seventeenth century annalist of the kings of Aragon, Pedro Abarca, observes in his account of the expedition (*An.* II [1684], cap. 6, pp. 44 *et sqq.*): "De esta gloriosa Expedición escrivieron mucho los Antiguos . . . " to which we may add, "y los modernos también!" We are fortunate, for the most part, in our more or less contemporary and later accounts—Ramon Muntaner, George Pachymeres, Nicephorus Gregoras, Theodulus Magister, the Emperor John Cantacuzenus, Laonicus Chalcocondylas, George Phrantzes, Nicolaus Specialis, the authors of the *Vitae paparum Avenionensium.*

Professor Vasiliev has given us a brief account in his *History of the Byzantine Empire*, Engl. ed., II (1929), 295–301; French ed., II (1932), 284–290. For more than three centuries historians have studied this most striking chapter in the history of

In the spring of 1310 the Company entered the service of Gautier I (V) de Brienne, who had lately become fifth Duke of Burgundian Athens, and who used them to protect his interests in central Greece against his foes and theirs—the Despoina Anna of Epirus; John II Angelus Ducas, third Sebastokrator of Neopatras; and the Emperor Andronicus, now become the Catalans' bitterest enemy. But Brienne in his turn tried to get rid of them when he had no further use for them, and in the marshes of the Cephissus in March of 1311 -the chronicler Muntaner speaks of the beauty of the place ('en un bell pla prop Estives')—they defeated and killed him in battle. With him perished the flower of the Frankish chivalry which for more than a century had feasted in famous castles in Thebes, Livadia, and Athens, and jousted in the plains of Boeotia and of Attica.

The Company soon turned for leadership to their erstwhile employer King Frederick II of Sicily. In 1319 their greatest Vicar General, Don Alfonso Fadrique, added to the duchy of Athens the so-called duchy of Neopatras, the modern Hypate, in southern Thessaly. For more than forty years the Dukes of Athens and Neopatras were cadets of the house of Barcelona in Sicily (1312–1355), but from just after the middle of the century the Duke of Athens became also King of Sicily, and for twenty-two

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medieval Catalunya—among them being Gerónimo Zurita, Fran. de Moncada, Chas. Du Cange, Od. Rinaldi, Edw. Gibbon, Rosario Gregorio, J. A. Buchon, George Finlay, Karl Hopf, W. Heyd, Epam. Stamatiades, S. V. Bozzo, Gust. Hertzberg, A. Bofarull y Brocà, F. Gregorovius, Sp. P. Lampros, T. D. Neroutsos, George Constantinides, A. Morel-Fatio, John Schmitt, Jean Longon, Gustave Schlumberger, Sir R. Rodd, Wm. Miller, R. B. Merriman, N. Jorga, Nicolau d'Olwer, A. Rovira i Virgili, Ferran Soldevila, Antonino de Stefano. The most notable contributions to the history of the Catalans in the Levant are some forty books, articles, and monographs by the late Antonio Rubió y Lluch of Barcelona in over half a century of scholarly writing (see the bibliography of Rubió's works in the *Homenatge a Antoni Rubió i Lluch*, Barcelona, 1936, I, pp. ix-xv). What are apparently his greatest works, the *Història de l'Orient català* and the *Diplomatari de l'Orient català*, remain still unpublished, casualties of the war in Spain (1936–1939). On 21 November, 1944, Professor J. M. Millas y Vallicrosa of the University of Barcelona wrote me, in answer to an enquiry which I had addressed to him, "que el *Diplomatari de l'Orient català* del difunto Prof. D. A. Rubió y Lluch se halla casi del todo impreso, que sólo le falta la impresión del prólogo, y que muy probablemente dentro de poco tiempo podrá aparecer esta obra que forma un grande y bello volumen: por la guerra se ha retrasado tanto su aparición." The seal of the Company from about 1305 was discovered some twenty years ago (G. Schlumberger, *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles lettres*, Paris, 1925, pp. 131–137; *Anuari de l'Institut d'Estudis Catalans*, any VII, 1921–1926, pp. 302–304). Two chronological details in the text, commonly given incorrectly, should perhaps be noted: Roger de Flor and his followers arrived in Constantinople in the second half of the year 1303, not 1302 (Rubió, *Revista de Catalunya*, vol. V, Nov. 1926, pp. 458–459), and they were not in Gallipoli for seven years, as Muntaner, chap. 231 (ed. K. Lanz, p. 411), states, but only fron October of 1304 to June of 1307 (Rubió, *Paquimeres i Muntaner* in *Institut d'Estudis Catalans: Secció hist-arqueol., Mem.*, I, fasc. 2, Barcelona, 1927, pp. 25–26).

years Frederick III *il Semplice* tried ingloriously to exert his feeble rule both in Sicily and in the Catalan dominions in Greece (1355–1377). After two years of chaos and civil strife (1377–1379) and the disastrous invasion of the Navarrese (1379), the duchies of Athens and Neopatras were united to the Crown of Aragon, and their Dukes were King Pedro IV del Punejalet (1379–1387) and his son King John I (1387–1388), but on 2 May, 1388, the Florentine Nerio Acciajuoli occupied the Acropolis, and two years later Neopatras was lost, and the Catalan duchies in Greece were no more.[2]

During the whole period of Catalan domination in central Greece the papacy was established in Avignon, "which brought the Pope into such pernicious dependence on France,"[3] and "the arbitrary proceedings of the Court at Avignon, which was too often swayed by personal and family interests,"[4] manifested themselves rather unhappily in the relations of the Avignonese Popes with the Catalans in Athens and Neopatras. The French Popes showed a consistent hostility to the Catalans, whose leaders they intermittently placed under bans of excommunication and whose lands were placed under interdict; they strenuously supported the claims of the French family of Brienne to the ducal coronet of Athens; and regularly appointed foreigners, especially Venetians—for his Holiness relied much upon the Serenissima in Greece and the Morea—to ecclesiastical positions in the Catalan duchies. The archdiocese of Athens was supposed to come within the jurisdiction of the Latin Patriarch of Constantinople, titular head of the Roman Catholic hierarchy in Greece, himself subject to the Roman Pontiff. The Patriarch, after 1314, commonly resided in Negroponte, under Venetian rule, and thus the Signory exercised a large influence upon Latin ecclesiastical affairs in Greece, and when the Patriarch thereafter held, as often, also the bishopric of Negroponte, the revenues of which could thus be used "to maintain the patriarchal dignity," he was in a sense both superior and suffragan of the Archbishop of Athens.[5]

[2] The date of the fall of Athens to the Florentines was fixed by a letter published by Sp. P. Lampros, *Ἔγγραφα ἀναφερόμενα εἰς τὴν μεσαιωνικὴν Ἱστορίαν τῶν Ἀθηνῶν* (vol. III of his translation of Gregorovius), Athens, 1906, pt. II, doc. 10 (p. 119), in which Jacopo da Prato writes to Donato Acciajuoli in Florence (the letter is dated at Patras on 9 May, 1388): ". . . I arrived in Patras safe and sound, and here I found news that Messer Neri and all his family are well and on the second day of this month he took the castle of Athens [*lo chastello di settino*]." (I am indebted to Professor Peter Charanis of Rutgers University for the loan of his copy of Lampros' collection of documents.'

On the fall of Neopatras in 1390, see Rubió y Lluch, *Anuari de l'Institut d'Estudis Catalans*, II (1908), 410–413.

[3] Ludwig Pastor, *History of the Popes*, ed. F. I. Antrobus, I (1891), 58.

[4] Pastor, *op. cit.*, p. 59.

[5] K. Eubel, *Hierarchia catholica medii aevi*, I (1898), p. 214. On 8 February, 1314,

To the Avignonese Popes the Catalans in Athens (and Neopatras) were doubly anathema. They were regarded, and in a sense quite rightly, as being merely usurpers of the hereditary possessions of Gautier II (VI) de Brienne, while at the same time they were the vassals of the Catalan-Aragonese kings of Sicily (*Trinacria*), themselves under repeated bans of excommunication for their own usurpation of the island of Sicily, regarded as a papal fief since the days of Pope Gregory VII, which Urban IV had bestowed upon the Angevins, and which had fallen to the house of Barcelona after the Sicilian Vespers (1282). The interests of the Angevin kings of Sicily (*Sicilia* is the kingdom of Naples) during the period of papal residence in Avignon—Charles II (1285–1309), Robert the Wise (1309–1343), and Joanna I (1343–1381)—were similar enough to those of the French popes in Avignon to make the latter consistent supporters of the Angevin rulers in Italy.[6] They had shared the common fight of the Guelphs against the Emperors Henry VII and Louis of Bavaria. No less to the point is the fact that the Angevin kings of Sicily (Naples) were princes of Achaea, suzerains, therefore, of the Brienne of Athens, who had inherited their vassalage with their claims to the La Roche duchy, for in 1212 Geoffroy I de Villehardouin, Prince of Achaea, had enfeoffed Argos and Nauplia to Othon de la Roche, Megas Kyr of Athens, for the assistance which the latter had rendered him in the conquest of the Morea.[7] The Catalans did not hold Argos and Nauplia, and, of course, they rejected the Angevin suzerainty.

Byzantine Athens had been reckoned, among archiepiscopal sees, as the twenty-eighth in order of hierarchical standing in the empire.[8] The Athenian province or eparchy had commonly consisted of eleven suffragan

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Pope Clement V attached to the Latin patriarchate the bishopric of Negroponte (O. Rinaldi, *Annales ecclesiastici ab anno 1198*, ad ann. 1314, vol. V, Lucca, 1750, p. 23). Cf. L. de Mas Latrie, "Patriarches latins de Constantinople," *Revue de l'Orient latin*, III (1895), 436.

[6] Cf. G. Mollat, *Les Papes d'Avignon (1305–1378)*, 3 ed., Paris, 1920, pp. 178 *et sqq.*; cf. E.-G. Léonard, *La Jeunesse de Jeanne Première*, I (1932), 194–196; *et sqq.*

[7] Marino Sanudo Torsello, *Istoria del regno di Romania*, in Chas. Hopf, *Chroniques gréco-romanes inédites ou peu connues*, Berlin, 1873, p. 100; F. Gregorovius, *Stadt Athen*, I (1889), 364; Wm. Miller, *The Latins in the Levant* (1908), p. 62.

On 29 December, 1391, three and one half years after the Florentine occupation of Athens, Nerio Acciajuoli recognized Amadeo of Savoy as Prince of Achaea and his suzerain for his fief of Athens (Sp. P. Lampros, Ἔγγραφα, 1906, pt. VI, doc. 1, pp. 405–407), and three years thereafter, on 11 January, 1394, Nerio received from his Angevin overlord, King Ladislas of Naples, the coveted title of Duke of Athens (Lampros, Ἔγγραφα, pt. III, doc. 7, pp. 165–167).

[8] *Georgii Cyprii descriptio orbis romani*, ed H. Gelzer, Leipzig, 1890, pp. 57–58, cf. p. 27; Michel Le Quien, *Oriens Christianus*, II (Paris, 1740), cols. 167–168.

bishoprics, which included the whole of Attica, part of Boeotia and of Phocis, Euboea, and certain of the islands—1. Euripus, 2. Daulia, 3. Coronea, 4. Andros, 5. Oreos, 6. Scyrus, 7. Carystus, 8. Porthmus, 9. Aulon, 10. Syra and Seriphus, and 11. Ceos and Thermiae (the latter is the ancient Cythnus).[9] The ecclesiastical jurisdiction which the Athenian Metropolitan Michael Choniates had exercised over his suffragan bishops in the later twelfth century (1182–1204) seems to have survived in some fashion the vicissitudes of a century of Burgundian rule in Athens (1205–1311) and persisted under the Catalans, for the organization of the Greek Orthodox Church had apparently been taken over without very significant change or modification when on 27 November, 1206, and on 13 February, 1209, Pope Innocent III confirmed the first Latin Archbishop Bérard in the rights, possessions, immunities, and jurisdictions which his Greek predecessors had possessed over the archiepiscopal see of Athens.[10] The Greek Church was driven underground, and remained there, so to speak, until after the end of the Catalan period (1388), and the Greek clergy, which had been illiterate in the twelfth century, before the Latin occupation of Athens, now became without doubt a good deal worse.[11] The Catholic Crusaders re-dedicated the Parthenon, church of the Theotokos Atheniotissa, to the Latin St. Mary of Athens, and so it remained until the Turkish occupation of Athens just after the middle of the fifteenth century.

The most important document we have on the ecclesiastical organization of the Catalan duchies of Athens and Neopatras is the following list of the three archiepiscopal sees and their suffragan bishoprics, which Professor

[9] Nilos Doxapatres, Τάξις τῶν πατριαρχικῶν θρόνων (from the twelfth century), Armenisch und Griechisch, herausgegeben von F. N. Finck, Tiflis, 1902, p. 31, 11 *et sqq.* In his letter to the Latin Archbishop Bérard in 1209, Pope Innocent III enumerates eleven bishoprics in a different list which includes Megara (*Ep.* 256, *P. L.*, ccxv, col. 1560); cf. Le Quien, *Oriens Christianus*, II, cols. 837–838. Cf. F. Gregorovius-Sp. P. Lampros, *History of the City of Athens* (in Greek), 1904, I, 410; G. Stadtmüller, *Michael Choniates, Metropolit von Athen, Orientalia Christiana*, XXXIII-2 (1934), p. 149. Two other lists contain only ten names: one is identical with that in Nilos Doxapatres, omitting only Seriphus, Ceos, and Thermiae (*Georgii Cyprii descriptio orbis Romani*, ed. H. Gelzer, 1890, p. 75), whereas the list preserved in Hierocles' *Synecdemus* (from the sixth century), ed. Augustus Burckhardt, Leipzig, 1893, p. 9, is very different. Cf. D. Gr. Kampouroglou, *History of the Athenians: Turkish Period* (in Greek), II (Athens, 1890), pp. 124 *et sqq.*, and L. Duchesne, "Les Anciens évêchés de la Grèce," *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire*" (Ecole française de Rome), xv (1895), pp. 375–385. On the bishopric of Daulia (Diaulia), in Phocis, see J. van den Gheyn in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, VI (1897), 92–95, and A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *ibid.* VII (1898), 50–56.

[10] A. Potthast, *Regesta pontificum Romanorum*, I (Berlin, 1874), nos. 2922 (p. 249) and 3654 (p. 315); K. Eubel, *Hierarchia catholica medii aevi*, I (1898), p. 116.

[11] Cf. T. D. Neroutsos, "Christian Athens" (in Greek), Δελτίον τῆς Ἱστορικῆς καὶ Ἐθνολογικῆς Ἑταιρίας τῆς Ἑλλάδος, IV (Athens, 1892), 134–135.

A. Rubió y Lluch first published from the Archives of the Crown of Aragon in Barcelona (reg. 1559, fol. 1):

> Aquests son los prelats dels ducams de Athenes e dela patria [Neopatras, the modern Hypate].
>
> Primo Mic. Anthoni ballester Arcabisbe de Cetines [Athens]—E aquest ha sots si sufraganis xiii bisbes. los iiii son en los ducams d'Athenes. E aquets son la Maguera [Megara], La Dablia [Daulia], La Sola [Salona, Amphissa] e la bandoniça [Boudonitza, Mountinitza].
>
> Item larcabisbat d'Estives [Thebes] e aquest es solament.
>
> Item larcabisbat de la patria [Neopatras]. E aquest ha un sufragani ço es lo bisbe del Citon [Lamia, Zeitounion] qui es dintre en lo ducam dela patria [the duchy of Neopatras].[12]

This list was prepared as a memorandum for the royal chancellery of King Pedro IV shortly after the Catalan duchies were annexed to the Crown of Aragon. It belongs to the year 1381. Under the Catalans, at least in the last decade of their domination, there were thus three archbishoprics, those of Athens, Thebes, and Neopatras. Antonio Ballester, of whom we shall speak later, was Archbishop of Athens, and under him were thirteen suffragan bishops (two had been added since Michael Choniates' day); of the thirteen bishoprics in question, however, according to this list, only four were in the Catalan duchy of Athens—Megara, Daulia, Salona, and Boudonitza. The Archbishop of Thebes had no suffragan under him, while under the Archbishop of Neopatras was only the Bishop of Zeitounion, whose see lay within the duchy of Neopatras. The Catalan Catholic hierarchy thus consisted of three archbishops and five bishops, and Athens was still the most important ecclesiastical city in central Greece.[13]

[12] Rubió y Lluch, *Los Navarros en Grecia y el Ducado catalán de Atenas en la época de su invasión*, Barcelona, 1886, doc. XLII (p. 261).

[13] Zurita, *Anales de la Corona de Aragón*, II (1610), p. 377, had read the document, and Pedro Abarca, *Anales*, II (1684), Rey XXIII, cap. 6, no. 13 (p. 64), had read Zurita. Cf. Rosario Gregorio, *Opere rare edite ed inedite riguardanti la Sicilia*, 2 ed., Palermo, 1873, pp. 357–360; *Considerazioni sopra la storia di Sicilia*, 2 ed., II (1833), 557–558. The bishopric of Aegina should apparently be added to the four bishoprics recorded as being in the duchy of Athens in the official list of 1380–1381, and an otherwise unknown bishopric of Carmine (Carmino) is mentioned in a document dated at Thebes on 25 September, 1346 (Rubió y Lluch, *Los Catalanes en Grecia: Ultimos años de su dominación*, Madrid, 1927, pp. 263–264): the document will be published in Rubió's *Dipl. de l'Or. cat.* as no. CXCI. T. D. Neroutos, *op. cit.*, p. 192, states that the bishopric of Zeitounion (Lamia, the Catalan *Citó*) was separated, after the Catalan conquest of Phthiotis, from the archiepiscopal see of Athens and placed under the Latin Archbishop of Neopatras. He states no source for his information. Cf. Rubió y Lluch, *Anuari de l'Institut d'Estudis Catalans*, II (1908), 394. The organization of the Greek Church in the Catalan duchies in the later fourteenth century had to be adapted to very adverse conditions: the Greek Metropolitan of Larissa had under him three suffragan bishops whose dioceses lay in Catalan territory—Dimitrias

Roman Catholicism, however, was the religion of a conqueror class in the Latin states in Greece. The lesser members of this class and immigrants from Sicily and Spain who failed to do well in their new life tended to sink to the social level of the conquered natives, and here, in humble fashion, Greece once again took her captor captive. Repeated bans of excommunication and the interdict, as we shall see, especially alienated Catalans and Aragonese from the Roman church. By excluding the Catalans from communion with the faithful, however, the policy of the Avignonese Curia left them no alternative but to seek the kingdom of heaven by abandoning the *filioque* clause. The result was to be expected. Something over a decade after the Catalan occupation of Athens, for example, on 1 October, 1322, Pope John XXII had already directed the Archbishop of Patras and the Latin Patriarch of Constantinople to take stern measures against the apostasy of Latin Catholics to the Greek Church.[14]

During the Catalan period the Archbishops of Athens continued their pastoral surveillance over their suffragans, but they were, of course, much hampered in their task by the political differences which obtained from time to time between the Catalans in Athens and Neopatras, the Venetians in Negroponte, Boudonitza, and the islands, and the Angevin feudatories in the Morea. Sometimes the Pope addressed communications to the Latin Patriarch of Constantinople, resident in Negroponte, or to the Archbishops of Corinth or Patras which might have gone to the Archbishop of Athens but for the perilous and equivocal nature of his position. About routine matters there was no difficulty, however, and in 1338, for example, we find Pope Benedict XII notifying the Archbishop of Athens of a dispensation for marriage which had been granted to a citizen of Negroponte.[15] The Athenian Metropolitans apparently were very careful to maintain their jurisdiction over their suffragans. During the Burgundian period the Pope had granted the Athenian Archbishops the right to compel their suffragans to reside in their respective sees, and it still required, it would appear, a papal dispensation for such a bishop to take up his residence elsewhere.[16]

(Mitra), Zeitounion, and Loidoriki, while in the 1370's the Greek Metropolitan of Athens, who was not able to reside in his see, apparently had pastoral direction of Thebes, Neopatras, and Aegina (Rubió y Lluch, *An. Instit. Cat.*, V, 1913–1914, pp. 404–405; cf. T. D. Neroutsos, *op. cit.*, p. 199).

[14] O. Rinaldi, *Ann. eccl.*, ad ann. 1322 (vol. V [1750], pp. 200–201). For specific instances of apostasy to the Greek Church, see Lampros, Ἔγγραφα, pt. IV, docs. 31 (pp. 271–272) and 85 (pp. 331–332). Cf. K. Hopf, "Griechenland im Mittelalter," in Ersch u. Gruber's *Allgemeine Encyklopädie der Wissenschaften u. Künste*, lxxxv (Leipzig, 1867), 406.

[15] Lampros, *Eggr.* pt. I, doc. 36 (pp. 66–67).

[16] *Regestum Clementis Papae V* . . . cura et studio monachorum Ordinis S. Benedicti, Rome, 1888, annus octavus, no. 9153 (p. 132).

A notice has survived of the consecration on 14 August, 1345, by Archbishop Nicholas of Athens, of the Carmelite friar Giovanni di S. Catterina of Bologna as his suffragan Bishop of Andros in the cathedral church of Negroponte.[17] The Papacy did not neglect to see to it that ecclesiastics under Catalan domination bore their full share of the fiscal burdens of Christendom. In May of 1350 Clement VI included the three Catalan provinces of Athens, Thebes, and Neopatras in a tithe to be levied for the expenses of a league against the Turks,[18] and two decades later, on 10 February, 1369, Urban VI included Athens, Thebes, and Neopatras in a triennial tithe which he levied upon ten or a dozen cities, provinces, and dioceses of the Greek mainland and the islands under Latin domination.[19]

From the very beginning, after they had established themselves in Thebes and Athens, the Catalan Company's relations with Pope Clement V were not good. On 2 May, 1312, the Pope warned the Company, with the threat of excommunication, against "certain conventions and pacts" which they had entered into against Prince Philip I of Taranto; he warned them, too, that he was directing Foulques de Villaret, Grand Master of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem, to aid the Prince of Taranto to expel them from Greece.[20] On the same day the Pope wrote to Villaret that if the Company did not desist, in obedience to his commands, from its enmity to the Prince of Taranto that he should aid the Prince to expel them from Greece.[21] Villaret did not act in accord with papal instructions. The Knights of St. John had established themselves in Rhodes only two years before, and anxious to extend the cross of St. John to the neighboring islands, they were unwilling thus gratuitously to acquire more enemies in the Levant.[22] At the court of Naples Jeanne de Châtillon, widowed

[17] Le Quien, *Oriens Christianus*, III (1740), cols. 841, 861. Cf. K. Hopf, "Andros, 1207–1566," *Sitzungsberichte der Wiener Akademie*, 1855–1856, p. 51; the Italian translation by G. B. Sardagna, Venice, 1859, p. 52, gives the year as 1343, a typographical error. The source for both Le Quien and Hopf is the *Speculum Carmelitanum*, vol. II (Antwerp, 1680), no. 3268 (p. 933).

[18] O. Rinaldi, *Ann. eccl.*, ad ann. 1350 (vol. VI [1750], p. 518); cf. Jules Gay, *Le Pape Clément VI et les affaires d'Orient* (1342–1352), Paris, 1904, p. 121.

[19] Sp. P. Lampros, Ἐγγραφα (1906), pt. I, doc. 44 (p. 82).

[20] *Regestum Clementis Papae V*, Rome, 1887, annus septimus, no. 7890 (pp. 72–73); Sebastiano Pauli, *Codice diplomatico del sacro militare ordine Gerosolimitano oggi di Malta*, II (1737), add. docs., no. 2 (p. 395).

[21] *Regestum*, no. 7891 (p. 73).

[22] For the background of events, see F. Gregorovius-Sp. P. Lampros, *Athens* (in Greek), II (1904), 92–93; N. Jorga, "Rhodes sous les Hospitaliers, "*Revue hist. du Sud-est européen*, VIII (1931), 32 *et sqq.*, 78 *et sqq.*; L. Nicolau d'Olwer, *L'Expansió de Catalunya en la Mediterrània oriental*, Barcelona, 1926, p. 111; J. Delaville le Roulx, *Les Hospitaliers en terre sainte et à Chypre*, Paris, 1904, pp. 272 *et sqq.*; Jules Gay, *Le*

Duchess of Athens, daughter of Gaucher de Porcien, Constable of France, was very active against the Catalans as she sought to secure for her small son Gautier II (VI) de Brienne the inheritance his father had left him. We have observed that the Angevins of Naples were very close to the French Popes of Avignon.

Then, too, before his death, Gautier I had earned the reputation at the papal court of an assiduous defender of the faith (*solers christianae fidei propugnator*).[23] In January of 1313 Pope Clement wrote indignantly to Nicholas, the Latin Patriarch, of those who had gone into the duchy of Athens to help the cause of the faithful—for such had been the belief and the hope entertained of them—but who in utter madness had turned their strength against churches, ecclesiastics, and the faithful; who had plundered and ravaged with ferocity; and among whose crimes was the death of Gautier de Brienne, Duke of Athens, "who had been laboring in defense of the faithful like a true athlete of Christ and a faithful boxer of the church against the Greek schismatics" ("qui ad defensionem . . . fidelium tamquam Christi verus atleta et fidelis pugil ecclesie adversus grecos scismaticos laborabat").[24] Of the fact that the conduct of the Catalans in the early years of their conquest fully merited the Pope's wrath there can be no doubt.

On 13 July, 1312, since Archbishop Stephen of Thebes, who had been newly appointed, could neither enter his see nor bear its heavy financial responsibilities, Pope Clement granted him a remission of two years' ecclesiastical dues to the Holy See.[25] In the previous month, on 23 June, the Pope had had to make similar provision for Bartholomew, Archbishop of Corinth, who could not pay certain debts which his predecessor had contracted at the Roman Curia, "because of the invasion and destruction of the city and country of Corinth which is known to have been subjected to desolation by the Catalan Company" ("propter invasionem et destructionem civitatis ac patrie Corinthiensis que per societatem Cathalanorum desolationi subiecta dinoscitur").[26] The aged Gautier, Bishop of Negroponte and a relative of the slain Duke of Athens, was granted a three years'

Pape Clément VI et les affaires d'Orient, Paris, 1904, p. 19. Cf. Nicephorus Gregoras, XXII, 6 (Bonn, III, 11–12).

[23] Lampros, "Εγγραφα, pt. I, doc. 31 (p. 52), dated 11 November, 1309. In connection with papal support of the legitimist claims of the Brienne to the duchy of Athens, note Lampros, *op. cit.*, pt. I, nos. 32–35, 37–38, 40, 43, cf. also nos. 41, 42, all documents from the Vatican Archives.

[24] *Regestum Clementis Papae V* (1888), annus nonus, no. 10167 (p. 45); cf. no. 10166 (p. 44); Rinaldi, *Ann. eccl.*, ad ann. 1314 (vol. V [1750], p. 22); Lampros, *Eggr.*, pt. I, doc. 32 (p. 53).

[25] *Reg. Clem. V* (1887), annus septimus, no. 8138 (p. 125).

[26] *Ibid.*, no. 8597 (p. 238).

dispensation to reside outside the city of Negroponte because of the dangers and disturbances which the Catalan Company brought to his island see (dated at Avignon, 23 March, 1313).[27] There was thus much reason for papal animus against the Catalans during their first decade in Greece. Pope Clement had great solicitude, on the other hand, for the dispossessed family of Brienne. On 14 January, 1314, he directed the Latin Patriarch Nicholas to see to it that such properties as the Knights Templars had possessed in the duchy of Athens should be turned over to Gaucher de Châtillon, Count of Porcien and Constable of France.[28]

On the same day (14 January, 1314) Pope Clement addressed King James II of Aragon in behalf of the family of Brienne, of whose holdings in Greece only Argos and Nauplia in the Morea now remained to them. King James replied that he had no authority over the Company; it was unseemly to take from them the rewards of their labor and victory; Gautier I had thrown his life away by his own fault (even the French version of the Chronicle of the Morea declares, *et la fu ocis par sa coulpe*),[29] and, lastly, that it were well to remember that the Catalans were Catholics, in whose rough readiness to fight the Holy See had a strong right arm and faithful shield against the schismatic Greeks.[30] But Pope John XXII, Clement's successor, was even more restless and incensed than Clement had been. He turned to Venice. In 1317 the Venetian ambassadors in Avignon were apparently instructed to entertain a proposal for an offensive league, to be composed of the French enemies of the Catalans, to expel them from the duchy of Athens.[31]

[27] *Ibid.*, annus octavus, no. 9153 (pp. 131–132).

[28] *Ibid.*, annus nonus, no. 10166 (pp. 44–45).

[29] *Le Livre de la conqueste*, anno 1307 [sic], ed. J. A. Buchon, *Recherches historiques*, I (1845), 474; new edition by Jean Longnon, Paris, 1911, p. 402.

[30] Pedro Abarca, *Los anales históricos de los reyes de Aragón*, segunda parte, Salamanca, 1684, Rey XXII (D. Jaime II), cap. 6, nos. 7–9 (pp. 61v-62v): "Que en fin su Santidad pusiesse en su pia consideración, si seria mas util para tener à raya y en miedo à los Scismaticos de Grecia no desdeñar, ni irritar aquella vitoriosa y braba gente, que como tan Catholica (y Catalana y Aragonesa) seria siempre el brazo derecho, y fiel instrumento de la Sede Romana para domar y unir a los insensatos y separados griegos, los quales de ninguna otra Nación y Milicia mostraban tanto pavor . . ." (p. 62v). Nevertheless, King James informed the King of France of his extreme displeasure with events in Greece (*nobis vehementer et plurimum displicere*), and in a letter to the Catalans themselves had directed them to give up their conquests in the Athenian duchy (see docs. cited in Rubió y Lluch, *La Població de la Grècia catalana en el XIV èn Segle, Institut d'Estudis Catalans, Mem., Secció hist.-arqueol.*, IV, Barcelona, 1933, p. 9).

[31] Giuseppe Giomo, "Regesto dei *Misti del Senato* della Republica Veneta," *Archivio Veneto*, XVII (1879), 136, extract from *Misti*, lib. V (anno 1317): "Nostri ambaxatores respondeant domino pape, quod hoc subsidium videretur opportunum ad expellendum societatem Catellanorum, scilicet quod dominus dux Robertus, et fratres, dominus de Castillione, et hospitalis ponant equites in terra."

But the Serenissima's diplomacy was too slow, and in May of 1318 Pope John urged the Venetians again to oust the Catalans from the Athenian duchy.[32] On 4 September, 1318, the Cardinal Bishop of Ostia and Velletri wrote to the Doge and Council of Venice, at the direction of the Pope himself, asking that the Venetians send to the papal Curia in Avignon some envoy of discretion, having authority to act for the Republic (*super hiis plenum et speciale mandatum habens*), for the Supreme Pontiff and the Curia had been, of late, receiving many letters from Romania (Greece) to the effect that the Catalan Company (*illa gentium disimilitudo que Compagna vocatur*) had reached very great strength, and to increase their strength still further they were adding schismatic Greeks and Turks to their numbers "in alliance and friendship." The Cardinal urged haste in the dispatch of the envoy, "because when a plague attacks, delay is the companion of peril."[33]

The purpose of these negotiations is clear: Venice wished to give pause to the Catalan Company in Athens. The Serene Republic had, however, no intention of joining a papal-Angevin league against the Company. The shrewd Venetians had, indeed, observed the effectiveness of that league whose forces Gautier I had marshalled against the Company a half dozen years before in the marshes of the Cephissus. Accordingly, despite the Pope's wrath, on 9 June, 1319, a six months' agreement was sworn to at a conference in Negroponte by Don Alfonso Fadrique and the counsellors and syndics of the Company "for himself and for the whole Company" and by Francesco Dandolo, captain and bailie of the Republic in Negroponte, his counsellors, and the feudal lords of Negroponte, Jean de Noyers de Maisy, Pietro dalle Carceri, Andrea Cornaro, and Bartolomeo Ghisi, "for themselves and all their vassals."[34] The treaty was renewed on 11 May, 1321, and on 5 April, 1331, the latter meeting being held in Thebes.[35] So far as Venice was concerned, the Avignonese policy against the Catalans in Athens was a failure.

The day came at long last when young Gautier de Brienne was prepared

[32] *Regesti dei Commemoriali*, lib. II, no. 100 (ed. R. Predelli, vol. I [1876], p. 191); cf. *Commem.*, lib. II, no. 133 (*vol. cit.*, p. 198).

[33] *Coll. de docs. inédits sur l'hist. de France: Mélanges historiques*, III (1880), "Commerce et expéditions militaires de la France et de Venise au moyen-âge," ed. L. de Mas Latrie, no. VIII (pp. 43–44). Cf. *Regesti dei Commemoriali*, lib. II, no. 133 (Predelli, I, p. 198).

[34] For the text of the treaty of 9 June, 1319, see *Diplomatarium Veneto-Levantinum*, ed. G. M. Thomas, I (1880), no. 70 (pp. 120–122). Cf. *Reg. dei Commem.*, lib. II, no. 164 (Predelli, I, p. 204).

[35] The text of the treaty of 11 May, 1321, is given in *Coll. de docs. inédits, Mél. hist.*, III (1880), no. XI (pp. 49–54); for the treaty of 5 April, 1331, see *Dipl. Ven.-Levant.*, ed. G. M. Thomas, I (1880), no. 108 (pp. 214–219). Cf. Gregorovius, *Stadt Athen*, II (1889), 105–106, 110, 118–119; Wm. Miller, *Latins in the Levant* (1908), pp. 244–245, 246.

to press by force of arms his paternal claim to the duchy of Athens. The Papacy had done its best to prepare the way for him. In Avignon Brienne's natural ally seemed to be Venice, and, indeed, the Catalans in Athens were proving less respectable friends than the Venetians in Negroponte could have wished for. On 1 October, 1322, Pope John XXII condemned the Catalan corsairs who were still plying their dangerous trade in the Aegean and cooperating therein with the Turks.[36] Despite the Venetian pacts with the Catalans of 1319 and 1321, it was believed in Avignon that the Serenissima might be prevailed upon to assist in the restoration of Athens to the French. Thus, in late October of 1324, Pope John wrote commending the interests of young Gautier to the Doge and Republic of Venice.[37] The Avignonese Curia refused to recognize the Catalan sovereignty in Athens. A letter of John XXII, dated 14 June, 1330, directed the Latin Patriarch of Constantinople and the Archbishops of Corinth, Patras, and Otranto to proceed against the Catalans, "schismatics, sons of perdition, and pupils of iniquity" (*scismatici, perditionis filii, et iniquitatis alumpni*). The Pope, persistent in his support of French interests, commanded all loyal Catholics to assist young Gautier to regain from the Catalans the lands his father had lost with his life in the battle of the Cephissus.[38] The Latin Patriarch of Constantinople and the Archbishops of Patras and Otranto were directed in June of 1330 to excommunicate the Catalans unless, within six months, they had returned to Gautier the duchy of Athens; in the following month, on 1 July, the Pope directed the Archbishops of Corinth, Patras, and Otranto to preach a crusade against the Catalans![39]

When in April of 1331, as we have seen, Venice renewed for a third time her pact with the Catalan Company, Brienne's preparations for the reconquest of Athens were far advanced. This was a shattering blow to papal-Angevin plans to oust the Catalans from the Acropolis and the Cadmea. The Venetians gave Brienne fair words, but the Signory had too high a regard for the sanctity of treaties to assist him. In distant Avignon, however, the Pope and the Curia continued to do everything they could to help Brienne. On 28 February, 1332, in the Franciscan Church of St. Nicholas in Patras, Archbishop William Frangipani (1317–1337), while Gautier was thus seeking to regain his duchy, proclaimed the ban of excommunication against the Catalans.[39a] After the failure of Brienne's

[36] Rinaldi, *Ann. eccl.*, ad ann. 1322 (V, 201).

[37] Lampros, Εγγραφα, pt. I, doc. 33 (p. 55).

[38] Rinaldi, *Ann. eccl.*, ad ann. 1330 (V, p. 495); Wm. Miller (1908), p. 262; Rubió y Lluch, *La Població de la Grècia catalana*, Barcelona, 1933, p. 16, n. 1.

[39] Chas. Du Cange, *Histoire de l'empire de Constantinople*, ed. J. A. Buchon, II (Paris, 1826), 202–203; cf. K. Hopf, *op. cit.*, vol. 85 (1867), p. 426; Gregorovius, *Stadt Athen*, II (1889), 114–115.

[39a] Du Cange-Buchon, II (1826), 203; K. Hopf, *op. cit.*, lxxxv (1867), 430. The

first attempt to regain his father's duchy, Pope John XXII wrote at great length, on 12 August, 1333, to the Archbishops of Patras and Corinth and to the Bishop of Olena that "some sons of iniquity, devoid of all reason" ("nonnulli iniquitatis filii, omnis rationis expertes") had invaded and occupied the duchy of Athens, "which is the ancient inheritance from his father of Duke Gautier de Brienne" ("qui est antiqua et patrimonialis hereditas ipsius ducis"). As allies and companions in their plunder of churches, ecclesiastics, and the faithful in the duchy, these scoundrels had schismatics, Turks, and other enemies of the faith. They were subjecting the inhabitants of the duchy to most grievous oppressions, to the injury of and in contempt of divine majesty; they were a fearful stumbling block to the faithful, an enormous and intolerable detriment to the Duke of Athens, thus despoiled by them of his patrimony. His Holiness was anxious to find the means of snatching the duchy of Athens "from the madness of tyranny" ("rabie tirampnidis") and seeing it restored "to its state of olden liberty" ("in statum pristine libertatis"). The Catalans and their allies within and without the boundaries of the Athenian duchy were given respectively five and six months after the promulgation of the papal decree before the ban of excommunication fell upon them throughout the Latin cities and dioceses of Greece.[40] On 29 December, 1335, following instructions which the Pope had sent him on 12 August, Archibishop William Frangipani again published, in the church of the Franciscans in Patras, the ban of excommunication against the leaders of the Catalan Company in Greece—Duke William of Randazzo, Alfonso Fadrique, and the latter's sons James and Pedro, Nicholas Lancia, who was then Vicar General of the Company, the Marshal Odo de Novelles, and more than a score of others.[40a] But the Catalans seemed to have a higher regard for their dominion in Greece than for their future in heaven.

These were anxious years for the Avignonese Papacy. The seriousness of the war between France and England was well understood by the Curia. Papal efforts to make peace between the belligerents were unavailing. The austere Benedict XII, successor of John XXII, made known to Christendom within a month of his accession to the throne of St. Peter his

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church of St. Nicholas survived until 1811 when it was destroyed by the explosion of a neighboring powder magazine (cf. Ernst Gerland, *Das lateinische Erzbistum Patras*, Leipzig, 1903, p. 117, n. 1).

[40] Lampros, "Εγγραφα, pt. I, doc. 34 (pp. 55–60). Cf. John XXII's effusion of three years before (Rinaldi, *Ann. eccl.*, ad ann. 1330, vol. V, p. 495).

[40a] Du Cange-Buchon, II (1826), 204–205; K. Hopf, *op. cit.*, lxxxv (1867), 436. (In transcribing the ban of 29 December, 1335, an important document in the Catalan history of Greece, Du Cange has unfortunately distorted several of the Catalan names beyond certain recognition.)

ardent crusading ambitions,[41] and in the furtherance of that lofty if anachronistic ideal he sought to effect the union of the Latin and Greek churches.[42] His efforts were to no avail. Latin unity, too, was much needed in Greece, and the Pope much desired to see the return of the duchy of Athens to Gautier de Brienne, loyal vassal of the Angevin King Robert of Naples.

In 1335 Gautier made a second attempt upon the duchy of Athens, which failed beneath the very walls of the Acropolis, and three years thereafter, on 14 March, 1338, Pope Benedict XII wrote to the vicars of the Latin churches of Constantinople and Negroponte, repeating John XXII's decree of excommunication against those who had invaded, occupied, and held Brienne's duchy (*invasores, occupatores, et detentores*). The epistle was composed with some feeling, for it appears that Archbishop Isnard of Thebes had not properly published and observed the previous decree of excommunication against the Catalans in the Athenian duchy. Isnard was well acquainted with conditions in the Levant; he knew the Greeks and Turks well; and had been elevated to the patriarchate of Antioch by Clement V as early as 1311, although he had been later removed by John XXII.[43] Isnard had already seen too many Latin and especially Catalan apostates to Greek Orthodoxy. He disapproved of the Avignonese policy with respect to the Catalans.

Indeed, the Pope's venerable brother Isnard, "if he deserves to be called a venerable brother," had revoked the papal decree, with the collusion of his Dominican vicar, one Gregory de Papia, and had even had the effrontery to celebrate mass before the Catalan offenders in the metropolitan church of St. Mary of Thebes, the *Megale Panagia* ("idem archiepiscopus Thebanus . . . scienter missarum solemnia celebravit"). For this infraction of apostolic discipline Isnard and his vicar were to be ordered to present themselves, within six months of their notification by the vicars of Constantinople and Negroponte, at the papal court in Avignon to defend themselves, "if they could" and accept the dictates of justice[44]—or of such justice as was likely, under the circumstances, to be dispensed to them at Avignon.

[41] Georges Daumet, *Benoît XII: Lettres closes, patentes et curiales se rapportant à la France, Introduction*, Paris, 1920, pp. XLV *et sqq.* Cf. Rinaldi, *Ann. eccl.*, ad ann. 1335 (vol. VI [1750], pp. 33 *et sqq.*); Karl Jacob, *Studien über Papst Benedikt XII*, Berlin, 1910, pp. 109 *et sqq.* All the Avignonese Popes were much interested in eastern affairs, as the publication of their *regesta* has shown (cf. L. Pastor, *op. cit.*, I, 60–62); see Jules Gay (1904), pp. 8 *et sqq.*

[42] Daumet, *op. cit.*, pp. LIX *et sqq.*

[43] Du Cange-Buchon, II (1826), 196.

[44] Lampros, Ἔγγραφα, pt. I, doc. 35 (pp. 60–66). Cf. Du Cange-Buchon, II (1826), 221–222; Wm. Miller (1908), p. 277; Rubió y Lluch, *An. Instit. Cat.*, V (1913–1914), 436; Nicolau d'Olwer (1926), p. 115.

The censure which Benedict XII thus directed against the Catalan Company and Archbishop Isnard was apparently the result of appeal which Brienne had made to Avignon. Lampros has published from the Vatican Archives a letter of 15 March, 1337, sent by Brienne to the Pope, whence it appears that a letter or letters written by Archbishop Isnard to King Frederick II of Sicily, whose son William was titular Duke of Athens and Neopatras, had been but recently intercepted by retainers of the Angevins in Italy. The Pope was sent a copy of Isnard's letter, together with other communications from Brienne's suzerain, King Robert of Naples, "King of Jerusalem and Sicily," who retained the originals which Isnard had sent to the Sicilian King. From the evidence thus placed at his disposal the Pope could perceive how perilous to the honor and reverence of mother church and how prejudicial to the interests of her sons were prelates like Isnard, who by word and deed were striving to lead others into error and were making no effort to recall them from wrong since they had lapsed into wrong-doing themselves. The Duke of Athens had therefore requested a renewal of the apostolic censure which John XXII had directed "against that unspeakable band of Catalans" ("contra illam societatem nefandam").[45] This, as we have seen, Pope Benedict did.

There were hopes of improvement, however, in the relations between the Catalans and the Papacy. In March of 1335, although Frederick II of Sicily, was still estranged from the Papacy, Benedict XII entertained hopes of his turning his steps from evil and seeking the way of truth and justice.[46] On the other hand, a few years later (23 April, 1339), Benedict had occasion to express his strong disapproval of conditions in the kingdom of Naples (*Sicilia*).[47] Italy was, to be sure, in a sad state, but the withdrawal of the Papacy from Italy was more responsible for this than the incapacity of King Robert (1309–1343).[48] Robert was, of course, unable to help his vassal regain the duchy of Athens; the infidel Turk and the schismatic Greek did not relax their hostility to Latin Christendom; the Angevin principality of Achaea was much endangered. A change in the papal

[45] Lampros, Ἔγγραφα, pt. I, doc. 37 (pp. 67–68). (On the Angevin house and the illustrious title King of Jerusalem, an empty honor after the fall of Acre in 1291, see E.-G. Léonard, *La Jeunesse de Jeanne Première*, I [1932], 100–103).

[46] *Benoît XII: Lettres closes et patentes intéressant les pays autres que la France*, ed. J.-M. Vidal, fasc. I (1913), no. 123 (col. 29).

[47] *Ibid.*, fasc. III (1922), no. 2339 (cols. 678–679); cf. doc. no. 1397 (col. 404); for difficulties in the Angevin principality of Achaea at this time (1337), see docs nos. 1528 *et sqq.*

[48] L. Pastor, *op. cit.*, I (1891), 63 *et sqq.* The growth of the free Companies further demoralized the political life of Italy during the next two generations (cf. A. Sautier, *Papst Urban V. und die Söldnerkompagnien in Italien in den Jahren 1362–1367*, diss. Zürich, 1911).

policy in Greece was very necessary. Finally Pope Benedict became reconciled to receiving the "devotion and obedience" of the Catalan Company, and in February of 1341, shortly before his death, the Supreme Pontiff instructed Henry d'Asti, Bishop of Negroponte and recently appointed Latin Patriarch, to go through the duchy of Athens upon returning to his church in Negroponte, and to inform the Catalans that his Holiness would receive their procurators, if they sent them to him at Avignon, "with willingness and approval" (*libenter et favorabiliter*).[49]

By the year 1342–1343, after the fiasco of Gautier de Brienne's attempt to make himself tyrant of Florence,[50] Benedict's successor Pope Clement VI came to see clearly the defense which the Catalan Company in Athens and Neopatras provided to Catholics in continental Greece against both the Turks and the Greeks. On 31 August, 1343, Clement wrote to the Archbishops of Athens, Thebes, and Neopatras, among others, directing them to receive Henry, Patriarch of Constantinople, and to obey him in all matters touching upon his mission as papal legate in the Levant.[51] On 21 October of the same year Clement wrote to the Patriarch Henry directing him to undertake the reconciliation of Gautier de Brienne and the Catalan Grand Company (*Societas Magna Romanie*) in order to further the cause of Christianity against the Turks.[52] He also encouraged Brienne himself to compose his differences with the Company like a devoted and obedient son of the Church.[53] Not without bitterness of heart had the Pope learned of the atrocious depredations of infidel Turks on land and sea, "thirsting after the blood of Christian people and yearning for the extinction of the Catholic faith."[54]

When Humbert II, the dauphin of Viennois, was crusading in the Levant, after the recapture of Smyrna by the Turks and the sad death of the Patriarch Henry at their hands, he asked the Pope to remove the sentences of excommunication standing against the Catalans.[55] Then, at long last,

[49] Rinaldi, *Ann. eccl.*, ad ann. 1341 (vol. VI, p. 286); *Benoît XII: Lettres closes, patentes et curiales se rapportant à la France*, ed. Georges Daumet, fasc. II (1902), no. 810 (cols. 515–516); cf. Mas Latrie, *Rev. de l'Or. latin*, III (1895), 438.

[50] Cf. *Vita Benedicti XII*, in *Vitae paparum Avenionensium*, ed. G. Mollat, I (1914), p. 239. The extensive literature on Gautier de Brienne in Florence is hardly relevant here.

[51] *Clément VI: Lettres closes, patentes et curiales se rapportant à la France*, ed. Eugène Déprez, vol. I, fasc. I (1901), no. 388 (cols. 162–163): cf. no. 340 (col. 129).

[52] *Ibid.*, no. 465 (cols. 204–205).

[53] Lampros, Ἐγγραφα, pt. I, doc. 38 (pp. 68–70); doc. 40 (pp. 75–77); cf. Rinaldi, *Ann. eccl.*, ad ann. 1343 (vol. VI, p. 311).

[54] Lampros, Ἐγγραφα, pt. I, doc. 39 (p. 71).

[55] Rinaldi, *Ann. eccl.*, ad ann. 1346 (vol. VI, p. 422). On the crusade itself, see U. Chevalier, *La Croisade du dauphin Humbert II (1345–1347)*, Paris, 1920; J. Delaville Le Roulx, *Les Hospitaliers à Rhodes jusqu'à la morte de Philibert de Naillac* (1913), pp. 96 *et sqq.*, 107.

on 15 June, 1346, Clement granted the Catalans, for three years, relaxation of the papal interdict and bans of excommunication which had been laid upon the duchy of Athens by his predecessors.[56]

With the passage of the three year period, however, the Catalans fell under the ban again, and in 1354 we find King Pedro IV (III) of Aragon promising them that if they would give up to him the head of St. George, patron of Catalunya, which was preserved in the castle of Livadia, he would use his full influence in Avignon to have the interdict lifted under which the Catalans had thus labored since their first establishment in Attica and Boeotia.[57] The Catalans kept the head of St. George. Almost a decade had passed when, on the second Christmas day of his papacy (25 December, 1363), Urban V recalled that when his predecessor Innocent VI had in his turn lifted the interdict from the duchy of Athens and relaxed the bans of excommunication against the leaders of the Company, these sentences had been intermittently promulgated from the Avignonese chancellery "for thirty years and more."[58]

The Catalans were still showing, however, a predisposition to seek the salvation of their souls by withdrawing from a Church that rejected them and accepting Greek Orthodox rites (*derelicta fide catholica ad scismaticorum ritus transiverant*). Thus, Urban V, like his predecessors, willing that the Catalans should experience the benignity of the apostolic see, and so return to the Roman obedience and unity, relaxed in his turn, for the customary period of three years, the sentences of excommunication and the interdict laid upon the duchy of Athens.[59]

The Pope could not have been well informed of events in the Catalan duchies in Greece. A revolution in Thebes in 1362, led by Roger de Lluria, Marshal of the duchies, against Pedro de Pou, lieutenant of the absent Vicar General Matteo de Moncada, resulted in the estrangement of the chief Catalan feudatories in the duchies from King Frederick III of Sicily, their sovereign Duke. Since his coup d'état was accompanied by war with Venice (1362–1365), Lluria had accepted aid from the Turks. Pope Urban recoiled in horror at this alliance with a "profane multitude of infidel Turks" (*infidelium Turcorum profana multitudo*). On 27 June, 1364, the Pope directed Thomas, the Latin Patriarch, and John II Acciajuoli, Archbishop of Patras, as well as the Lombards and Venetians in Euboea, to take all necessary measures to protect the Angevin principality in the

[56] Lampros, "Εγγραφα, pt. I, doc. 41 (pp. 77–79). Cf. Gregorovius, II (1889), 91, 133; Jules Gay (1904), pp. 70, 156–157.

[57] Rubió y Lluch, "Els castells catalans de la Grècia continental," *Anuari de l'Institut d'Estudis Catalans*, II (1908), 380. He also promised them peace with Venice.

[58] Lampros, "Εγγραφα, pt. I, doc. 43 (p. 81).

[59] *Ibid.*, doc. 43 (pp. 80–82).

Morea from conquest and depredation by the Turk. The Pope demanded of the Catalans the restoration of Paulus, the Theban Archbishop (1357–1366), who had been forced to abandon his see when Lluria had admitted the Turks into Thebes early in 1363; the Pope demanded, too, the return of Paulus' property and the expulsion of the Turks from the territory they had occupied in the duchies.[60] On July 10 the Pope wrote Peter, Latin Patriarch of Constantinople, to preach a crusade against—among others—the "perfidious enemies of Christ in Athens, Thebes, and Neopatras . . . blasphemers of the name of Christ . . .".[60a] When, in the summer of 1364, the Turks were defeated in a naval battle off Megara,[61] Lluria found it best to make peace with Venice. Lluria then expelled the troops of Murad I from the shelter of the ancient Cadmea.[62] He became reconciled with the Sicilian King. The Pope was somewhat appeased.

Throughout the year 1369 the Bishop of Cambrai, later the Avignonese anti-Pope Clement VII, and Simon Atumano, the humanist Archbishop of Catalan Thebes, tried to reconcile the hostile claims to the duchy of Athens of the houses of Brienne and Barcelona by marrying the Briennist claimant Gautier III d'Enghien, titular Duke of Athens, to Constanza of Randazzo, younger daughter of the Catalan Duke of Athens, the Marquis John of Randazzo (d. 1348).[63] Such an alliance could have restored complete harmony between the Papacy and the Catalans in Athens, had the latter chosen to accept it, which seems unlikely; but the compromise was never effected, because the marriage never took place.

It was not until 1372 when Queen Joanna of Naples renounced forever the Angevin claim to the island of Sicily that Pope Gregory XI, who had

[60] Rinaldi, *Ann. eccl.*, ad ann. 1164 (vol. VII [1752], p. 108); *Lettres secrètes et curiales du pape Urbain V se rapportant à la France*, ed. Paul Lecacheux, fasc. II (1906), nos. 1046–1050 (p. 163); Rubió y Lluch, *An. Instit. Cat.*, IV (1911–1912), 33–34. On 17 April, 1366, Paulus became Latin Patriarch (Rinaldi, *Ann. eccl.*, ad. ann. 1367, vol. VII, p. 152; *Vitae paparum Avenionensium*, ed. G. Mollat, I[1914], p. 364; II[1927], p. 531; P. B. Gams, *Series episcoporum ecclesiae catholicae*, Regensburg, 1873, pp. 432, 444). On Paulus, cf also Cardinal (then Mons.) Giovanni Mercati, *Simone Atumano, Arcivescovo di Tebe*, Rome, 1916, pp. 30–31.

[60a] "Dépouillement . . . de l'*Orbis Christianus* de Henri de Suarez," *Archives de l'Orient latin*, I (Paris, 1881), doc. CLI (pp. 284–285); cf. N. Jorga, *Philippe de Mézières et la croisade au XIVe siècle*, Paris, 1896, p. 273.

[61] *Libro de los Fechos et Conquistas del Principado de la Morea*, ed. A. Morel-Fatio, Geneva, 1885, 685–686 (p. 151); Rubió y Lluch, *An. Instit. Cat.*, IV (1911–1912), 34–35; Nicolau d'Olwer (1926), pp. 132–133; D. A. Zakythinos, *Le Despotat grec de Morée*, I (1932), 108–109.

[62] Rubió y Lluch, *An. Instit. Cat.*, IV (1911–1912), 36–37.

[63] Lampros, Εγγραφα, pt. I, docs. 45–47 (pp. 82–88); Wm. Miller, *English Historical Review*, XXII (1907), 520–521; *Essays on the Latin Orient* (1921), pp. 157–158; Rubió y Lluch, *An. Instit. Cat.*, IV (1911–1912), 56–57; any V (1913–1914), 396–397.

negotiated this agreement between Anjou and Aragon, lifted the bans of excommunication and interdict under which the Sicilian Kings and kingdom had lain since about the time of the Catalan occupation of Athens.[64] The King of Sicily was also Duke of Catalan Athens, and this event marks in a sense, too, the final reconciliation of the Catalans in Athens with their spiritual father in Avignon.

In the same year a very notable congress of alliance against the Turks was convoked by Pope Gregory XI at the "tearful behest" (*lacrimabilis exposicio*) of Archbishop Francis of the Catalan see of Neopatras (1369–1376), to which most of the Christian princes of Europe and the Levant were directed to come in person or to send representatives (13 November, 1372). The city of Thebes was chosen because of its central location (*ad civitatem Thebanam . . . magis quam alius locus reputatur accommoda . . .*),[65] but this fact shows how completely the Papacy had come to accept the Catalan domination of a city upon which, for that very reason, an interdict had so often been laid.[66]

After the annexation of the duchies of Athens and Neopatras to the Crown of Aragon and the Navarrese invasion (1379), the supporters of Aragon against Sicily and the defenders of its sacrosanct Crown against the Navarrese pressed King Pedro IV for their reward. At Athens a petition of fourteen articles, the Magna Carta of Catalan Greece (*Capitols d'Atenes, Capítulos de Atenas*), was prepared on 20 May, 1380, and its provisions were confirmed or rejected by Don Pedro at Lérida on 1 September; of its fourteen articles, ten are concerned with personal requests; of the four articles of general import, the most interesting one consults the interests of the Church. The Catholic clergy demanded, in the petition, revocation of the law or laws made in times past, "against the soul's true conscience and against the Church of the Catholic faith," which forbade testamentary acquisition from the faithful by the Church of "estates, lands, vineyards, as well as other things" ("tant de vilas terres vinyes com altres coses"). The voice of the clergy was heard, too, in protest against the ban which forbade the release from servitude of coloni bound to the thin soil of Attica ("E encara que puxen afranquir lurs vilans et vilanes de tota servitut de vilanatge . . ."). It had hitherto been the Catalan practice apparently to

[64] *Vita Gregorii XI*, in *Vitae paparum Avenionensium*, ed. G. Mollat, I (1914), p. 421: In 1372 "Gregorius papa reconciliavit sibi et Ecclesie romane insulam Sicilie, que eidem fere sexaginta annis inobediens extiterat et rebellis, fueratque per idem tempus ecclesiastico subjecta interdicto . . ." Cf. Francesco de Stefano, "La soluzione della questione siciliana (1372)," *Archivio storico per la Sicilia orientale*, XXIX (2nd ser., IX, 1933), 48–76.

[65] Augustin Theiner, *Vetera monumenta historica Hungariam sacram illustrantia*, Rome, 1859–1860, II, doc. CCLXII (p. 130).

[66] Rubió y Lluch, *An. Instit. Cat.*, II (1908), 408; any V (1913–1914), 439–441.

use property bestowed upon the Church, in violation of the statutes of the Company which prohibited such gifts, to maintain or extend the Acropolis fortifications. Don Pedro rejected both these requests. He reminded the Catalans that they were but few in numbers ("com hi ha poca gent nostrada"), and if these few began leaving their possessions to the Church, there would presently be lacking men to defend the duchies, "for ecclesiastics are not soldiers, and they are not under the jurdisdiction of the Lord King" ("car les gents ecclesiastiques no son gents darmes ne son de jurisdiccio del senyor Rey"). The same restriction against legacies to the Church obtained, the King declared, in his kingdoms of Valencia and Majorca; he promised, however, that he would make whatever provisions for the Church were in keeping with the public interests.[67]

Eubel lists the names of nine or ten Latin Metropolitans of Athens during the Catalan period. Except for Antonio Ballester, the last Archbishop of Athens during this period and perhaps the only Catalan to become Archbishop, these prelates are very obscure. A certain John was transferred from the diocese of Crete to the archdiocese of Athens (8 June, 1351), and a half dozen years later, a certain Nicholas, dean of the cathedral church of Negroponte, was appointed Archbishop of Athens (19 June, 1357), and he in his turn was followed by the Venetian Francis, a Franciscan (20 August, 1365). Apparently an otherwise unknown John followed Francis (date unknown); John's successor was Antonio Ballester, a Franciscan and bachelor of sacred theology (appointed by Pope Urban V on 27 March, 1370). Only with Antonio Ballester can the Athenian archiepiscopate of the Catalan era be said to have a history.[68]

Eubel also gives, in an incomplete list, the names of five Latin Archbishops of Neopatras (Hypate) during the fourteenth century,[69] and some

[67] Rubió y Lluch, *Los Navarros en Grecia* (1886), doc. XXXII (pp. 247–248).

[68] K. Eubel, *Hierarchia catholica medii aevi*, I (1898), 116; Le Quien, *Oriens Christianus*, III (1740), cols. 841–842; Rubió y Lluch, *An. Instit. Cat.*, V (1913–1914), 437–438; *Los Catalanes en Grecia* (1927), pp. 264–265. There had been a false report of Ballester's death, and King John I of Aragon had asked the Avignonese anti-Pope Clement VII to appoint Antonio de Blasis (Ant. Blasii) Archbishop of Athens (16 January, 1388), and on 14 May, 1388, the latter apparently was so appointed, but must have been removed when Ballester was found to be still living (Eubel, *loc. cit.*, and Rubió, *Los Catalanes en Grecia*, pp. 273–274). A Dominican named Antonio de Genebreda is listed, with a query, by Eubel, *loc. cit.*, after P. B. Gams, *Series* (1873), p. 430 (cf. Le Quien, III, col. 842), as having been appointed Archbishop of Athens in 1382. Genebreda is said to have been a Barcelonese and to have resided in Athens, but I have not noted any trace of him in the Athens of the 1380's (cf. *España sagrada* . . . , vol. LI, eds. Carlos Ramón Fort and V. de la Fuente, Madrid, 1879, p. 36), while Antonio Ballester unquestionably exercised the office during this decade. The notice in T. D. Neroutsos, Δελτίον, IV (1892), 192, is inaccurate.

[69] Eubel, I, p. 379. Only one Archbishop, John, a Benedictine of Gembloux, is listed for the thirteenth century (*ca* 1215), a very obscure period in the history of the Latin Church in Thessaly.

of these prelates were Catalan despite the disfavor of Catalans in Avignon. Sometimes, indeed often, these Archbishops did not reside in their see; they preferred, quite naturally, the court of Avignon, where they could, says Rubió y Lluch, "scheme for their transference to a richer diocese and one not so far away." After a certain Fra Perpinyà, a Catalan, such an absent pastor of an unknown flock was the Catalan diplomatist and scholar, Ferrer d'Abella (*de Apilia*), a Dominican, who had become Archbishop of Neopatras before June of 1323, or rather, it would appear, Bishop, for had he been named Archbishop, his removal to a more attractive see in one of the Catalan-Aragonese kingdoms might have proved difficult. The enmity of Pope John XXII prevented his becoming Archbishop of Torres in Sardinia in 1325,[70] but his influence with the house of Barcelona was strong, and in September of 1330 he was made Bishop of Mazzara in Sicily.[71] Ferrer d'Abella's successor was James Mascó, also a Catalan, who was active in the affairs of Aragon, and who sought with the aid of Don Pedro IV to prevail upon the Pope to lift the perennial interdict which weighed upon the Catalan dominions in Greece (16 September, 1356).[72] Following James Mascó were three Franciscans, no one of whom, it would seem, was a Catalan—Peter Fabri de Armoniaco (1361–1369); a certain Francis (1369–1376), whose origin and lineage are unknown; and a certain Matthew (1376–1381), who in the civil war which followed the death of Frederick III of Sicily supported the claims of Don Pedro IV of Aragon against Maria of Sicily (1377–1379).[73] It was Archbishop Francis, clearly *persona grata* in Avignon, who was, as we have seen, Pope Gregory XI's legate to King Louis of Hungary in 1372 to inform him of the papal congress to be assembled at Thebes on 1 October, 1373.

In Neopatras, as in Athens, it appears that the last Archbishop during the period of Catalan domination was himself a Catalan. John Rius, an Augustinian and the fourth known Catalan (or Aragonese) to become Archbishop of Neopatras, was appointed to his see, according to Le Quien, in 1381, and was still in occupation of it in 1394.[74] Rubió y Lluch has found two notices of him, it would appear, in documents in the Archives

[70] When asked to make Ferrer bishop of the vacant see of Torres, Pope John responded, "El es mal home e no som tenguts de fer li aquexa gracia ne altra" (*Acta Aragonensia*, herausgegeben von Heinrich Finke, vol. II, 1908, doc. 506, p. 812, cited by Rubió y Lluch, *An. Instit. Cat.*, II, 1908, p. 407).

[71] Eubel, I, p. 347. In 1334 Ferrer was transferred to Barcelona, where he died in December of 1344 (Eubel, I, 131).

[72] Rubió y Lluch, *An. Instit. Cat.*, II (1908), 408.

[73] *Ibid.*, II (1908), 408; any V (1913–1914), 438. Cf. M. Le Quien, III, cols. 1014–1015.

[74] Le Quien, III, cols. 1015–1016.

of the Crown of Aragon in Barcelona (dated 14 December, 1384, and 17 April, 1387).[75]

Venetian influence, as we have seen, was paramount in the affairs of the Latin Church in Greece. It was clearly with the blessings of St. Mark that Antonio Ballester had been elected Archbishop of Athens. On 18 January, 1376, James Campanus d'Itri (*de Itro*) was chosen Latin Patriarch of Constantinople, and Antonio Ballester was made Vicar of the Latin patriarchate.[76] In this capacity Ballester must have found necessary prolonged stays in Negroponte. Indeed, in 1377, Ballester became an honorary citizen of the Serene Republic.[77]

In the Catalan period, as in the days of Michael Choniates, the Parthenon was still a cathedral far-famed in the Mediterranean. It had become an object of interest even in Aragon. In November of 1379 Queen Sibilia, wife of Don Pedro IV, wrote to Antonio Ballester inquiring about "the very many relics both of the blessed Mary and of other saints," which were preserved in the Athenian cathedral.[78] There were a dozen canons on the cathedral staff, and a special chaplain in a chapel of St. Bartholomew (in the ancient *Pinakotheke*?); in the last decade of Catalan domination in Athens the chaplain was Bishop John Boyl of Megara, whom the researches of Rubió y Lluch have restored to his rightful place in the history of Athens. We know the name of an occasional member of the cathedral staff of the Parthenon.[79]

The Acropolis fell to the Florentine invader in May of 1388, and the Catalan duchy of Athens was no more (Thebes had already fallen). The Catalan state had become reconciled to the Papacy, but it was too late to matter; the Papacy itself had been torn for a decade by the Great Schism.

[75] Rubió y Lluch, *An. Institt. Cat.*, II (1908), 409–410; any V (1913–1914), 438.

[76] Peter de Herenthals, *Vita Gregorii XI*, in *Vitae paparum Avenionensium*, ed. G. Mollat, I (1914), p. 473, with notices in vol. II (1927), pp. 772–773; Mas Latrie, *Rev. de l'Or. latin*, III (1895), 441.

[77] Rubió y Lluch, *An. Institt. Cat.*, V (1913–1914), 437, n. 2; *Los Catalanes en Grecia* (1927), pp. 267–268.

[78] Rubió y Lluch, *La Acrópolis de Atenas en la época catalana*, Academia Provincial de Bellas Artes de Barcelona, 1908, p. 30, where Rubió prints a letter from Queen Sibilia to Ballester, dated at Barcelona, 2 November, 1379 (Arch. Cr. Aragon, reg. 1586, fol. 108); cf. *An. Institt. Cat.*, I (1907), 246. George Constantinides, *Report* (Δελτίον) *of the Historical and Ethnological Society of Greece*, V (1900), pp. 824–827, has confused Maria of Sicily, daughter of Frederick III, with Queen Sibilia of Aragon, wife of Don Pedro IV (p. 825). In 1395 the pilgrim Nicolò da Martoni saw the Parthenon relics: bones from the skull of St. Macarius; from an arm of St. Denis of France; from arms of Sts. Cyprian and Justin; and from the hip of St. Maccabaeus; as well as a volume of the gospels written in Greek by St. Helena, on parchment with gold letters (*Liber peregrinationis ad loca sancta*, ed. Léon Le Grand, *Rev. de l'Or. latin*, III, 1895, p. 652). Martoni does not mention any relics of the Virgin.

[79] Cf. Lampros, *Eggr.*, pt. IV, doc. 48 (p. 285).

More than a year after the fall of Athens, Archbishop Antonio Ballester reappears in the documents, safe and sound in Catalunya, where he is caught sight of from time to time for ten more years (1389–1399). The last appearance of the last Archbishop of Athens in the Catalan period of the city's history is in the cathedral of Saragossa, on 13 April, 1399, when he placed the crown of three kingdoms upon the head of Martin I, last member of that Catalan dynasty which had ruled in Athens as well as Aragon.[80]

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[80] Próspero de Bofarull y Mascaró, *Los Condes de Barcelona vindicados, y cronología y genealogía de los reyes de España*, 2 vols., Barcelona, 1836, II, p. 292. On the royal house of Barcelona, *domus Aragonie, in qua erant tres corone regie*, see doc. no. 400 (Avignon, 19 September, 1325) in *Acta Aragonensia*, ed. H. Finke, II (1908), p. 631; cf. Muntaner, *Còn.*, chap. 292 (ed. K. Lanz, *Chronik des edlen en Ramon Muntaner*, Stuttgart, 1844, pp. 532–533); refs. from Rubió y Lluch, *An. Instit. Cat.*, V (1913–1914), 407; *Los Catalanes en Grecia* (1927), pp. 274–278.

THE FORMATION OF THE ASSIZES OF ROMANIA

By Peter W. Topping

If we exclude the Venetian colonial empire, the most important states resulting from the Fourth Crusade were the Latin Empire of Constantinople or Romania, the Kingdom of Salonika, the Principality of Achaia or Morea, the Lordship (later Duchy) of Athens, and the Duchy of the Archipelago. Despite their wider extent and seeming strength and prestige, the Latin Empire and the Kingdom of Salonika were destined to have a short and precarious existence. The former enjoyed a brief period of glory and imperial influence under Henry of Flanders (1206–16); after his premature death it had small political importance, and it disappeared completely with the Greek recapture of Constantinople in 1261. The Kingdom of Salonika had an even more ephemeral existence, disappearing in 1223 upon the conquest of its capital city by the Greek Despot of Epirus. On the other hand, the states of Achaia and Athens lasted more than two centuries and the Duchy of the Archipelago more than three and a half. Of these by far the strongest in the thirteenth century and the most interesting from the point of view of feudal institutions was the Principality of Achaia. It is of this crusading state that the "Book of the Customs of the Empire of Romania"—which we shall more conveniently refer to as the "Assizes of Romania"—was the code of feudal usages and customs.[1]

The Assizes of Romania were introduced to the learned world in 1785, when they were edited and published on the basis of two manuscripts by a Venetian scholar, Paolo Canciani.[2] They were rarely consulted, however,

[1] The fuller title is the translation of the Latin *Liber de consuetudinibus Imperii Romanie*, which occurs in the explicits of several of the manuscripts and which Canciani, the first editor of the Assizes, adopted as the title of the code. "Romania" designated the East Roman, or Byzantine, Empire and after 1204 was applied to the Latin Empire of Constantinople and to the Frankish states nominally subject to it. The Assizes of Romania, however, despite their title, were essentially a feudal code of the Principality of Achaia. On the term Romania see Gaston Paris, "Romani, Romania, Lingua Romana, Romanicum," in *Romania*, I (1872), 1–22, and K. Amantos, "Ρωμανία," in Ἑλληνικά, VI (Athens, 1933), 231–36.

The Principality of Achaia or Morea, exclusive of its vassal states, was in geographical extent almost exactly synonymous with the classical peninsula of Peloponnesus. Morea was the name most often applied to Peloponnesus in the late medieval and Turkish periods; its earliest known recorded use is in a MS. of 1111. On the use and disputed etymology of the word see N. A. Bees' article, "Morea," in the *Encyclopedia of Islam*, III (Leiden and London, 1936), 566–77.

[2] Canciani published them as part of his important collection of medieval codes of law, *Barbarorum leges antiquae cum notis et glossariis* (5 vols., Venice, 1781–92); the Assizes of Romania are found in III (1785), 493 ff.

in Canciani's folio edition, and in general were vaguely regarded as deriving from the Assizes of Jerusalem and as having little interest in themselves. The code thus remained practically unused and much misunderstood in its origins and application until the appearance of the critical edition by the lamented French scholar, Georges Recoura, whose work was published posthumously in 1930.[3]

Recoura has shown that the surviving ten manuscripts of the Assizes derive ultimately from an original of the early fourteenth century, whose language was some form of Italian, not necessarily the old Venetian dialect of the manuscripts. As a Venetian legal document, the question of the application of the Assizes in the colonies or vassal states of the Republic—the Ionian Islands,Crete, Coron and Modon, the Duchy of the Archipelago, and Negropont—was painstakingly studied and perhaps definitively solved by Recoura. He demonstrates that in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries it was in the Duchy of the Archipelago and Negropont alone that the Assizes were at all applied or cited, and then in an ineffectual and often purely formal manner. No jurisprudence developed from their application in the Venetian colonial courts or administration.[4]

The Assizes of Romania thus remain important primarily as a record of the feudal institutions of Frankish Greece, particularly of the Principality of Achaia. For any complete evaluation of their importance it is necessary to consider the problem of their origin and formation as the code of usages of Achaia in the first century of that state's existence—that is, in its predominantly French period (to 1311). Closely related to this problem is that of the existence of a feudal code in the short-lived Latin Empire and of its influence on that of Achaia. Both problems are among the most complicated in the history of crusading institutions and

[3] *Les Assises de Romanie: édition critique avec une introduction et des notes* (Paris, 1930; fasc. No. 258 of the Bibliothèque de l'école des hautes études . . . sciences historiques et philologiques).

In his first chapter, "Les Assises et la critique" (pp. 1–18), Recoura tells the story of the neglect and misapprehension of the Assizes on the part of many of the notable scholars of the Latin Orient—Buchon, Beugnot, Hopf, Sathas, Gerland and others. He errs seriously, however (p. 17, n. 6), in charging William Miller with slighting the Assizes in his *Latins in the Levant;* he apparently never read Miller conscientiously and missed the index entry, *Customs of the Empire of Romania*. Miller gives a detailed and accurate summary of the code on pp. 52–57.

If we judge from the paucity of reviews and the apparent slowness of its reception by other investigators, something of the same neglect seems to be following Recoura's edition as that which kept Canciani's edition so little known. Yet Recoura performed a splendid job of editing, and his work, replete with introduction and a French translation, is easily available. The only serious review known to us is the long and careful notice by J. L. LaMonte in *Speculum*, VII (1932), 289–94.

[4] Recoura, *Assises de Romanie*, pp. 44–46; chap. V, esp. pp. 56–58.

have resulted in radically different opinions. In the hope of furthering a final solution, we shall attempt here a brief statement and criticism of some of the questions involved and of the solutions already proposed.

The Assizes as we have them open with a Prologue in three parts which in language and style is uniform with the articles of the code proper. Part I of the Prologue is borrowed from the opening chapters of John d'Ibelin's treatise on the laws of Jerusalem and Cyprus, in which d'Ibelin describes the deliberate formation of a written code for Jersualem by the men of the First Crusade, under the direction of Godfrey of Bouillon. Then, following Ibelin's language closely, the author of the Prologue in part II tells how the first Latin emperor of Constantinople, Baldwin of Flanders, sent to the king and to the patriarch of Jersualem in order to obtain their "usages and assizes" for his own realm. These were duly received and established as the official customary of the Empire. Sometime later, we are informed in part III, Emperor Robert de Courtenay met Geoffrey II de Villehardouin, Prince of Achaia, in northern Greece and received Geoffrey's homage and his oath "to keep and to maintain the Usages and Customs of the Empire of Romania . . . in the manner written and set forth in this book."

Recoura has rightly pointed out that the testimony of the entire Prologue is highly suspect.[5] It is hard to escape the conclusion that the author of the Prologue sought to enhance the worth of his compilation by lending it the prestige of a Jerusalemite origin.[6] Furthermore, there were as yet no written Assizes of Jerusalem[7] that Baldwin could have received in 1204. It is true that many Syrian barons went to Constantinople after 1204, and some modern authorities have supposed that the oral traditions which they brought with them of the Jerusalemite usages could quite possibly have influenced an oral or written customary of the Latin Empire and hence of its vassal princedom of Morea. Recoura does not

[5] *Assises de Romanie*, chap. II, *passim*.

[6] It was not unusual for the anonymous compilers of the feudal codes of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries to prefix official documents and plagiarized or even forged passages to their own compilations. Examples from the West are the *Leges Henrici Primi*, the *Établissements de Saint Louis*, and the *pars altera* of the *Très ancien coutumier* of Normandy. Cp. Recoura, *Assises*, p. 47.

[7] With the possible exception of one small book of the Assizes, the *Livre au roi*. See M. Grandclaude, *Étude critique sur les livres des Assises de Jérusalem* (Paris, 1923), p. 50. When we state categorically that there were no written Assizes we have in mind, of course, the corpus of the Assizes of Jerusalem as it has come down to us, in the form largely of treatises on the law. We accept the view that the "Lettres du Sépulcre" existed, but even these were lost in 1187 upon Saladin's recapture of Jerusalem.

admit of such an influence, partly in view of what he considers to be several fundamental differences between Jerusalemite and Moreot feudal practice. As for the meeting between "Robert" and "Geoffrey II," it has been satisfactorily identified with the parliament of Ravennika called by Emperor Henry of Flanders in central Greece in 1209. Here Geoffrey I did homage to Henry and was made Seneschal of the Empire. The French scholar Buchon, who first suggested this identification a century ago, did not hesitate to declare further that at the same parliament the Jerusalemite customs became the usages of Romania and that Geoffrey I at once put them into effect in his own realm.[8]

We share Recoura's conviction that any influence of the law of Jerusalem on the code of Morea was improbable. We are inclined to agree with him that the two states differed on important points of feudal practice, although he made no thorough comparative study of their feudal institutions.[9] The improbability of the formation of any formal code in the Latin Empire helps to corroborate the thesis that the Moreot Assizes of Romania were not subjected to any Jerusalemite influence through the Empire. Recoura demonstrates that neither from the *Partitio Romanie* of 1204 nor from its confirmation by Henry of Flanders in 1205 can a code of any sort be deduced. Nor can a written code or even a well-developed oral code be deduced from other references to "customs" or "usages" of the Empire occurring in documents of the thirteenth century.[10] Indeed, the short and troubled existence of the Empire suggests that political and social conditions did not favor the evolution of any

[8] *La Grèce continentale et la Morée. Voyage, séjour et études historiques en 1840 et 1841* (Paris, 1843), p. 99. Ernst Gerland pointed out that Buchon confounded the parliament of 1209 with that of 1210, also held at Ravennika, which dealt with ecclesiastical matters (*Geschichte des lateinischen Kaiserreiches von Konstantinopel* [Homburg v. d. Höhe, 1905], p. 186, n. 4).

[9] He cites no more than five or six specific points of public and private law to prove his contention, notably the relationship of the reigning prince to his vassals (*Assises*, pp. xvii, 22). Immediatization prevailed in Jerusalem after Amaury I (1162–74) issued the celebrated *Assise sur la ligece*, whereas in Morea the liege vassals formed a kind of small aristocracy within the nobility, sharply distinguished from the men of simple homage. A thorough comparison of Jerusalem, Morea and Antioch in feudal institutions remains to be done. This need is indicated in J. L. LaMonte's article in *Byzantina-Metabyzantina* "Three Questions Concerning the *Assises de Jérusalem*." LaMonte reiterates the belief he first expressed in his review of Recoura's work (*Speculum*, VII, p. 293) that a Jerusalemite influence on Moreot feudalism is fairly credible, and further suggests that it is not impossible that the codes of Jerusalem, Antioch and Morea are all closely related and may have "a common origin in some older lost collection of Twelfth Century laws," which he would identify with the famed "Lettres du Sépulcre."

[10] Argument and references in Recoura, *Assises*, chap. III, *passim*.

code of laws.[11] LaMonte conjectures that the celebrated Jerusalemite jurist, Ralph of Tiberias, who came to Constantinople after 1204, may have drawn up a code for the new state. He suggests that the sharp differentiation between liege and simple vassals in the Assizes of Romania may reflect Ralph's antipathy to the immediatization effected by Amaury I. Aside from the fact that no juristic activity on Ralph's part in Constantinople has been attested, it may be pointed out that the position of the Moreot lieges is more likely a reflection of the circumstances of the conquest of Morea by a handful of barons among whom Geoffrey I de Villehardouin was strictly *primus inter pares*. The continued exalted position of the great vassals of Morea throughout the first century of the principality's existence is amply attested in sources other than the Assizes, notably the *Chronicle of Morea*.[12]

If it is unlikely that the Latin Empire possessed a formal code, we can hardly accept Buchon's declaration that Geoffrey I Villehardouin received a code of laws for Achaia from Emperor Henry at Ravennika. LaMonte, in agreeing with Buchon, cites a letter by Pope Innocent III complaining that the lords of Achaia have forced the clergy to appear before secular tribunals and to submit to "consuetudinibus ac institutionibus quas illic

[11] William Miller remarks: "The fall of the kingdom of Salonika [1223] separated the Frank states in the south from the Latin Empire at Constantinople, and the fate of the latter had therefore comparatively little influence upon the much stronger dynasties of Athens and Achaia" (*Latins in the Levant*, p. 85).

In 1258 Guy de la Roche, "Great Lord" of Athens, appeared in the High Court of Achaia to stand trial for having taken up arms against his liege lord, William de Villehardouin. The barons of the Court decided that they were not the peers of Guy and hence could not lawfully be judges in the case, and they proposed that Guy should go to France to be judged by Louis IX and his Court. May we not assume that if the Latin Emperor were still the undisputed suzerain of the Frankish states of Greece, as Emperor Henry had been, the judgment of Guy would have been referred to the High Court of the Empire at Constantinople? The account of this interesting trial is found in the Greek and French versions of the anonymous *Chronicle of Morea* (*The Chronicle of Morea*, Τὸ Χρονικὸν τοῦ Μορέως [John Schmitt, ed., London, 1904], ll. 3332–3463; *Livre de la Conqueste de la Princée de l'Amorée, Chronique de Morée* (1204–1305) [Jean Longnon, ed., Paris, 1911], parags. 239–53, pp. 86–92). (Cp. H. Mitteis, *Lehnrecht und Staatsgewalt* [Weimar, 1933], p. 258, n. 179).

[12] Cp., e.g., the following episodes: William de Villehardouin's reply to Emperor Michael Palaeologos while a captive of the latter; the question of homage to be performed to the bailiff of Charles I of Anjou in 1278 by the lieges of Morea; and the dispute between Prince Philip of Savoy and Nicholas III de St. Omer in 1303. Related in the Greek version of the *Chronicle* (Schmitt, ed.), ll. 4271–4290, 7819–7933, and the French version (Longnon, ed.), parags. 314, 538–542, 859–862.

LaMonte's argument is in his review of Recoura, *Speculum*, VII, 293, and is reiterated in "Three Questions Concerning the *Assises de Jérusalem*," an article in *Byzantina-Metabyzantina*, I (1946), fascicle 1.

ipsi noviter creavere."[13] To LaMonte this phrase helps to prove the existence of a formal code in the early years of crusading Achaia. We cannot see in it more than confirmatory evidence of the feudal division of the conquered state and the establishment of a court system by the conquerors, arrangements which are abundantly confirmed by the *Chronicle of Morea*.[14] LaMonte would support Buchon's statement further from article 143 of the Assizes of Romania, which provides "for a system of appeal from the court of the baron to that of the prince and from that of the prince to that of the Emperor, a system of appeal which would hardly have been provided in a code which had its origin only after the fall of the Empire."[15] But from the article's mention of a bailiff in the graduated hierarchy of officials it is more likely that it pertains to the period after 1278, when Charles I of Anjou, now both prince and suzerain of Morea, inaugurated the long Angevin rule of the principality, a domination marked by frequent bailliages.[16] Another Neapolitan Angevin, Philip I of Taranto, grandson of Charles I, was at once the suzerain of Morea and the titular emperor of Constantinople after 1313.[17] In all probability it was in the second or third decade of the fourteenth century that the Assizes of Romania were redacted in some form of Italian, and it is reasonable to suppose that this was done at the behest of the Angevins of Naples.[18] Furthermore, the

[13] To the Latin Archbishop of Larissa, 31 October, 1210. *Epistolae Innocentii III*, bk. XIII, lett. 161 (Migne, *P. Lat.*, CCXVI, col. 338); cited by Recoura, *Assises*, pp. 34–35, LaMonte, *Speculum*, VII, 292–93.

[14] As Recoura remarks of a similar phrase in a letter of Pope Gregory IX respecting the Latin Empire, "la citation par une charte d'une coutume n'implique nullement que cette coutume soit alors écrite." P. Viollet issues a similar warning in his edition of the *Établissements de Saint Louis* (4 vols., Paris, 1881–86), I, 371, n. 9.

[15] *Speculum*, VII, 293.

[16] We give the text of the article from Recoura's edition (*Assises*, pp. 249–50): "De consuetudene de lo Imperio de Romania, de la menor corte de algun baron, de legio, o de feudatario, over de oficial de Miser lo Principo fi appellado a la corte principal, se Miser lo Principo è de presente. . . so signor, l'altro de grado in grado; e del baiulo del Principado de Achaia a Miser lo Principo sel sera presente in lo Principato, et da lo Principo a lo Imperatore quando alguno fi gravato; et pendando la appellation niente è da renovar. Ampuo in caxon pecuniarie, over debito, non se appella de sguardo a la corte granda de Miser lo Principo. Excepto questo, che se alguno havera saysido algun feo del subdito del suo legio etiamdio in iniustamente, non puo lo subdito haver recorso a la superior, seno passado l'anno et zorno, et servati li termeni de sora ordenati." (The periods indicate a lacuna.)

[17] Miller, *Latins in the Levant*, pp. 126–27, 252.

[18] The evidence for the date of the redaction is in Recoura, *Assises*, pp. 44–46; see also the editorial notes by Longnon, *ibid.*, pp. 41, n. 2, and 45, n. 5, and especially his editorial preface, pp. xiii–xiv.

Further evidence of the Angevin influence in the Assizes is the mention of bailiffs, and of emperors who are almost certainly titular, in articles 1, 117, 136, and 196 of the Assizes. LaMonte concedes that articles 1 and 196 refer to a titular emperor (*Speculum*, VII, 293, n. 2).

fact that a system of appeal is at all provided for can best be explained in terms of an Angevin influence on the Assizes.[19] It was of course the example of the ecclesiastical courts and the encroachment of royal power on local and private jurisdictions that introduced appeal to the system of feudal courts in the west. Similarly, in imitation of their French cousins the Angevins might well have introduced appeal procedures in the feudal law of Morea in order to promote the centralization of their miscellaneous Italian and Balkan domains. The use of appeal in Morea in the thirteenth century is not compatible with the existence of a powerful class of lieges with their vigorous private jurisdictions.[20]

If we may be reasonably sure that the Latin Empire neither received its laws from Jerusalem nor developed a viable code of its own, and that it could not have transmitted a code to Morea, must we then accept Recoura's strong belief that the Assizes of Romania as we have them represent the first redaction of a code that had developed as a body of oral usages for over a century? The answer to this question, in the light of present knowledge, depends on the interpretation of several references to legal practices and to "customs and usages" of Morea (or Morea *qua* "Romania") in the *Chronicle of Morea* and various documents. These references are to events that occurred between 1276 and 1303, except for Innocent III's letter of 1210. Recoura sought to explain them in two ways: some, he was convinced, applied to "customs and usages" as the oral, unrecorded law; the rest, which occur in the *Chronicle of Morea*, were copied by the latter from the text of the Assizes of Romania in their present form. That is, the author of the prototype of the *Chronicle*, which Longnon has shown to have been composed shortly before 1331, had the text of the Assizes before him as he wrote; for Recoura this alone could explain the striking similarity of passages in the French and Greek versions of the *Chronicle* to articles of the Assizes.[21] Recoura applied the latter argument to the occasions (as described by the *Chronicle*) when the barons of Morea

[19] Significantly, the only other mention of appeal in the Assizes of Romania is in article 196, which is almost certainly Angevin in reference.

[20] Another practice foreign to the earlier feudal law in the West as well as the crusading East was the judicial use of torture. Its mention in article 195 of the Assizes of Romania may well be another reflection of Angevin influence. LaMonte remarks on the absence of appeal in Jerusalem and states that its court system "resembled most closely that of France before Philip Augustus." (*Feudal Monarchy in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, 1100 to 1291* [Cambridge, Mass., 1932], p. 105, n. 2.)

The act of referring the trial of Guy de la Roche to St. Louis (above, n. 11) is of course not correctly an instance of appeal.

[21] For the references, their sources, and Recoura's argument, see the *Assises de Romanie*, chaps. II–III, *passim*. For Longnon's determination of the date of the prototype of the *Chronicle* see the *Chronique de Morée*, pp. lxxiii–lxxxiv.

did homage to their Princes or to the Angevin bailiffs (as in 1278, 1280, 1290, 1301), and to the celebrated case involving William de Villehardouin and Marguerite de Passavant in 1276. In this case William won his point by having "the book of usages" (*le livre dez usages*) brought into the High Court and citing therein two specific chapters against his vassal; these happen to correspond to articles 15 and 36 of the Assizes of Romania.[22]

In general Recoura has put forth an able and consistent interpretation of the facts bearing on the problem of the provenience of the Assizes. However, there is one serious objection to his thesis, and although he fully anticipated it and tried to explain it away, his explanation remains unsatisfactory. In part III of the Prologue of the Assizes we are told that Baldwin II lost his empire "and went to the West, as is clearly told in the Book of the Conquest" ("e si andà a Ponente sicomo in lo Libro de la Conquista apertamente se declara"). Now the *Chronicle of Morea*, which is also called the "Book of the Conquest" in the manuscripts, in its Greek and French versions gives a fuller and very similar account of the events described in part III of the Prologue.[23] It would thus be natural to assume that the "Book of the Conquest" mentioned in the Prologue is the *Chronicle of Morea* and that the writer of the Prologue copied and abridged part III from the *Chronicle*. Recoura, however, insisted that the Prologue was copied from a different "Book of the Conquest"—the *Livre dou Conquest* or the *Estoire de Eracles Empereur*, the French translation

[22] William had been taken prisoner by the Nicean Greeks at the battle of Pelagonia in 1259. Michael VIII Palaeologos released him in 1262 only on condition that he surrender three castles of Morea. Marguerite and another lady of high rank were sent to Constantinople as hostages for the prince. When Marguerite during her absence fell heir to the barony of Akova, William seized the fief on the ground that Marguerite had failed to appear within the legal period for claiming it—a year and a day says the Greek version of the Chronicle (Schmitt, ed., l. 7331; cp. l. 7436), with which the French version agrees (Longnon, ed., parags. 504, 518). The first chapter William cited stated the obligation of the vassal to take his lord's place in prison (cp. Assizes, art. 15); the second stated the time limit (cp. Assizes, art. 36). Of course William had seized on a technical pretext to defeat the end of obvious justice, as he himself confessed in later granting a third of the barony to Marguerite. (Full accounts of the case in Greek version, ll. 7301–7752, and in French version, parags. 501–31, pp. 197–211).

It may be noted that the "chapters" cited by William do not correspond to articles 15 and 36 as precisely as Recoura stated; art. 15 refers to the vassal's obligation to serve as a hostage during the period the lord's ransom is being raised, while art. 36 allows a time limit of two years and two days if the claimant is outside of the Principality when the fief falls vacant.

[23] Greek Chronicle (Schmitt, ed.), ll. 1182–98, 1272–76, 1296–1315, 2472–2620; French Chronicle (Longnon, ed.), parags. 84–87, pp. 26–28, and parags. 177–85, pp. 62–66.

and continuation of William of Tyre.[24] The fact that we cannot, in any of the extant versions of the *Eracles*, find any mention of Baldwin and his trip to the West is no decisive objection in Recoura's mind, for some such mention, he thinks, must have occurred in a lost version of the *Eracles*. In support of this view he argued that of the two references in the Assizes of Jerusalem to the *Eracles* as the *Livre dou Conquest* he could find only one in the *Eracles* as we have it. But unfortunately for his argument at this point, LaMonte has pointed out that the other reference is easily found in the *Eracles*.[25] To weaken Recoura's argument further, we may simply ask: if the writer of the Prologue borrowed his reference to Baldwin II from the *Eracles*, why then did he not go on to give us, from the same source, an accurate account of the marriage of Geoffrey II Villehardouin (to Agnes de Courtenay, Baldwin's sister)? It is precisely in the *Eracles* (and the version of *Ernoul*) that we find the true account of the marriage. Clearly, then, it seems better to continue to accept the obvious explanation that the Prologue is referring to the *Chronicle of Morea* when it says "Book of the Conquest" and that it copied from the *Chronicle* throughout part III. Recoura would even have the *Chronicle* reproducing the rest of part III likewise, yet its account of the marriage and the meeting of the prince and emperor is fuller than that of the Prologue. He was intent on finding a different source for the reference to Baldwin II, insisting that the *Chronicle* copied even from the Prologue of the Assizes, in order to strengthen his argument that the *Chronicle* reproduced several important points of feudal practice from the text proper of the Assizes. This argument, we repeat, is of the greatest importance in the main conclusion to which Recoura's long studies on the laws of Frankish Greece led him—namely, that the Assizes of Romania as we have them represent the first redaction of a code that had remained a body of oral usages for more than a century.

In opposition to Recoura, LaMonte accounts for the references to "customs and usages" and for the citation of the "book of usages," as in the Passavant case, by postulating a written code that was in use by 1276. This is consistent with his belief that a written code in old French existed in thirteenth-century Morea, quite possibly since 1209, and that our present code in old Venetian derives from it.[26] The views of LaMonte and Recoura may be compared to similarly contrasting views of Count Beugnot and the late Dana C. Munro on the problem of the origins of the

[24] In the *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades: Historiens Occidentaux*, vol. I (Paris, 1844). Another continuation of William, known as "Ernoul," has been edited by Count Mas Latrie: *Chronique d'Ernoul et de Bernard le Trésorier* (Paris, 1871; Société de l'histoire de France, vol. XXXV).

[25] *Speculum*, VII, 292, n. 1.

[26] *Ibid.*, pp. 291-93.

Assizes of Jerusalem. Whereas Beugnot accepted Ibelin's account of a code of Godfrey, Munro emphatically rejected it, and regarded the "Letters of the Sepulchre" as equally legendary. With respect to the latter, Munro refused to draw any distinction between them and any code, as Maurice Grandclaude has done, showing that the "Letters" rather certainly existed, while a formal code of Godfrey is highly debatable.[27]

We have cited these parallel views—admittedly approximate—in order to suggest, first, that Recoura's strongly negative stand on the matter of a written code in Morea before *ca.* 1315 is to be questioned, just as Munro's analogous position regarding the "Letters of the Sepulchre" has been doubted. Second, LaMonte's belief in a code of the Empire that was transmitted to Morea must be questioned as being too positive and confident, like Beugnot's acceptance of a code of Godfrey. It is more difficult, however, to reject LaMonte's belief that the citation of a "book of usages" and "customs and usages" in the *Chronicle of Morea* is best explained by a written code in use by 1276. But is it necessary to identify this code with the set of laws allegedly granted to Geoffrey I Villehardouin at Ravennika? We would advance the hypothesis that Morea evolved its own code during the course of the thirteenth century and that by 1276 a partially recorded set of laws was in existence. These laws need not have constituted a code as comprehensive as the Assizes we know. But they may well have included important points of the law like those cited in the Passavant case and on the occasion of the performance of homage to the Angevin princes and bailiffs. Indeed, may we not suppose that such an earlier code consisted of a Moreot counterpart to the "Letters of the Sepulchre" of Jerusalem? This hypothesis finds supporting evidence in article 168 of the Assizes of Romania, whose last sentence states: "Et lo signor è tegnudo de far meter in scrito lo sguardo de la soa corte in lo suo registro." The first part of the same article provides that a party may ask for a sealed copy of a sentence or judgment (*sententia over sguardo*). That the High Court recorded judgments is indicated by Robert de Champlitte's request for a sealed copy of the judgment against his claims to Morea in 1210.[28] Grandclaude shows that the "Letters of the Sepulchre" consisted of "assizes," and these assizes were very probably of two kinds—new laws and formulations of existing custom, made by the King and his men in the High Court in their dual capacity of judges and legislators.[29]

[27] Beugnot, ed., *Les Assises de Jérusalem* (*Recueil des Historiens des Croisades: Lois*, 2 vols. [Paris, 1841–43]), I, pp. xiv, xxiv; Munro, *Kingdom of the Crusaders* (New York and London, 1936), pp. 79–80; Grandclaude, *Étude critique sur . . . les Assises de Jérusalem*, p. 21, note.

[28] Greek Chronicle (Schmitt, ed.), ll. 2415–27; French Chronicle (Longnon, ed.), parag. 170, p. 59.

[29] *Étude critique*, pp. 21, note, 22, 103–04.

We may even conjecture that William de Villehardouin in 1276 cited two past decisions of the High Court relating to hostageship and succession, and these the author of the prototype of the *Chronicle of Morea*, writing shortly before 1331, when the original redaction of the Assizes of Romania certainly existed, may have chosen to refer to, somewhat inaccurately, as "chapters" of the "book of usages" that now existed.

These concluding remarks are frankly hypothetical. It is hardly likely that the problem of the origin of the Assizes of Romania can be solved at this time. There is a simple lack of enough positive evidence to decide the question. There remains the possibility that something may be learned from the as yet largely unexploited Neapolitan archives that will throw light on the redaction of the Assizes and on their application during the fourteenth century in Morea, following the redaction, which we believe occurred under Angevin auspices.[30]

[30] Recoura himself was on the point of resuming his researches in the Italian archives, especially the Angevin registers in Naples, when he was drowned in Sicily. He points out in the *Assises* (p. 42, n. 7) that the second half of the fourteenth century is the least known period of Latin Greece. "Il est probable qu'en même temps que la civilisation franque les Assises disparurent très vite de la Morée proprement dite, et lorsque nous en arrivons au XVe siècle où les documents vénitiens nous permettent d'étudier la question de plus près, il n'en est plus question en Morée."

THE BEGINNINGS OF THE CZECH STATE

By George Vernadsky

I

Generalizations have their proper place in the development of both natural and social sciences. As working hypotheses, they may contribute substantially to the comprehension of what would have been otherwise a series of loose and disconnected facts. When, however, a generalization appears obsolete in view either of accumulation of new materials or of a new and more adequate interpretation of the materials available, it is apt to become a petrified tradition which may obstruct the path of the progress of scientific thought instead of opening it.

In the field of history, one of such obsolete generalizations which has become harmful rather then useful to the progress of modern historical thought, is the widespread notion of the innate incapacity of the Slavic peoples for state-organization, for which ample evidence is thought to exist in the whole course of their history. It is argued that, especially in the great formative period of the early Middle Ages, scattered Slavic tribes could only be brought together by either the Turks (Bulgaria), or the Teutons (Varangian Russia). It is true that in the Middle Ages both the Turks and the Teutons were able in many cases to build up the backbone of a state for adjacent peoples and tribes of various ethnic background. But it is not only the fortunes of the Slavs which were affected by Turkish and Teutonic empire-builders in this period. France—a Romanized Keltic country—was likewise organized by Teutons; and in England we have even a more complicated case of one group of Teutonic aggressors conquering another, until, in 1066, the Norman conquest finally sealed the fate of the English nation.

Furthermore, if we look attentively at the Teutons themselves, we shall see that, while they succeeded in some cases in building up mighty states, they failed—exactly like the Slavs did—in many others. Most of the Teutonic states which originated in the early Middle Ages proved to be ephemeral,—like the Ostrogothic and the Lombard kingdoms in Italy, the Vandal state in North Africa, or the Visigothic kingdom in Spain. Obviously we have here to deal not with a question of innate abilities of statesmanship of one people or another, but with that of the survival or the failure of a state under different historical circumstances and against a varying geographical background. Moreover, we are apt to forget that the Goths—the most active and restless people among the Teutonic tribes of the period themselves learned the science of warfare and statesmanship

from the Iranian Alans in South Russia; we should not ascribe to them any more innate socio-political abilities than they actually had. And it was again the Alans who had their important share in the shaping of the policies of the Vandal state in North Africa, whose king was officially known as the king of the Vandals and the Alans.

If we turn now to the role of the Turkish tribes in the formation of medieval states in central Europe and Western Eurasia, we shall find a similar picture. While it is true that the Huns, the Bulgars, the Avars, and the somewhat Turkicized Magyars, succeeded, each in their turn in building up a formidable military machine, there is nothing miraculous about it, and each case, when analyzed properly, may be explained by its specific historical and geographical background. Again, it was not only the Slavs, but other tribes as well—German among others—who had in due time to accept the souverainty of Turkish rulers, and then, later on, extricated themselves from Turkish control in one way or another. German as well as Slavic tribes recognized Attila as their ruler; both not only suffered under his yoke, but in some respects profited by their experience and learned many a lesson under the leadership of the Hunnic emperor. Moreover, the Turks themselves were ready to accept the leadership or the cooperation of other peoples. It seems that the Mongol element was strongly represented in the Hunnic empire, and it is known that the Khazars owed much to the cooperation of the Alans and Alano-Slavs in organizing their empire. Later on, in the Kievan period, while some Turkish groups—the Cumans—waged war against the Russians, other Turkish tribes—the Black Caps (*Černye Klobuki*) acted as vassals of the Kievan princes.

Also, rather than emphasizing the contrasts between the Germans and the Turks on the one hand and the Slavs on the other, we should not forget that the Slavs in their turn succeeded, in several instances, in building states of their own, like that of the Antes in the sixth and seventh centuries or that of the Czechs in the seventh, and, in a later period, the state of the Serbs. We know but little about the state of the Antes, but its existence cannot be denied, and it lasted longer than some of the German states (the Ostrogothic kingdom in Italy; the Vandal state in North Africa), or some of the Turkish empires (that of the Huns, for example). We likewise must not overlook the resilience of the Slavs and their ability—not unlike that of the Chinese—to absorb the shock of foreign invasion and to assert themselves even under foreign leadership. The case of the Danubian Bulgars is of course typical in this respect, the invaders being gradually dissolved in the Slavic sea. The role of the Slavic element in the Khazar empire was no less important, and it is known that in the ninth century the Slavic language was a kind of *lingua franca* in the whole

North Pontic area. It is particularly significant that among Slavic words borrowed by both the Khazars and the Magyars there were such important terms bearing on political and military organization, as "law" (*zakon*) and "army leader" (*voevoda*).

II

It is in the light of the preceding argument that we may best approach the problem of the Czech state of the seventh century founded by Samo.[1] It is known that Samo started his career by revolting against the Avars and then asserted his authority by repulsing the Franks. His attitude is a good illustration of the general position of the Slavs in this period, hemmed in as they were between the Turkish nomads and the Germans. But there is also another angle to the understanding of some trends in the international policies of the epoch: the important role of the Byzantine empire and Byzantine diplomacy should not be underestimated.

Any account of Samo's rise to power should start with an attempt to explain properly the nature of the relations between the Avars and the Slavs, but before doing that, some more general remarks about the position of the Slavic tribes subject to the authority of the nomads would not be amiss here. Much has been written about the plight of the agricultural tribes conquered by the nomads, and, among other scholars, J. Peisker gave perhaps the grimmest picture of the woes of the Slavic tribes under the yoke of their Turkish conquerors. There is of course no doubt that in most cases the invasion of the nomads, whether Iranians, Turks, or Mongols, was accompanied by wholesale slaughter and destruction. However, one should not oversimplify the picture. More often than not, after the first destructive stage of the conquest was over, some kind of *modus vivendi* would be established in the country overrun by the nomads. Usually, levy or tribute in kind (grain, or in the forest regions, fur) was assigned, the proceeds of which were used by the new masters either for their own consumption or for trade. Most of the nomads were interested in trade no less than in war, and at least one of the nomadic empires—that of the Khazars—was decidedly of the type of trading state rather than anything else. Other nomads (for example, the Scythians, the Sarmatians, and the Huns) were likewise deeply involved in commerce, at-

[1] On Samo and his state see F. I. Uspenskij. *Pervye Slavjanskie monarchii na severo-zapade* (St. Petersburg, 1872); V. Novotný, *České Dějiny*, Vol. I, Part I (Prague, 1912) pp. 210–226 (hereafter quoted as Novotný); J. J. Mikkola, "Samo und sein Reich", *Archiv für slavische Philologie*, 42 (1929), pp. 77–97 (hereafter quoted as Mikkola); J. Šusta, ed., *Dějiny lidstva*, III (Prague, 1937), 239–240; N. Gratsianskij, "Slavjanskoe carstvo Samo", *Istoričeskij Žurnal*, 1943, No. 5–6, pp. 41–47 (hereafter quoted as Gratsianskij).

tempting to establish their control over international trade routes first of all. Characteristically enough, even after the dismemberment of Attila's empire, his sons Dengizik and Irnak insisted on the opening of the Danubian markets for them by the Byzantines, and the Byzantino-Hunnic war of 468–469 started only after the demands of the Huns were rejected by the Byzantines.[2]

The Avars were no exception to that rule, and their attempt to establish connections with the Baltic Slavs[3] must be interpreted by their commercial interests rather than by any other motives. It seems that the Slavs—both within and outside the nomadic empires—had their share in the commercial facilities promoted by the nomads. Peisker as well as some other scholars represent the Slavs as practicing agriculture almost exclusively. Here again we have before us an over-simplification of the actual historical picture. While it is true that the bulk of the Slavs were agriculturists, there is no doubt that both cattle-breeding and trade had been practiced by some Slavic groups from time immemorial. The variety of the economic background of the Slavs was reflected in their military organization. Most of them were used as infantry troops, but there also were skilful horsemen among them. Cavalry squadrons consisting of both Antes and Sclaveni proved to be very useful to the Byzantines in the Gothic war.[4] Auxiliary Slavic troops were employed not only by the Byzantines but by the Khazars as well.[5] It is obvious that some Slavic groups in the Khazar empire enjoyed the position of allies rather than that of subjects.

Turning to the Avaro-Slav relations more specifically, we have first of all to appraise the evidence of some of the sources in which the plight of the Slavs under the Avar yoke is painted in particularly dark colors. Three points are essential in this tradition:

(1) When going to war, the Avars were said to place the Slavs in the vanguard and, if the Slavs succeeded in defeating the enemies, the Avars would come out of their camp and seize all the booty.

(2) Every winter the Avars were said to spend among the Slavs, compelling Slavic women and girls to become their concubines.

(3) The Avars were said to harness women of the Dulebi tribe to their carts instead of horses.

The first two stories are from Fredegar's chronicle; the third is from the

[2] G. Vernadsky, *Ancient Russia* (New Haven, Conn., 1943), p. 151 (hereafter quoted as Vernadsky).

[3] Theophylact Simocatta, VI, 2, 10.

[4] Procopius, V, 27, 1 (ed. Dewing, Loeb Classical Library). Cf. Vernadsky, p. 170.

[5] Vernadsky, p. 214.

Russian Book of Annals (*Povest vremennych let*).[6] The third story is obviously of a legendary nature, although it is possible that it was built up around some actual fact—some incident at the time of suppression of an attempt of the Dulebi to revolt against the Avars, for example. In any case, the story cannot be typical of Avaro-Slavic relations as a whole.

The second story—about the Slavic concubines of the Avars—is accepted literally not only by Peisker, but by Novotny as well. However, we have to approach it with reservations. It is of course probable that the Avars at the time of the invasion seized all Slavic girls they could lay their hands on; it is likewise possible that, even for some time after the conquest, the Avars would require from some Slavic tribes a certain quota of Slavic girls either for themselves or for slave trade. But one can hardly imagine that the Avars would spend every winter in Slavic homes. In any such case, they would have dangerously exposed themselves to the vengeance of the male Slavs, and the latter could easily have exterminated their scattered enemies. Besides, we know well from a number of sources, including archeological evidence, that the Avars used to stay in fortified camps of their own (*hring*). Thus, Fredegar's story about the Slav women seems to be legendary. Fredegar apparently needed it for supplying a proper motive for the revolt of the Czechs against the Avars. He concludes the story as follows: "The sons of the Huns [i.e., of the Avars] born by Slavic women . . . revolted against them." In my opinion, there is some similarity between this story of Fredegar and Herodotus' story about the sons of the Scythian women born from their slaves in the absence of Scythian men; those sons of Scythian women were said to have eventually revolted against the Scythians. In any case, we have here before us an example of a legendary topic circulating in various countries, which may have reached the author of "Fredegar's Chronicle" in a roundabout way.

As to the first story on our list above concerning the use of Slavic auxiliary troops by the Avars, Fredegar's statement may to a certain extent reflect the situation in the beginning of the Avar domination, but again cannot be applied to the whole course of the Avaro-Slavic relations. No auxiliary troops can be deprived permanently of their share in the spoils. In their wars against Byzantium, the Avars enjoyed full coopera-

[6] *Povest' vremennych let*, Hypatian version, col. 9; English translation (of the Laurentian version) by S. H. Cross, *The Russian Primary Chronicle* (Cambridge, Mass., 1930), p. 141. For the text of the so-called Fredegar's Chronicle see *Mon. Germ. Hist., S. S. rer. Merov.*, II; cf. Wattenbach, *Deutschlands Geschichtsquellen in Mittelalter*, I (7th ed.), 114–118. Although different parts of "Fredegar's Chronicle" belong to different authors, we shall hereafter in most cases, for the sake of simplicity, refer to the author of the excerpts on Samo (IV, 48 and IV, 68) as Fredegar.

tion on the part of the Slavs, and the latter often acted on their own behalf. In fact, it is in the Avar period that the Slavs expanded over most of the Balkan peninsula, even penetrating to the Peloponnesus. The Slavs were probably in most cases forced to give the Avars a certain proportion of the booty, but their own share must have been substantial as well, otherwise they would have had no incentive to fight.

To sum up, the evidence of both Fredegar and the author of the Book of Annals concerning the hardships of the Slavs under the Avar yoke may be accepted only in parts and with reservations. Generally speaking, some of the Slavic tribes subject to the Avar domination must have enjoyed a modicum of autonomy at least, which is particularly true with regard to the Danubian Antes. While the Avar domination over the Pannonian Slavs must have been more heavy and direct than that over the Slavs of the lower Danube region and of Illyricum, even in Pannonia, the original regime of terror must have been gradually replaced by a milder one.

The exact nature of the relations between the Avars and the Czechs on the eve of Samo's revolt is not clear. Fredegar states that the Slavs were *befulci* of the Huns (Avars). He tries to explain this term by saying that the Slavs formed a double brigade which marched before the main Avar army. According to Ducange, *befulcus* is another form of *bubulcus*, which means a "neatherd."[7] N. Gratsianskij suggests that *befulcus* may be a Slavic term coined under the Greek influence, to be derived from the Slavic *bujvol* (buffalo): *befulci* from *buwolici* (buffalo-herd).[8]

III

According to Fredegar, Samo's revolt against the Avars took place in the fortieth year of Chlotar's reign, which would correspond to A.D. 623. On the other hand, it is known that in 626 the Avars raided the Byzantine empire and tried to storm Constantinople itself. They were repulsed and compelled to retreat. This failure greatly undermined their prestige,

[7] Ducange, *Glossarium*, *s.v.* "Befulcus" (I, 67 in the 1883 edition). [There is no doubt that *bifulcus* means *bubulcus*, as is shown by the Italian form *bifolco*. But Fredegar certainly takes it to mean double, either two-pronged (*bifurcus*) or made up of two groups (*bi-folcus* from German *folc*, a Romanic form of which exists and is preserved even in old French). Fredegar's curious passage contains clear allusions to different etymological possibilities, including a naturally fanciful connection with the verb *fulcire*. The author was clearly puzzled by *befulcus*. Professor Jakobson and I cannot help feeling that the mysterious word might be a Latin translation, or attempt at a translation, of the equally puzzling name of the *dudlebs* or *dulebs*, the origin of which is completely obscure, but could have been looked for in the combination of two Slavic words meaning "two" and "head" or "troop" (*dvu* and *leb*, *lob* = *bifrons* or *dvu* and *tlupa* = "*Haufen*"). All these combinations, I repeat, belong to the field of "Volksetymologie". H. G.]

[8] Gratsianskij, pp. 41–42.

and it would seem that Samo's revolt should have followed the Avars' campaign of 626 rather than precede it. However, the date, 623, may be correct. If one admits it, one has to assume that Samo's uprising was sponsored by Byzantine diplomacy. While a peace treaty was concluded between the Byzantines and the Avars in 620, both sides considered it a temporary truce only and hastily prepared for war. On both sides diplomatic activities were on a large scale, and while the Avars entered into negotiations with Persia, the Byzantines were trying to arrange for support on the part of the Hunno-Bulgars.[9] They might have sent their emissaries to the Czechs as well.

According to Fredegar, the revolt of the Slavs against the Avars started even before Samo's arrival. Samo—a Frankish merchant, as Fredegar would make us believe—joined the expedition and showed a remarkable valor. "A great number of the Huns were killed by Vinidian swords. Appreciating Samo's valor the Vinidi [Slavs] elected him their king, and he ruled over them happily for 35 years. In his reign the Vinidi had fought many battles against the Huns and, owing to Samo's advices and usefulness (*consilio et utilitate*), had always advantage over the Huns. Samo took 12 wives from the tribe of the Vinidi, by whom he had 22 sons and 15 daughters." It is obvious from Fredegar's report that Samo succeeded not only in emancipating the Czechs from the Avar domination but likewise in beating off subsequent Avar attacks. However, the extent of Samo's victory remains not quite clear. Presumably he did not succeed in breaking the power of the main Avar horde, and his achievement was of a somewhat restricted nature. We have in this connection to mention the peculiarities of the organization of the Avars. Until recently it has been generally accepted that the Avar horde centered around one strongly fortified camp (*hring*) which was protected by nine rings of walls.[10] In 1931 G. Fehér suggested a different interpretation of the sources.[11] According to him, instead of a central camp protected by nine rings of walls, we should rather think of nine camps, each protected by a wall. Fehér's explanation seems quite convincing. The nine *hrings* must have been strategically located all over the territory controlled by the Avars.[12] One of those *hrings* might have been situated in the Czech country or close

[9] Vernadsky, p. 198.

[10] The main literary source is Monachus Sangallensis, "Gesta Caroli;" II, 1, ed. Jaffe, *Monumenta Carolina* (Berlin, 1867), 667–668.

[11] G. Fehér, "Les Monuments de la culture protobulgare", *Archaeologia Hungarica*, VII (1931) 34.

[12] The exact location of at least some of the Avar *hrings* may be eventually established with the help of archaeological evidence. On the Avar antiquities in Hungary see the works of Magyar scholars referred to in Vernadsky, p. 189 (*Archaeologia Hungarica*, Vols. I, XIV, XVIII, XIX).

to it. It is this *hring* that Samo must have succeeded in breaking. By that exploit the Czechs became free, while other Slavs in the area of present day Hungary must have remained under the Avar yoke, being dominated by the Avars from their other *hrings*. It is significant that Samo was able to beat off all further attacks of the Avars—presumably of those from the next adjoining *hring*—not only by his "valor," but also by his "advises," that is, as it were, not only by war, but by negotiations. It is possible that he eventually succeeded in establishing some kind of agreement with them—presumably a commercial treaty, by which each of the two parties might have profited.

IV

Fredegar's chronicle is our only written source for studying Samo's revolt against the Avars, but for the study of his struggle against the Franks there exists one more source—the so-called *Conversio Carantanorum*, which is part of the *Gesta Archiepiscoporum Salisburgensium*.[13] Since this latter is of a later date (*ca.* 870) it is usually neglected by the historians, especially after the appearance of J. Goll's notice on "Samo and the Carintian Slavs" (1890).[14]

Goll came to the conclusion that in its narrative on Samo the *Conversio Carantanorum* has had no independent tradition to use, but has simply followed Fredegar's story, and thus has no value whatsoever. The point is very important, and we have to re-examine the validity of Goll's argumentation.

Goll builds up his case upon the similarity of the two texts, to prove which he quotes two excerpts from Fredegar confronting them with *Conversio Carantanorum*. Here is his table of comparison (the italics are Goll's):

Fredegar	*Conversio*
IV, 48 . . . homo *nomen* Samo natione Francos. . . .	Temporibus gloriosi regis Francorum Dagoberti Samo *nomine* guidam Sclavus manens in Quarantanis fuit dux gentis illius.
IV, 68. Eo anno Sclavi . . . in regno Samone *neguciantes* Francorum cum plure multitudine *interfecisset* et rebus *expoliassent*. . . . Cum haec Dagoberto nunciasset [sc. Sycharius], Dagobertus . . .iubet . . . movere exercitum.	Qui venientes *negotiatores* Dagoberti regis *interficere* iussit et regia *expoliavit* pecunia. Quod dum comperit Dagobertus rex, misit exercitum suum.

[13] *Mon. Germ. Hist., SS*, XI, p. 7; there is another version of the story in the chapter "De Sancto Virgilio", *ibid.*, p. 87 (divergencies between the two stories are slight).

[14] J. Goll, "Samo und die karantanischen Slaven", *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Oesterreichische Geschichtsforschung*, Vol. XI (1890), pp. 443–446.

As may be observed even from these excerpts, the essence of the story in the *Conversio* differs from that of Fredegar's in some points. While according to Fredegar Samo is a man of the Frankish nation (*natione Francos*), according to the *Conversio* he is a Slav (*Sclavus*). If we look at the continuation of the story in both sources beyond the point where Goll stopped his quotation, we shall notice another and even more important point of divergency. According to the *Conversio*, Dagobert succeeded in punishing the Slavs: "Sicute fecerunt qui ab eo missi sunt et regis servitio subdiderunt illis." According to Fredegar it is Samo who defeated Dagobert's troops. Thus, the contents of the two narratives are different, and it is only in the wording of each that Goll has been able to find some parallels. How convincing are those parallels?

The first one (Fredegar IV, 48) is not convincing at all. *Nomen* and *nomine!* It hardly can be seriously asserted that the author of *Conversio* would not have used the word "nomen" if he had not found it in Fredegar.

The second parallel seems more convincing. While the words (in *Conversio*) *negotiatores*, *interficere*, *expoliare*, are common enough to be used by any chronicler without borrowing it from somebody else, the sequence of the words is of course identical in both narratives. But even that coincidence may have been accidental. Moreover, *Conversio* has *negotiatores Dagoberti regis* and Fredegar, *neguciantes Francorum*. Thus, while Fredegar speaks of Frankish merchants, the *Conversio* mentions King Dagobert's agents, which is something different.

Thus, the validity of Goll's alleged parallels in the two sources is open to doubts. But even if we suppose that the author of the *Conversio* was acquainted either with Fredegar's chronicle or with some intermediary source, we should by no means conclude that Fredegar was his only source. In view of important divergencies between Fredegar's story and that of the *Conversio* we cannot consider Fredegar as the main source of the *Conversio* narrative. That main source must have been some local tradition. The only use the author of the *Conversio* might have made of Fredegar was some adjustment of the wording of his own story to that of Fredegar's narrative.

Basically, the two traditions must be considered independent of each other. That part of the so-called Fredegar's chronicle which contains Samo's story was written some time after 658.[15] The *Conversio* was writ-

[15] Gracianskij, p. 41. [I see no reason for doubting the clear and definite statement of an excellent contemporary source concerning Samo's Frankish origin: the only question or possible controversy concerns the location of the *pagus Senonagus* which could be Sens or Soignies in the Belgian province of Hainaut, an identification which is not rejected altogether by Bruno Krusch, the learned editor of the pseudo-Fredegar in the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, and could be recommended on the

ten around 870, but the local tradition used in it might have originated much earlier, about the same time as the corresponding section of Fredegar's chronicle.

V

After the preceding analysis of the validity of the sources, we are now better prepared to discuss the question of Samo's nationality. As we have seen Fredegar says that Samo has been a Frank (*natione Francos*); the author of the *Conversio* states that he has been a Slav. Whose evidence is stronger?

Let us first consider whether the author of the *Conversio* could have had any special motive for making Samo a Slav. Was the author of the *Conversio* a Slavophile? Hardly so. The *Conversio* was written at the time of the struggle between the Slavs and the German clergy in Moravia and Pannonia. The bishops of Salzburg tried to extend their authority over the Pannonian Slavs as against St. Methodius. They certainly would not have encouraged any Slavophile tendencies in the annals of their bishopric. Thus, if the author of the *Conversio* stated that Samo was a Slav, there must have been an old and reliable tradition about it.

As to the author of the Samo story in Fredegar's chronicle, he certainly might have had a sufficiently strong motive for presenting Samo as a Frank. His task was to record in his chronicle Samo's victory over the Franks, and he needed some explanation of the unhappy incident, to provide his readers with some moral consolation. At the end of his story he mentioned in this connection that the defeat of Dagobert's armies was partly the result of the Austrasians' treason. To represent the victorious Slav king as a Frank would add weight to the argument. This consideration seems to undermine the validity of Fredegar's statement. But Fredegar gives also a more precise indication about Samo's nationality, identifying him as a Frank from the district of the Senones (*de pago Senonago*), that is from Sens. The Senones were an old Keltic tribe and, according to J. J. Mikkola, the name "Samo" is Keltic.[16] How can we

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authority of Henri Pirenne, who wrote the article "Samo" in the *Biographie Nationale de Belgique*. But I do not insist on this Belgian claim. I find it only natural that, two centuries after Samo's death, his Frankish origin was forgotten among the Slavic tribes which he had ruled in olden times. The fact that he is spoken of as *sclavus* in the *Conversio Caranthanorum*, a statement which must rest, as Vernadsky thinks, on local evidence, does not allow us to controvert Fredegar's statement, but finds a close parallel in the traditions reproduced by Constantine about the Bulgarian Kuvrat-Chrobatos who by the Croatians, his former subjects, was spoken of as belonging to their kin and stock. H. G.]

[16] Mikkola, pp. 77–79.

reconcile this evidence with the statement of the *Conversio Carantanorium*? In my opinion, Samo as a merchant dealing with the Franks could be called a "Frankish merchant" by the Slavs themselves. Thus, in fifteenth and sixteenth century Muscovy the Muscovite merchants who traded with Surož (Sudak) in Crimea were known as the "Surož merchants" (*gosti surožane*). Samo might even have been connected with some merchant guild in Sens. As to his proper name, he could have assumed it from a Frankish merchant of Senonian ancestry with whom he might have dealt. However, while the name "Samo" may be derived from the Keltic, it also may be explained as a Jewish name (an abridgement of "Samuel"), or derived from the Slavic pronoun *sam* (cf. such composite Slavic words as *samoderžec*, "autocrat").

An additional argument in favor of the thesis that Samo was a Slav and not a Frank has been recently presented by N. Gratsianskij.[17] It is known that Dagobert's envoy told Samo that: "It is not possible for God's servitors [the Franks] to keep friendship with dogs [the pagan Slavs]."[18] Fredegar also stated that Samo had twelve wives. All this is a clear evidence that Samo was a pagan, while at that time the Franks were already Christians.

VI

On the basis of Fredegar's information the story of the Franko-Slav relations during Samo's reign may be reconstructed along the following lines.[19] Soon after the emancipation of the Czechs from the Avar domination, trade relations must have been established between the Czechs and the Franks. Eventually, because of some conflict between the realm of Samo and the realm of the Franks, the reason for which is unknown, the Czechs killed a number of Frankish merchants and looted their belongings. In the ninth year of his reign (A.D. 631/632) King Dagobert sent an envoy to Samo to demand compensation for the damage done. As Samo gave orders not to admit any Frank to his realm, Sycharius (Dagobert's envoy) resorted to a subterfuge. He donned Slavic garments and came to Samo unnoticed by the latter's guards. Samo refused to pay any indemnities to the Franks before his special court would investigate the affair. It was then that Sycharius called the Slavs dogs, as has been already mentioned. Upon his return to Dagobert, the Frankish king declared war upon the Slavs. The main Austrasian army was sent against the Slav fortress of Wogatisburg, which has been identified as

[17] Gratsianskij, pp. 44–45.

[18] See R. Jakobson's comment, *Moudrost starých Čechů* (New York, 1943), p. 12.

[19] In addition to Fredegar, IV, 68 see also IV, 74; IV, 75; IV, 77; and IV, 87. Cf. Gratsianskij, pp. 44–47.

Úhošt.[20] A second army, under the duke of the Alamanni, likewise invaded Bohemia, presumably from the north. In addition, Dagobert hired the Lombards, to whom the task of invading Carinthia may have been assigned. Both the Alamanni and the Lombards defeated the Slavs, but their success was on a local scale, and the war was to be decided by a battle between the two main armies. The battle of Wogatisburg lasted for three days, and ended in a complete victory for the Slavs. Part of the Frankish warriors were killed, others fled in such disorder that the Slavs seized their tents and all of their baggage. "Several times after that—adds Fredegar—the Vinidi raided Thuringia as well as other provinces of the Frankish kingdom laying them waste. Even Dervanus, duke of the Serbs who had been for long time subject to the Frankish kingdom, shifted his allegiance to Samo's kingdom." Following an attack of Samo's troops on Thuringia which took place in the tenth year of Dagobert's reign (A.D. 632/33), the Frankish king entered into negotiations with the Saxons offering them to cancel their taxes; in return, they had to pledge to protect the Frankish frontiers from the Slavs. Nothing, apparently, came out of it. In any case, in the next year, Samo's Slavs again raided both Thuringia and some other provinces of the Frankish kingdom. Several years later the duke of the Thuringians, Radulphus, revolted against Dagobert and around 641 concluded an alliance with Samo, presumably recognizing the latter as his suzerain.

It is obvious from Fredegar's narrative that Samo's authority was recognized not only by the Czechs but by other tribes—Slavic and German—as well, including the Polabian Serbs and possibly even the Thuringians. From the *Conversio Carantanorum* we know that the Chorutanians (Carinthians) likewise recognized Samo as their king. Samo's name heads the list of Chorutanian kings preserved in the *Gesta Archiepiscoporum Salisburgensium.*[21] As has been already mentioned, it is probably against Samo's Carinthian subjects that the Lombards launched their attack, and it is apparently to their victory over the Slavs that *Conversio Carantanarum* refers. The victory was not decisive, and Samo must have recovered Carinthia later on, following his success against the Austrasian army.

Thus, Samo's state was much more than a purely tribal Czech state. Supported by the Czechs he succeeded in uniting under his leadership other Slavic tribes both to the north and to the south of the Czechs. Since Samo was originally a merchant, we may think that commercial interests played an important part in the building up of his empire. The Polabian Serbs commanded part of the riverways leading to the Baltic Sea, while the Chorutanians controlled the trade route to the Adriatic. The fact

[20] Mikkola, pp. 95–96.
[21] *M.G.H., SS.*, XI, p. 15.

that the war between Samo and Dagobert started because of the confiscation of the goods of Frankish merchants by Samo's subjects, is in itself a proof of the importance of trade interests in the whole conflict. It seems that Samo wanted to make Czech commerce independent of Frankish control, and preferred to break with the Franks altogether instead of giving them privileges which could be detrimental to Czech interests. Presumably he felt himself strong enough to develop Slavic commerce, and it is for this purpose that he needed outlets to the Baltic as well as to the Adriatic. In this program of commercial expansion of his kingdom, Samo was apparently following the pattern of the Avar Kaganate. As has already been mentioned, the Avars attempted to establish trade relations with the Baltic Slavs as early as at the end of the sixth century. On the other hand, it is known that the Avar Kagans sponsored the development of Slavic navy in the Adriatic.[22] Having wrung from the Avars the western section of their empire, Samo attempted to use immediately all the advantages of his position. As it has been mentioned, he might even have tried to conclude a commercial convention with the Avars themselves.

We thus have to come to the conclusion that Samo's kingdom was a trading state not unlike that founded later on in Kiev by the Varangian *Rus'*.

VII

While the Carinthians preserved the tradition of Samo as their first king, the Czechs did not. There is a break in the factual evidence in Czech history from the middle of the seventh to the tenth century,—an interval called "the mythological period" by Czech historians. But much more than that,—there is a break in the Czech historical traditions itself. Instead of Samo, Czech writers of the Middle Ages refer to Přemysl as the founder of the Czech state. The Přemysl legend appears in an elaborate form in the Chronicle of Cosmas of Prague (d. 1125).[23] Some episodes of it were illuminated in the wall paintings of the Znojmo chapel, which are assigned to the beginning of the twelfth century.[24]

The legend itself must have originated much earlier, but no precise dating has been as yet agreed upon by scholars. Hans Schreuer made an attempt to fill the gap between Samo and the Přemyslides by referring the origin of the Přemysl legend to Samo's kingdom, in other words, by identi-

[22] Vernadsky, p. 196.
[23] Cosmas of Prague, I, 5–7.
[24] Novotný, p. 255.

fying Přemysl as Samo.[25] Schreuer's hypothesis found little support among the Czech historians, and rightly so. The Přemysl legend belongs to the agricultural cycle of Slavic folklore. It glorifies Přemysl, the peasant chosen by wise Libuša as her consort. Libuša's messengers approached Přemysl as he was busy tilling land; true, he dismissed his oxen after accepting Libuša's offer and putting on ceremonial clothes sent to him. But long after that his alleged bast-shoes and his staff were preserved among the royal regalia of the Czech kings.

The idea of the peasant king has certainly nothing in common with the image of Samo, the merchant king, the builder of a commercial empire. The Přemysl legend originated in the milieu of a peasant state of a limited scope. The foundations of Samo's state were much broader. Samo's policies seemed to have been directed toward the goal of creating, under Czech leadership, a large Slavic state stretching from the Baltic to the Adriatic, strong enough to withstand pressure from both the west and the east. The historical importance of Samo's state thus surpasses the framework of Czech history proper. It was dedicated to the idea of inter-Slavic cooperation. Consciously or subconsciously Samo, as well as other Czech leaders of his time whose names are unknown to us, felt that the only means for the Slavs to survive was to unite themselves, to overcome their tribal particularism. Eight centuries after Samo another remarkable Czech statesman, King Jiří of Poděbrad, conceived a similar plan for a wide federation, the ultimate objective of which was that of securing world stability and international peace. In a sense, Samo's plan was scarcely less ambitious for the period in which he lived. Both Jiří and Samo worked for the same essential goal. Both made important contributions to the development not only of their own state but of the Slavic world at large.

The Czechs may indeed be proud of the fact that their history opens with such a bold and creative effort as Samo's state was.

Yale University.

[25] H. Schreuer, "Untersuchungen zur Verfassungsgeschichte der böhmischen Sagenzeit", *Staats- und socialwissenschaftliche Forschungen*, XX, No. 4 (1902), 11 ff. Cf. J. Peisker, "Die älteren Beziehungen der Slawen zu Turkotataren und Germanen", *Vierteljahrschrift für Social- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, III (1905), 527 ff.

A CHRYSOSTOM LEAF IN THE KURDIAN COLLECTION

By Allen Wikgren

In June, 1937, Mr. Harry Kurdian of Wichita, Kansas, purchased a Greek parchment leaf from a Jewish antique dealer in Teheran, Persia. Mr. Kurdian kindly loaned it to me for identification, and it turned out to be an eleventh century leaf containing part of the fifty-third chapter of Chrysostom's *Homily on Matthew.*

In size and appearance the leaf is typical of the chief MSS of Chrysostom, most of which are folio size parchments from the eleventh or twelfth century. The present measurement of the page is 25 x 40.3 cm., but the inner margin has been slightly trimmed. The excellent cursive hand is in two columns of 35 lines each and measuring about 7.5 x 30.5 cm. Since the leaf has been used in the binding of another MS or book the text in the center of the page is somewhat damaged and partly illegible.

A collation of the text with that of Fredericus Field[1] shows no significant variants, but there is a regular substitution of γάρ for γε. In 544, line 17, καὶ γελῶντα is added after ὄντα with MSS G, H and K. Two quotations from the New Testament occur, II Tim. 4:7 and Gal. 4:14f. These agree textually with the Textus Receptus except that in Gal. 4:15 the verse is united with the preceding one by the omission of τίς . . . ὑμῖν and the addition of καί before ὅτι.

It is to be hoped that this rather detailed description may serve to identify the MS whence the leaf came, if it be still in existence. It does not appear to be any of those listed by Field, although his descriptions are not extensive enough to warrant absolute certainty in the matter.

The University of Chicago.

[1] *S. Joannis Chrysostomi Homiliae In Matthaeum,* 2 vols., Cambridge, 1839.

NOTES

An Additional Note to the Article "The Strife among the Palaeologi and the Ottoman Turks, 1370–1402."

By Peter Charanis

On page 288, note 6 of my article, "The Strife among the Palaeologi and the Ottoman Turks, 1370–1402" published in *Byzantion*, XVI, fascicle 1, I make the statement that O. Halecki was the first scholar to make use of the passage in Caroldo's chronicle relating to the stay of John V in Venice. That statement needs to be revised, for in making it I had completely overlooked the article by A. A. Vasiliev, "Il viaggio dell' imperatore bizantino Giovanni V Paleologo in Italia (1369–1371) e l'Unione di Roma del 1369". The work of Vasiliev appeared in 1931, in *Studî bizantini e Neoellenici*, vol. III, but on page 193 there is the following note by the editor:

"This article had been sent by the author to the lamented A. Palmieri in order that it might be published in Italian translation in the *Studî bizantini*. But death took away Palmieri before he had completed the promised Italian translation of the manuscript and it was feared for some time that it was lost.

"The manuscript was fortunately found and the translation of it was confided to Professor E. Lo Gatto. It now makes its appearance.

"The present study is the fruit of the researches completed by Vasiliev up to 1923. It loses none of its value even after the appearance of the book of Oscar Halecki, *Un empereur de Byzance à Rome*."

The work of Vasiliev was thus based on research completed up to 1923, although it made its appearance after the publication of Halecki's book. Since Vasiliev made a thorough use of Caroldo's chronicle in the composition of his work, it is obvious that my statement is not entirely correct. Halecki was the first scholar to publish his study based on Caroldo, but not the first to consult and use that chronicle, relative to the stay of John V in Venice. Vasiliev draws none of the inferences which Halecki drew from Caroldo and which I discuss in my article.

Rutgers University.

La Fin d'une Controverse: κόπτω τάφρον, ταφροκοπῶ.

Par Henri Grégoire

Ce que j'ai appelé naguère ma τειχοταφρομαχία[1] avec M. Fr. Doelger, directeur de la *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, après avoir occupé des dizaines de pages de *Byzantion* et de la B.Z., a pris fin au moment où commençait

[1] Voyez notamment: La ΤΕΙΧΟΤΑΦΡΟΜΑΧΙΑ, *Byzantion*, XIII, 2 (1938), p. 389.

une guerre moins philologique, sinon moins scientifique. Mais je pense que nos lecteurs, érudits ou non, étaient dès lors convaincus de la faiblesse des arguments allégués par M. Doelger à l'appui de sa thèse qu'on peut résumer ainsi: σοῦδα, dans la langue byzantine, veut dire, sinon toujours, du moins souvent, *retranchement*, *palissade*, et non *fossé*; en particulier, dans un passage du *Scriptor incertus de Leone Armenio*, ἔκοψε τὴν σοῦδαν πλατεῖαν doit se traduire: "il abattit la large palissade," et non "il creusa le fossé, et le creusa large." M. Fr. Doelger a soutenu jusqu'à la fin que κόπτω, en byzantin, ne peut signifier *couper*, et qu'en particulier, on ne peut dire κόπτω τάφρον pour *creuser un fossé*.

Or, la langue si byzantine des chants akritiques n'emploie pas d'autres mots à propos du fossé tracé autour du château d'Akritas. Voyez le chant 35 sur la Mort du Héros (originaire du Pont) que publia M. N. Politis dans Λαογραφία, t. A', p. 245–246 (no. 35):

'Ακρίτας κάστρον ἔχτιζε, 'Ακρίτες περιβόλιν σ' ἔναν ὁμάλ' σ' ἔναν λιβάδ' σ' ἔναν πιδέξιον τόπον τ' ὀλόγερα τάφρον ἔκοφτεν, στὴν μέσην στέν' τὸν κάστρον.

En dehors de ce poème je signale encore dans le même tome A' de Λαογραφία ("Notes sur un dialecte d'Epire," p. 453), le verbe ταφροκοπῶ signifiant "creuser un fossé."

Two Palaeologi in Venice, 1370–1371.

By Oscar Halecki

There is an amazing story which is repeated in practically every text-book of Byzantine history and in many monographs dealing with Eastern Europe in the fourteenth century. The historians of several generations never tired of describing how badly John V Palaeologus was treated in Venice when, after his visit in Rome where he became a Catholic, he tried to obtain from the Venetians some effective help against the Ottoman Turks, and instead was kept there in custody, almost as a prisoner, because he proved unable to pay his creditors and his travelling expenses.

It is no wonder that Edward Gibbon enjoyed such an anecdote, since the leading conception, or rather misconception, of his literarily brilliant, but today entirely antiquated volumes was based upon the idea that the whole history of the Byzantine Empire was nothing but a story of "decline and fall". But even modern historians who strongly emphasized the elements of real greatness in Byzantine history, considered the humiliation suffered by the first Byzantine emperor who personally visited Venice—a city once under the control of his early predecessors—as an eloquent proof of the total loss of prestige and dignity by the Palaeologi.

After having studied the whole Italian journey of John V in the light

[1] *Un Empereur de Byzance à Rome—Vingt ans de travail pour l'union des Eglises et pour la défense de l'Empire d'Orient 1355–1375* (Warsaw: Société des Sciences et des Lettres, 1930).

of many unpublished sources,[1] I arrived, however, at the conviction that the whole incident has been misinterpreted, and that the relations between the emperor and his Venetian hosts were of an entirely different character. Almost all my critics, including the Editor of *Byzantion* whose review I particularly appreciated, accepted my presentation and welcomed it as one of the most important contributions of my book. Only F. Dölger took exception to it and defended the traditional point of view in the *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*.[2] I wanted, of course, to reply, but Dölger, being himself the editor of that journal, returned my article, suggesting far-reaching changes which would have made the discussion almost meaningless. I therefore preferred not to publish it at all and, being busy with many other problems, neglected the issue.

If I am now returning to it, it is for two different reasons. First of all, the question has been raised again by Peter Charanis[3] who shares Dölger's opinion, but discusses the various arguments much more thoroughly, realizing the great importance of Caroldo's chronicle which is the basis of my whole approach. Secondly, I have discovered in the meantime an entirely unknown document which seems to me definitely to confirm my interpretation of the situation.

But I should like to begin by making a concession to both Dölger and Charanis, as far as Andronicus Palaeologus is concerned. I had serious reasons to believe that the person of that name which appears among the witnesses to the treaty concluded by the emperor with the Venetian ambassadors in Rome[4] was his eldest son. And nobody has discovered any other person of the same name, belonging to that generation. I must admit, however, that it is indeed very improbable that a son of the emperor would be called—in the Greek original of the treaty—his θεῖος, and therefore I agree with Charanis that "the treaty of 1370 offers no evidence justifying the rejection of the testimony of the Greek historians according to which Andronicus remained in Constantinople while John V sojourned in Italy".

That is a point very important for Charanis, as well as for Dölger, since both are chiefly interested in the origin and the background of the conspiracies which were directed against John V by Andronicus and later by his son, the old emperor's grand-son, John VII. For me, the identification of the Andronicus of the treaty with the son of the emperor would have only been one more proof how unreliable the chronicles of Phrantzes and Chalcocondyles are as sources for the history of the fourteenth century. But even if it would be entirely sure that, contrary to their statements,

[2] XXXIII (Leipzig, 1933), 132–136, in his review of my book; he had already touched the problem in his article "Johannes VII, Kaiser der Rhomäer, 1390–1408", published in the same journal (XXXI, 22, note 2).

[3] "The Strife among the Palaeologi and the Ottoman Turks, 1370–1402," *Byzantion*, XVI (Boston, 1944), Fasc. 1 (1942–1943), 287–291.

[4] *Diplomatarium Veneto-Levantinum*, No. 89.

Andronicus accompanied his father and therefore did not ignore the emperor's pleas when the Venetians retained their guest, this would be no proof whatsoever that John V was not arrested in Venice and that his younger son, Manuel, had not to come to his rescue in order to save him from an unprecedented humiliation. And that is the point which I wanted to elucidate.

I must define the problem even more precisely, in order to clear up an obvious misunderstanding. I do not question at all the indisputable fact that the emperor was in a very difficult financial situation, although I would, perhaps, hesitate to speak of his "extreme misery" which seems somewhat exaggerated. And I would stress that what chiefly worried John V was not so much the lack of money for his private expenses which rather was a temporary nuisance, but rather the financial condition of the Empire which urgently needed very large sums for organizing its defense. That was, of course, too bad, but it is hardly necessary to point out that in practically all times many rulers of various countries had similar worries. What is considered "the most striking illustration of the abject conditions into which the emperor of the once powerful Byzantine Empire had fallen", is not that trouble, painful as it was, but the manner how the Venetians dared to treat the Palaeologus. That treatment appears rather humiliating already in the account of Phrantzes, even more in that of Chalcocondyles, and especially in the statements of many historians who without having any other documentary evidence, arbitrarily developed the story by adding at least one or two picturesque qualifications.

Charanis is entirely right when he says that the mere fact of the emperor's difficulties with his Venetian creditors—ἡ τῶν ἐμπόρων μικρολογία, according to his own expression—"could be interpreted" in Constantinople, and even more easily by Greek historians of the fifteenth century, suspicious of the Latins, in a sense that he was virtually arrested in Venice. But have we to interpret the situation in the same way? The answer is given by Caroldo who basing his account, as Charanis admits, on contemporary official documents, confirms, it is true, what the Greek chronicles say about the difficult financial situation, but clearly shows two things which are unknown to the other sources.

First of all, the detailed figures given by Caroldo make it evident that the main problem was not an advance of "a few ducats"—exactly speaking: 4000 ducats—to pay the daily expenses of the Emperor, but a loan of, first, 25.000 and then of additional 30.000 ducats. In connection with the cession of the strategically important island of Tenedos to the Venetians, this big sum of 55.000 ducats illustrates, not the "abject conditions" of the emperor, but the importance of his negotiations with the Republic. Having experienced in Rome that Urban V, in spite of his sympathy and satisfaction with the emperor's conversion, could not offer him more than his moral support and appeals addressed to various Catholic powers, John V now directly approached one of those powers, most interested in the Eastern Question, with a view to obtaining its material assistance. These

negotiations, including the request to furnish the emperor with six transports, cannot be dismissed as "other things" he wanted to obtain, and fully justified Manuel's trip to Venice, especially since Andronicus was not there and probably did not want to come.

On the same occasion Manuel also assisted his father in his personal financial embarassments with some Venetian merchants, as John V later gratefully acknowledged. But the second point which results from Caroldo's concrete information is the fact that in spite of these embarrassments the Government of the Republic not only received the emperor with all honor due to his rank—that alone would, indeed, be only natural—but accepted his terms and, far from humiliating him in any way, tried to please him as much as possible and, instead of hindering his home journey, facilitated it by all means as soon as the long negotiations were concluded.

It is, therefore, hardly correct to state that Caroldo says "exactly the same thing" as the Greek chronicles. But if there would remain any doubts whether his information was exact and whether it has been rightly interpreted in my book, those doubts would be removed by a document which gives us an interpretation of what really happened to the two Palaeologi in Venice, not by chronicles of the following century nor by modern historians, but by the interested actors themselves.

In 1391, twenty years after the imperial visit which still was well remembered by both sides, John V died and Manuel II succeeded to his father. As usually, when there was a change on the throne of Constantinople, Venice sent an embassy to the new emperor and, as usually, the instruction given to the ambassadors by the Senate is full of interesting information. I found its unpublished text in the priceless series *Senato Misti* of the Venetian Archives.[5] Unfortunately my notes were burned during the bombardment of the University of Warsaw in September 1939, and the Archives of Venice are not yet accessible. But although I could not quote at the present moment the volume nor the page, I remember perfectly well the introductory passage which I considered of greatest value.

As usually, Venice was particularly anxious to obtain from the new ruler a confirmation and possibly an extension of her traditional commercial rights and privileges in the Eastern Empire. In order to gain, for this and any other purpose, the sympathy of Manuel II, the ambassadors of 1391 were instructed to recall him at the very beginning, in connection with the usual expressions of sympathy after the death of his predecessor and congratulations on his own accession, *how well his father and himself had been received and treated in Venice when they visited the Republic twenty years ago.* I regret not to be able to give the full and exact text of that sentence, but even summarized it seems decisive for the problem which is

[5] I went through all the volumes of this series, from 1375 to the beginning of the fifteenth century, when preparing my study on "Rome et Byzance au temps du Grand Schisme d'Occident" which first was submitted to the International Congress of Byzantine Studies, held in Rome, in 1936, and then appeared in the *Collectanea Theologica* (Lwów, 1937).

under discussion. If there would have been the slightest humiliating or even unpleasant element in the recollections of the visit of the two Palaeologi, as interpreted by both sides, it would have been simply absurd to mention that visit, without any necessity, in 1391, and to do it in terms which in such a case would have been full of impertinent irony.

The whole problem which in my opinion now is definitely settled, might seem of minor importance, as just one of many details of diplomatic history. It is, however, of real significance, because it makes us understand that even in the second half of the fourteenth century, Byzantium, reduced to a very small territory, financially and therefore also militarily impotent, torn by internal dissensions, was not at all considered a negligible political entity, and the "Emperor of the Romans", even in the times of decline under the last Palaeologi, not so disregarded, as many historians continue to suppose. It now is easier to realize that even much later, in 1438, when another John Palaeologus, the son of Manuel II, sojourned in Italy, there could be a serious discussion whether the pope would not "*imperium ab Almanis transferre, vice versa ad Graecos*" in case of an unsuitable election in Germany.[6]

But the problem is also not without interest from the point of view of the methods of historical research. The experience of these investigations is one more serious warning against the easy going use of well known chronicles, written long after the events described, and an equally urgent plea in favor of more research in the archives the riches of which is far from being exhausted, even in the case of the famous Archives of Venice. As far as, for instance, the later fourteenth century is concerned, their material has been published to a large extent, to mention only the collections of Ljubić and Iorga;[7] and moreover, in Max Silberschmidt's book all what remained unpublished and still important for the study of the Eastern problem seemed to be utilized. Nevertheless, a full publication of the *Senato Misti* and *Senato Secreta*, referring of course to the earlier editions, would be highly desirable, giving us the only possible guarantee that no information has been omitted.

I am sure that on that respect Peter Charanis whose excellent contribution to the history of Greek-Turkish relations seems to be a promising introduction to a comprehensive monograph on that subject, will fully agree with me. We both know, however, that such a plan of systematic research and publication has to wait for times of peace.

[6] *Concilium Basiliense*, V (Basel, 1904), ed. J. Beckmann, p. 151.

[7] The Rumanian original of N. Iorga's monograph "La politique vénitienne dans les eaux de la Mer Noire", mostly used in the French edition, contains in an appendix the texts of many documents taken from the Archives of Venice.

The Calendar Change at Antioch and the Earthquake of 458 A.D.

By Ernest Honigmann

In an article of great methodological interest[1] Mr. Glanville Downey has shown that the divergence between Malalas and Evagrius concerning the date of an earthquake at Antioch—a divergence which has puzzled the modern scholars—can be explained by the fact that between 449 and 483 A.D. the beginning of the year according to the Antiochene era changed from October 1 to September 1. Already in the 17th century Noris(ius) found out that this change had taken place in or before 518 A.D., and concluded that Malalas and Evagrius either refer to two different disasters in 457 and 459 A.D. or that they speak both of the same one which occurred in September, 458, reflecting two different misunderstandings of the original date.[2] Noris regarded these two possibilities as hypotheses, declaring the problem insoluble, while Downey considers it as solved in the sense proposed by Noris, thanks to the further evidence of some inscriptions and the record of two earthquakes in the Syriac *Liber Chalifarum*. Other students had "investigated the accounts of the earthquake with the purpose of fixing its date and thereby determining whether the year of Antioch began on 1 October or 1 September in A.D. 457 or 458",[3] a manner of approaching the problem for which Downey reproaches them,[4] because they did not take into consideration the change of calendar made just about this time. According to the close of his article,[5] Downey seems to despair of the possibility of fixing the date of the disaster (457 or 458).

In my opinion it is the duty of historians to fix the date of the one or two catastrophes, even if necessary disregarding the calendar change. If they are able to solve this problem, the other question, viz., when the beginning of the Antiochene year was changed, will also be brought at least somewhat nearer to its solution.

In real fact, the exact year of the earthquake has already been ascertained; the date given by Clinton turns out to be correct. Among the different indications which contain elements useful for this chronological investigation, one has been neglected by Downey, though Lietzmann has already pointed to it,[6] viz., the series of Antiochene bishops at the time of the disaster. By chance the bishop during whose episcopacy it occurred, Acacius, occupied his see not more than one year (probably only 9 months).

[1] Glanville Downey, "The Calendar Reform at Antioch in the Fifth Century", *Byzantion*, XV, 1940–1, 39–48.

[2] Downey, p. 48.

[3] Downey, p. 46.

[4] Downey, *ibid.*

[5] Downey, p. 48, n. 18, last line.

[6] In the work to which Downey refers p. 42, n. 8. But Lietzmann's exposition is not exhaustive and somewhat obscure.

Though he is omitted in different lists of the Antiochene bishops, his existence is assured by the following independent sources:

Nicephorus, patriarch of CP., *Chronogr. synt.*, p. 131, 18, ed.C.de Boor (Leipzig, 1880): . . . Βασίλειος, ἔτη β̄, Ἀκάκιος, ἐφ' οὗ ἡ πόλις πέπτωκεν, ἔτος ᾱ, Μαρτύριος ἔτη ῑ̄γ̄ κτλ.

Chronicon ad annum 724 pertinens, the so-called *Liber Chalifarum*, ed. Brooks (transl. Chabot), p. 140, 16. 141, 1.14 (109, 9.22.32),[7] where the charitable activity of the Bishop Mar Aqaq on occasion of the earthquake is mentioned.

Chronicon ad A.D. 846 pertinens, *ibid.*, p. 216 (164): bishops of Antioch: Basilius 2 years, Acacius 9 years, Martyrius 13 years, etc.; the 9 years of Acacius are obviously wrong, and seem to be a mistake for "9 months" rather than for "one year". A fragment of the *Church history* by Theodorus Lector[8] tells us that, when Basil had been bishop for a few months, Martyrius followed him. Eduard Schwartz supposes[9] that "Basil" is here a mistake for "Acacius", and F. Diekamp consents[10] to his opinion, which agrees with my own conjecture that Acacius was only nine months bishop.

Now Ed. Schwartz[11] has shown that the two years of Bishop Basil began in 457, as appears from several letters, one of Pope Leo to Basil, another of Emperor Leo to the same, and Basil's answer to the latter, these two figuring in the so-called *Encyclia*. In 459, however, when Symeon Stylites died (either on September 2 or on July 24), Acacius was already succeeded by Martyrius. The date of Acacius's episcopacy and consequently that of the earthquake is fixed thus in 458 (night of Saturday 13 to Sunday 14 September); as Schwartz points out, "the dating of 457 is refuted by four testimonies independent of each other: the day of the week, the notice by Nicephorus, the *Liber Chalifarum* and the *Codex encyclius*". By the way, it seems that Schwartz was not quite well informed of the connection of the problem of dating the earthquake with that of the Antiochene calendar change; but this deficiency does not diminish the solidity of my arguments. Moreover, these prove in their turn that the year 506 of the Antiochene era began, as in the earlier times, on October 1, 457 A.D. Schwartz refers of course only to the first report of the *Liber Chalifarum* about the earthquake(s) which contains the name of Acacius. This report dates the disaster "about midnight on Saturday, September (Elūl) 14, when Sunday was approaching". This somewhat inconsistent indication reflects prob-

[7] *Corpus scriptorum christianorum orientalium, Scriptores Syri*, series III, t. IV.

[8] Ed. by A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, Νέα τεμάχη τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς ἱστορίας Θεοδώρου Ἀναγνώστου τοῦ Ἐντολέως, *Žurnal minist. narodn. prosv.*, Otd. klass. phil., CCCXXXIII (1901), 16, frg. 51.

[9] E. Schwartz, "Publizistische Sammlungen zum acacianischen Schisma", *Abh. d. Bayer. Akad. d. Wiss.*, phil.-hist. Kl., N.F., Heft X (1934), p. 182, n. 3.

[10] F. Diekamp, "Analecta patristica", *Orientalia christiana analecta*, CXVII (Rome, 1938) p. 99, n. 3.

[11] E. Schwartz, *loc. cit.* Diekamp, *loc. cit.*, p. 99, n. 1.

ably a certain want of clearness in the original source which, speaking of midnight, permitted some doubts whether Sept. 14 was a Saturday, as the wording seems to demand, or rather, as it actually was, a Sunday. Thus both dates given by Malalas and Evagrius, viz. 13 and 14 September, could go back to an original source, though each of the two chroniclers chose just that of them, which was incompatible with the day of the week he added.

The account of two earthquakes dated in different years is considered by Downey as evidence of the fact that really there were two disasters. The later of them, that of June 19, 459, could be the same to which both Malalas (by speaking of the consulship of Patricius) and the *Biography* of St. Symeon Stylites refer. Yet it may be remarked that no source expressly distinguishes two catastrophes and that the author of the *Liber Chalifarum* probably related the two descriptions to the same disaster, heading them thus: "Notitia annorum qui notandi sunt propter res varias. Et primum de *terrae motu* qui Antiochiae accidit". Therefore it seems not quite impossible that the second description, added (as usually) without transition to the first, is only another report of the same event, its dating being in this case wrong in all points. This second text is rather an elegiac deploring of a catastrophe, described in very common terms. It may be a paraphrase of the *elegiacum carmen* by which Isaac of Antioch deplored the ruin of Antioch.[12] I could however not find out whence the author took the date "June 19" from. As to Clinton's and Schwartz's supposition that Malalas went astray using a list of consuls, it seems by no means inadmissible; for chroniclers of the intellectual capacity of Malalas such wrong chronological equations are rather the rule than an exception.[13] In a similar inexact way the council of Gangra is dated in the Syriac Ms. of the Museo Borgiano (no. 82), containing a collection of council canons:[14] "under the consulship of Placidus and Romulus (i.e., 343 A.D.), in the year 390 of Antioch (corresponding to 341–2 A.D.)". We may conclude that our knowledge is not sufficient either to affirm or to deny the existence of a second earthquake in 459 A.D.

The period during which the calendar change was performed can now be limited by the years 458 and 483 A.D. Even the suggestion may be permitted that this change was just occasioned by the earthquake itself. This change which we can hardly qualify as "a calendar reform" consisted merely in dating back the beginning of the Antiochene year to Sept. 1, so that it

[12] Gennadius Massil., "De vir. ill.," ch. 66, Migne, *P.L.*, LVIII, col. 1098^{B}; ch. 67 ed. Richardson, *Texte u. Unters.*, XIV (1896), 84.

[13] Cf. the similar case of the foundation of Theodosiopolis (Resaina), dated by Malalas (p. 346_{1-2} ed. Bonn) "under the consulship of Merobaudes and Saturninus (i.e., 383 A.D.). by the author of the *Chronicle of Edessa* (ch. 35, p. 5_{17-18} ed., p. 6_7 transl. by I. Guidi in the volume mentioned note 7) in 692 Sel. (i.e., 380–1 A.D.).

[14] Cf. O. Braun, "Die Abhaltung der Synode von Gangra", *Hist. Jahrb. d. Görresges.*, XVI (1895), 586f. J.-B. Chabot, *Synodicum Orientale* (Paris, 1902), p. 278, n. 4. Ed. Schwartz, "Die Kanonessammlungen der alten Reichskirche", *Zeitschr. d. Savignystiftung für Rechtsgesch.*, LVI, Kanon. Abt., XXV (Weimar, 1936), 5 and 36.

coincided henceforth with that of the indictions, i.e., the standard period of public taxation. As it often happened in similar cases, the Emperor may have granted an exemption from taxation to the unfortunate city after the disaster, e.g., for two or three years. In such a case it could have been important for the inhabitants that the years of exemption were equalized with the indictions, for a malevolent tax-collector could perhaps try to shorten the granted space of time by turning the peculiarity of the Antiochene year to account. If really the Antiochene people changed their year in 458 A.D. by removing September, the month of the earthquake, from the end to the beginning of their local year, this would even better explain the helplessness of the chroniclers in dating this event and the fact that Bishop Acacius is omitted in many of the lists of Antiochene bishops. But this is only a suggestion which may be proposed provisionally, until newly discovered inscriptions reveal us the precise date of the calendar change.

La Fille de l'Homme Riche.

Par Alexandre H. Krappe

Sous le titre de Μελανοπούλα M. R.-M. Dawkins résume brièvement un récit pris dans un recueil manuscrit de contes grecs de l'île de Cos et dont voici les péripéties:[1]

Un fils de roi et la fille d'un riche citoyen fréquentent la même école. Comme cela arrive assez souvent, la fille a plus d'esprit que le garçon et la roturière en a plus que le prince, si bien qu'elle l'aide à apprendre ses leçons. Ils restent bons amis même après leurs années d'école. Le père de la jeune fille a beau lui faire observer qu'elle est maintenant trop grande pour recevoir le prince sans donner prise aux mauvaises langues; un jour on surprend les deux jeunes gens dans la chambre de la jeune fille. Prise de peur, elle cache son amoureux dans un coffre. Mais il paie chèrement son amitié: en ouvrant le coffre, le danger passé, elle le trouve mort étouffé. Pour se débarrasser du corps, elle prie un domestique de le sortir et de l'enterrer. Croyant l'avoir en son pouvoir, le rustre menace de trahir son secret pour l'obliger à venir le voir, vers minuit, lui et ses camarades de débauche. Plus rusée qu'eux, elle s'y prend si habilement qu'ils se grisent; puis, les voyant endormis, elle les tue résolument. Bien des années plus tard, prise de remords, elle résout de se confesser. Par malheur, elle choisit mal son confesseur: le méchant prêtre, après avoir extorqué une somme d'argent, n'a rien de mieux à faire que de trahir son secret afin d'obtenir la récompense promise par le roi à celui qui pourra lui dire ce qu'est devenu son fils. On envoie chercher l'héroïne, qui avoue ce qui s'est passé. Le roi lui pardonne ses crimes involontaires; mais il a le bon sens de faire pendre par la langue le méchant prêtre, comme le conteur l'exprime naïvement, afin de détourner les autres de trahir le secret de la confession.

M. Dawkins ne paraît pas s'être aperçu du fait qu'il s'agit d'un thème très répandu en Occident tant qu'en Orient pendant le moyen âge et après,

[1] Voir ci-dessus, XVI. 2, 368–369.

Il forme le sujet d'un poème français généralement connu sous le titre *De la royne qui ocist son sénéschal* et dont voici un résumé:[2]

Un roi d'Égypte, séparé à la chasse de ses gens à la suite d'un orage, arrive au château d'un de ses chevaliers, père d'une jolie fille. Le monarque s'en éprend éperdument et lui demande sa main. Quoiqu'il soit agréé d'elle, telle est son impatience qu'il lui demande une entrevue secrète la nuit même. Son sénéchal, à qui il fait part de son dessein, l'en dissuade, si bien que le roi lui remet la clef que lui avait confiée la jeune fille. Mais l'infâme sénéchal abuse grossièrement de cette confiance: il s'en sert pour se glisser dans la chambre à coucher de la jeune fille, qui le prend naturellement pour le roi son maître et se donne à lui. Ayant conçu des soupçons, elle allume une chandelle et reconnaît la trahison. Sans hésiter, elle perce le sénéchal endormi de sa propre épée. Avec l'aide d'une cousine, elle se défait du cadavre, qu'elle jette dans un vieux puits. Le mariage se fait; pour cacher son déshonneur à son mari, elle prie sa cousine de prendre sa place dans le lit nuptial. Celle-ci s'y prête de bonne grâce mais refuse, le roi endormi, de céder sa place à la malheureuse reine. Avec une rare présence d'esprit, celle-ci met le feu au lit, après y avoir secrètement attaché sa remplaçante. Comme bien on pense, le roi se sauve, mais la cousine est brûlée. Le roi qui, bien entendu, ne se doute pas de ce qui s'est passé, vit heureux avec sa femme; mais celle-ci est tourmentée de remords. Elle fait bâtir une église à la vierge Marie mais pendant deux années n'ose se confesser. Enfin, elle confesse les deux meurtres au chapelain du roi, lequel à son tour abuse de sa situation pour lui faire de criminelles propositions. Sur son refus, il la dénonce au roi. Condamnée à mort, elle va être brûlée vive quand un saint ermite, envoyé par Dieu, persuade au roi de faire ramener la reine en sa présence. Alors les liens se relâchent par miracle; une lettre tombe du ciel, dans laquelle est raconté tout ce qui est arrivé à la reine.

Ce récit a servi d'intrigue à un *miracle de Nostre Dame par personnages*.[3] Il a laissé des traces dans un récit du roman en prose du *Marques de Rome*,[4] et paraît avoir eu l'honneur d'une traduction anglaise, puisqu'on a relevé un texte parallèle dans un manuscrit des *Gesta Romanorum* anglais.[5] Voici ce qu'on y lit:

Un conte, fiancé à la fille d'un baron, est convenu avec elle d'un rendez-vous nocturne. Comme dans le texte français, son confident l'en détourne, mais le chevalier, qui avait lui-même prétendu à la main de la jeune fille, abuse de la confiance que son maître repose en lui: il prend la place de celui-ci, possède la jeune fiancée et se fait reconnaître ensuite. S'étant endormi, il paie chèrement son ignoble trahison: elle lui coupe la gorge avec son propre poignard. Pour jeter le corps dans un puits, elle appelle à son aide un ribaud au service de son père. Il déclare ne vouloir s'y prêter qu'à condition qu'elle se donne à lui. Il faut bien qu'elle y consente; mais elle attache secrètement le cadavre au corps du ribaud puis le pousse dans le puits où il

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[2] Méon, *Nouveau recueil*, II, 256–78; voir aussi R. Köhler, *Kleinere Schriften*, II (1900), p. 393 et suiv.

[3] *Miracles de Nostre Dame par personnages*, p.p.G. Paris et U. Robert, I, 147–202.

[4] Ed. Alton (1889), p. 114; voir Köhler, *op. cit.*, p. 395.

[5] S. J. H. Herrtage, *The Early English Versions of the Gesta Romanorum*, Londres, 1879, p. 394–96; voir Köhler, p. 395 et suiv.

tombe avec le chevalier mort. La nuit des noces, elle persuade à une chambrière de prendre sa place dans le lit nuptial. La déloyale fille refusant de rendre la place, la mariée la brûle comme dans la version française. Dans la suite elle se confesse à un prêtre, qui lui fait la proposition qu'on connaît et qui, sur son refus, la dénonce à son mari. Ici aussi elle est sauvée par un miracle, qui diffère pourtant de celui du texte français.

Les différences principales entre les deux versions, la française et l'anglaise, se laissent résumer ainsi: (1) Dans le texte anglais l'étrange conduite du sénéchal est mieux motivée que dans le français: il s'agit de la revanche d'un prétendant éconduit; (2) dans le texte français les deux personnages, celui qui l'aide à se débarrasser du corps du sénéchal et celui qui prend sa place dans le lit nuptial, sont fusionnés en un seul, ce qui fait que dans l'anglais elle est coupable de trois meurtres.

Ni le récit français ni l'anglais, dans leurs formes existantes, ne sont antérieurs au XIIIe siècle. Que le thème fût courant en Occident avant cette date, cela est prouvé par une version irlandaise qu'on a relevée dans le *Livre de Leinster*, compilé, on le sait, vers le milieu du XIIe siècle. Voici en raccourci le récit gaélique d'après la traduction du regretté R. Thurneysen:[6]

La fille d'un roi des Grecs, fiancée au fils d'un noble né la même nuit qu'elle (comme c'est l'usage chez les Grecs), est élevée à la cour de son père mais s'éprend d'un beau garçon qui fait partie de la domesticité; avec lui elle a le commerce le plus intime. Un jour, quand ils sont ensemble au lit, le roi manque les surprendre; mais avec une admirable présence d'esprit elle jette un coussin sur le jeune homme. Le roi, sans se douter de rien, s'assied sur ce coussin et s'entretient longtemps avec elle. Quand enfin il part, le galant est mort étouffé. Comme dans le texte anglais, la princesse appelle un vigoureux rustre pour se débarrasser du cadavre, qu'il doit jeter du haut d'un rocher. Elle insiste pour l'y accompagner et le précipite lui-même avec le corps. Le jour de ses noces arrivé, elle demande à une de ses suivantes de prendre pour une heure sa place dans le lit nuptial. Comme dans les textes français et anglais, la servante refuse de rendre la place, et la princesse met alors le feu à l'appartement. Comme la suivante va prendre de l'eau dans un réservoir pour éteindre la flamme, elle la noie. Cependant le marié réussit à éteindre le feu; elle n'a qu'à jouer la comédie, se lamentant de la mort de sa fidèle servante.—Après de longues années de mariage, elle perd son père, puis son mari. Prise de remords, elle se confesse au chapelain du nouveau roi; ce prêtre lui fait des propositions d'amour qu'elle repousse. Il révèle alors sa confession au monarque, qui la fait mettre en prison. Au bout de sept ans, elle est relâchée et expie ses crimes en fondant un couvent et une église. Après sa mort, elle va droit au ciel. Autour du couvent une ville s'est formée: c'est la meilleure ville de prières chez les Grecs.

On le voit, comme dans la version anglaise le nombre des meurtres est trois. Si celui du rustre n'est pas motivé—le texte irlandais ne dit rien d'un chantage de sa part—cela est sans doute dû au raccourci du compilateur qui a tout simplement supprimé ce détail. Par contre, le conte gaélique a plusieurs points d'attache avec le récit grec de M. Dawkins.

[6] Köhler, p. 398.

Il est bien entendu impossible de tirer d'importantes conclusions du fait que le *Livre de Leinster* situe l'action du récit en Grèce: c'est que la plupart des contes bleus irlandais choisissent pour scène des aventures qu'ils content soit l'Espagne, soit la Grèce. Mais comme dans notre récit grec de l'île de Cos, il s'agit d'un amour de jeunes gens désapprouvé par le père de la jeune fille; dans les deux ce père faillit surprendre les deux amants; dans les deux elle place son amoureux soit dans un coffre, soit sous un coussin, et dans les deux il en meurt étouffé. Il est clair qu'il ne saurait s'agir d'une simple coïncidence. Il s'ensuit que le texte irlandais est indépendant des versions française et anglaise: il est d'ailleurs plus ancien qu'elles.

Comme il est peu probable que le récit soit dérivé directement d'un texte grec, ancêtre lointain du conte de l'île de Cos, il est à supposer qu'il y avait, sur le continent européen, une forme latine du conte et qui fût l'archétype de toutes les versions occidentales.

Qu'il fût ainsi en effet, cela ressort d'un *exemplum* qui fait partie de la *Compilatio singularis exemplorum*[7] et dont voici un résumé:

Une petite fille, ayant été mariée, en bas âge, à un chevalier, fut confiée par son mari, obligé de s'absenter, à son sénéchal. Devenue jolie fille, elle se vit violer par ce chevalier déloyal, qu'elle punit pourtant en l'égorgeant endormi. Elle confia son secret à un écuyer de sa nation pour recevoir son aide. Il s'y refusa nettement, à moins qu'elle ne se donnât à lui. Elle le lui promit avec une réservation mentale, puis le poussa dans l'eau avec le cadavre qu'il avait mis dans un sac. Son mari rentré enfin, elle persuada à une de ses suivantes de prendre sa place dans le lit nuptial. La fille déloyale ayant refusé de rendre la place, la dame s'en défit en la brûlant au lit même. Prise de remords, elle se confessa à un prêtre, qui lui fit des propositions peu honnêtes. Comme elle lui fit la sourde oreille, il la dénonça à son mari. Elle fut sauvée par un miracle qui ressemble à celui de la version anglaise. Le chevalier priva le prêtre déloyal de la vue.

Ici encore il s'agit bien de trois meurtres. L'*exemplum* ressemble au conte grec et au récit gaélique dans le détail que l'héroïne est toujours en bas âge quand commencent les complications. Pour le reste, ce conte suit d'assez près les péripéties des textes français et anglais.

Jusqu'à 1908 on ignorait que notre thème fût connu en Allemagne. C'est alors que M. J. Klapper en fit la découverte dans un manuscrit de la Bibliothèque universitaire de Breslau datant du milieu du XIVe siècle.[8] Voici ce qu'on y lit:

Un jeune roi, orphelin de père et de mère, choisit pour épouse une jeune noble, aussi belle qu'elle est riche, orpheline elle aussi de père et de mère. Sa demande ayant été agréée par la jeune fille, il envoie son sénéchal pour la chercher. Par malheur, cet homme déloyal, s'étant épris éperdument de la jeune beauté, lui fait violence.

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[7] Ed. A. Hilka, No. 15 (*Neue Beiträge zur Erzählungsliteratur des Mittelalters*); voir A. Wesselski, *Märchen des Mittelalters*, Berlin, 1925, p. 46 et suiv.

[8] J. Klapper, *Mitteilungen d. Schlesischen Gesellschaft f. Volkskunde*, X (20), p. 18 et suiv. [1908]; *Erzählungen des Mittelalters*, Breslau, 1914, No. 125, p. 128, 330 s.

Hors d'elle-même de honte et de rage, elle le punit de la façon qu'on sait. Pour se débarrasser du corps, elle se confie à une servante qu'elle sait loyale; celle-ci propose d'appeler certain rustre pour sortir le cadavre. Le ribaud s'y refuse à moins que la servante ne se donne à lui. Elle le lui promet, mais le pousse dans l'eau lorsqu'il s'apprête à y précipiter le corps.—Les noces ont lieu sans incident. Après plusieurs années, la reine se confesse à un chapelain qu'elle avait amené à la cour de son mari et que celui-ci avait promu évêque. Ce prêtre abuse de la situation de la reine pour lui faire des propositions d'amour qu'elle repousse avec indignation. Pour se venger, il la dénonce publiquement. Le peuple force le roi à la renvoyer avec ses enfants. En route elle rencontre un saint ermite à qui elle se confesse et qui lui enjoint de rentrer dans son royaume et de provoquer l'évêque en duel. Elle est sauvée par miracle.

Le caractère secondaire de cette version allemande saute aux yeux. Il est clair d'abord que le compilateur allemand a connu quelque texte comme l'anglais où il était question d'un rustre et d'une servante. Ce qui l'a choqué dans ce texte, c'était l'effronterie d'un rustre qui osât vouloir coucher avec une reine. Il fallait donc réduire ses prétentions; aussi ne demande-t-il que de coucher avec la servante; mais le bon Allemand n'a pas songé que cette demande, étant donné le service qu'on exigeait de lui, n'était peut-être pas si exorbitante pour mériter une telle punition. Ce qui a dû le choquer presque autant, c'était l'audace d'une servante de coucher avec un roi et de refuser après de rendre la place à la reine légitime. Aussi a-t-il supprimé tout-à-fait cet épisode. Il en résultait que la reine ne tue plus qu'un seul personnage, le sénéchal déloyal (qui certes méritait pareil sort) et que la servante joue un rôle dont l'archétype du conte ne savait assurément rien. Que penser enfin d'un duel de la reine avec un évêque? Certes, ce compilateur ne s'est pas mis en grands frais pour donner à son oeuvre cette vraisemblance à laquelle on a drôit de s'attendre même dans un conte merveilleux.

Nous avons fait observer ci-dessus qu'il doit y avoir certains rapports entre le texte irlandais du *Livre de Leinster* et le récit grec de l'île de Cos, et la question se pose: Notre thème est-il de provenance orientale?

Le récit irlandais ajoute certain détail qu'on chercherait en vain dans la version grecque de M. Dawkins, mais qui n'en est pas moins fort significatif. Suivant ce texte, les deux fiancés sont nés la même nuit, et c'est pourquoi (à en croire le compilateur), d'après l'usage des Grecs, ils sont fiancés. Quoi qu'on pense de cette assertion ethnologique, assurément fort mal fondée, le motif lui-même est certainement assez étrange pour retenir notre attention.

On ne saurait dire que l'Irlandais ait attribué cette pretendue coutume aux Grecs, c'est-à-dire aux Byzantins, pour l'unique raison qu'il la trouvait étrange, exotique. Bien au contraire, le même motif se retrouve dans la littérature irlandaise du haut moyen âge: dans une tradition ulstérienne populaire et fort répandue entre le IXe et le XIe siècle, Mongan, fils de Manannan mac Lir, le dieu marin des anciens Irlandais, et sa femme sont

nés la même nuit.[9] Néanmoins, le compilateur du *Livre de Leinster* a très bien vu qu'il ne s'agit pas d'un thème celtique et occidental. Sur le continent, on le retrouve d'abord dans le roman de *Floire et Blancheflor*, dont l'origine orientale est bien établie.[10] De là il est entré dans d'autres romans médiévaux, par exemple dans le *Wilhelm von Oesterreich* de Johann von Würzburg, terminé en 1314.[11] Nous ignorons vers quelle date ce motif a d'abord atteint les pays d'Occident; ce qui est certain, c'est que le compilateur du *Livre de Leinster* était bien renseigné quand il postula une provenance orientale de la coutume, c'est-à-dire du motif, qu'il signalait.

De toute façon, si sa conjecture est juste, il doit y avoir d'autres versions orientales du conte qui nous occupe. Il y en a en effet. Commençons par résumer un récit de provenance turque débité au baron de Haxthausen, vers le milieu du siècle passé, par un Allemand établi en Arménie.[12]

Un vizir turc, épris de la femme d'un Arménien habitant Constantinople, demande que son mari la lui cède. Sur le conseil de la femme, il fait venir le vizir à sa maison à lui, où la femme le reçoit pleine de prévenances, lui mêle de l'opium dans son café et le décapite dans son sommeil. On enterre le corps secrètement derrière le fourneau. Après quelque temps, la femme se confesse à un prêtre de sa nation qui, abusant de la situation, menace de la dénoncer au successeur du vizir, à moins qu'elle ne se donne à lui. Voyant qu'elle reste ferme, il effectue sa honteuse menace; mais le nouveau vizir le fait mettre en prison, puis envoie chercher le patriarche arménien. A celui-ci il pose la question de savoir quelle punition attendrait celui qui oserait trahir le secret de la confession. Le patriarche répond: qu'on le mette à mort après lui avoir arraché la langue par la nuque. Le vizir, qui évidemment connaît son monde, insiste que le saint homme mette ce jugement par écrit, puis fait mourir le prêtre suivant la loi de sa propre secte. Ayant fait venir le couple arménien, il leur fait présent d'une bourse d'argent et leur enjoint d'émigrer au plus vite, car "les murailles ont des oreilles."

Point n'est nécessaire de nous attarder au caractère clairement secondaire et dérivé de ce conte qui, au cours d'une longue transmission orale, a évidemment perdu plusieurs de ses épisodes les plus saillants. Que l'Orient ait pourtant connu notre récit sous une forme bien autrement complète, cela est prouvé par l'histoire de Chadul, qui fait partie des *Mille et une nuits*. Voici le résumé qu'en donne Victor Chauvin:[13]

Chadul, s'étant rendue déguisée au bain, s'éprend d'un jeune tailleur, le fait venir et, ne pouvant le séduire, feint de se fâcher et le frappe si malheureusement qu'elle le tue. Elle charge un garde de faire disparaître le cadavre; mais, ne se contentant

[9] K. Meyer and A. Nutt, *The Voyage of Bran, Son of Febal, to the Land of the Living*, Londres, 1895–97, II, 26. Le même motif se trouve dans un conte persan; voir A. Bricteux, *contes persans*, Liège-Paris, 1910, p. 210 [*Bibliothèque de la Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres de l'Université de Liège*, fasc. XIX].

[10] G. Huet, *Romania*, XXVIII (1899), p. 348 et suiv.; XXXV (1906), p. 95 et suiv.

[11] W. Golther, *Die deutsche Dichtung im Mittelalter*, Stuttgart, 1922, p. 414.

[12] A. v. Haxthausen, *Transkaukasia*, Leipzig, 1856, I, 240 et suiv.

[13] *Bibliographie*, V, 217, No. 128.

pas de l'argent qu'elle lui donne, il exige d'elle le plus grand sacrifice. Ivre un jour, il se vante de sa conquête et l'oblige à se montrer à ses compagnons de la garde et à leur verser du vin: elle y met de l'opium, ce qui lui permet de les tuer tous ensuite. Ce meurtre reste secret. Comme on la marie à un prince voisin, elle envoie des copies de son portrait à des marchands d'esclaves et achète une vierge qui lui ressemble. Elle en obtient qu'elle la remplace le premier jour auprès de son mari; mais, comme elle refuse ensuite de lui céder la place, la princesse met le feu à la maison et profite du trouble pour jeter l'esclave dans les flammes. Désormais elle vit sans crainte avec son mari.

Le même conte, avec quelques variantes, nous a été conservé dans un manuscrit persan complété en 1830 mais qui représente un original beaucoup plus ancien.[14] Dans ce récit persan l'amant de la princesse n'est plus un tailleur mais un jeune drapier qui est d'ailleurs moins prude que le héros du texte arabe: sa mort est due à un accident impossible à prévoir. Le garde chargé d'inhumer le cadavre est un nègre.

Dans les deux textes mahométans il manque, bien entendu, l'épisode de l'infâme confesseur, pour l'excellente raison que la confession auriculaire est une institution inconnue à l'Islam. Mais même à part cela, on y cherche en vain un trait fort original du conte grec de Cos et du *Livre de Leinster:* la mort de l'amant par suffocation quand le père de la jeune fille les surprend. Ce détail aussi se retrouve en Orient, à savoir dans le *Bahâr-i-Dânish* ou "Fontaine des Connaissances", oeuvre de l'auteur persan Inâyâtu'llâh. Voici ce qu'on y lit:[15]

Une princesse, éprise d'un jeune homme, le fait venir dans son palais déguisé en femme. Leur rendez-vous est rudement interrompu par l'arrivée du roi. C'est à grand-peine qu'elle réussit à cacher son amant dans un cabinet noir et fort étroit. Le roi s'attarde chez sa fille, si bien qu'après son départ elle trouve son jeune homme mort étouffé. Pour se débarrasser du corps, elle se fie à un vilain nègre qui menace de révéler son secret, à moins qu'elle ne se donne à lui. Il faut bien qu'elle cède; mais, fatiguée à la longue des brutalités de ce rustre, elle le précipite, avec l'aide de sa nourrice, du haut des remparts. On connaît la suite: l'épisode de la remplaçante qui abuse à son tour de la situation, et tout le reste.

En sorte qu'il y a une ligne droite qui mène des *Nuits* à travers le conte persan et le conte grec de Cos au *Livre de Leinster*. Il est à noter pourtant qu'au point de vue chronologique ce dernier texte est le plus ancien de tous; car le *Bahâr-i-Dânish*, quoi qu'on pense de l'ancienneté des contes qu'il reproduit, ne date que de 1650 environ. Mais cela prouve que notre conte oriental est clairement antérieur, et probablement de beaucoup, au XIIe siècle. Bien entendu, les quatre textes: l'arabe, le persan, le grec et l'irlandais n'ont pas tous les mêmes épisodes. Nous avons déjà vu que le détail de la mort par suffocation du héros manque à l'histoire de Chadul. L'épi-

[14] A. Bricteux, *op. cit.*, p. 38 et suiv.

[15] *Behar Danush*, or Garden of Knowledge, translated from the Persian by Jonathan Scott, Shrewsbury, 1799, III, 293; voir W. A. Clouston, *Popular Tales and Fictions*, Edimbourg, 1887, II, 342.

sode du rustre, qu'il soit noir ou blanc, qui tire vanité de ses relations illicites[16] avec la princesse est absent du récit persan et de l'irlandais. La façon dont elle se débarrasse du rustre en le précipitant du haut des remparts ou d'un rocher est propre aux récits persan et irlandais mais manque à l'arabe et au grec. Enfin, l'épisode du méchant confesseur n'est as dans les deux textes mahométans, nous savons déjà pourquoi. Mais pour l'ajouter, il n'a pas fallu que notre conte atteignît l'Occident: le récit grec de Cos et le texte noté par v.Haxthausen prouvent qu'il a dû s'adjoindre en Orient même, parmi la population chrétienne de ces pays.

Quoi qu'il en soit, l'intermédiaire entre les versions orientales et l'irlandaise est sans doute un texte latin perdu, parallèle de celui de la *Compilatio singularis exemplorum* et l'archétype des récits français, anglais et allemand.

PRINCETON, N. J.

HUMANISM AND SCHOLASTICISM IN THE ITALIAN RENAISSANCE*

By PAUL OSKAR KRISTELLER

Ever since 1860, when Jacob Burckhardt first published his famous book on the civilization of the Renaissance in Italy,[1] there has been a controversy among historians as to the meaning and significance of the Italian Renaissance.[2] Almost every scholar who has taken part in the discussion felt it was his duty to advance a new and different theory. This variety of views was partly due to the emphasis given by individual scholars to different historical personalities or currents or to different aspects and developments of the Italian Renaissance. Yet the chief cause of the entire Renaissance controversy, at least in its more recent phases, has been the considerable progress made during the last few decades in the field of medieval studies. The Middle Ages are no longer considered as a period

[16] Le texte de M. Dawkins voile les choses plus qu'il ne les exprime; la situation fondamentale est pourtant suffisamment claire.

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[1] *Die Cultur der Renaissance in Italien*, Basel, 1860.

[2] For the controversy about the Renaissance, see H. Baron, "Renaissance in Italien," *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte*, XVII (1927), 226–52; XXI (1931), 95–119. J. Huizinga, "Das Problem der Renaissance," in his *Wege der Kulturgeschichte*, tr. W. Kaegi, Munich, 1930, 89–139. See also the discussion in the *Journal of the History of Ideas*, IV (1943), 1–74.

of darkness, and consequently many scholars do not see the need for such new light and revival as the very name of the Renaissance would seem to suggest. Thus certain medievalists have questioned the very existence of the Renaissance and would like to banish the term entirely from the vocabulary of historians.

In the face of this powerful attack, Renaissance scholars have assumed a new line of defense. They have shown that the notion embodied in the term Renaissance was not an invention of enthusiastic historians of the last century, but was commonly expressed in the literature of the period of the Renaissance itself. The humanists themselves speak continually of the revival or rebirth of the arts and of learning that was accomplished in their own time after a long period of decay.[3] It may be objected that occasional claims of an intellectual revival are also found in medieval literature.[4] Yet the fact remains that during the Renaissance scholars and writers talked of such a revival and rebirth more persistently than at any other period of European history. Even if we were convinced that it was an empty claim and that the humanists did not bring about a real Renaissance, we would still be forced to admit that the illusion itself was characteristic of that period and that the term Renaissance thus had at least a subjective meaning.

Without questioning the validity of this argument, I think that there are also some more objective reasons for defending the existence and the importance of the Renaissance. The concept of style as it has been so successfully applied by historians of art[5] might be more widely applied in other fields of intellectual history and might thus enable us to recognize the significant changes brought about by the Renaissance, without oblig-

[3] K. Burdach, *Reformation, Renaissance, Humanismus*, 2nd ed., Berlin–Leipzig, 1926. Wallace K. Ferguson, "Humanist Views of the Renaissance," *American Historical Review*, XLV (1939–40), 1–28. Herbert Weisinger, "The Self-Awareness of the Renaissance," *Papers of the Michigan Academy of Science, Arts, and Letters*, XXIX (1944), 561–67. Most of the passages quoted by these scholars are later than the beginning of the fifteenth century. Yet Frate Guido da Pisa in his commentary on Dante wrote as early as 1330: "Per istum enim poetam resuscitata est mortua poesis . . . . Ipse vero poeticam scientiam suscitavit et antiquos poetas in mentibus nostris reminiscere fecit" (O. Bacci, *La Critica letteraria*, Milan, 1910, p. 163).

[4] Burdach's attempts to derive the concept of the Renaissance from religious or mystical traditions no longer convince me. However, a Carolingian poet has the following line: "Aurea Roma iterum renovata renascitur orbi" (E. K. Rand, "Renaissance, why not?", *Renaissance*, I, 1943, p. 34). Milo Crispinus says in his biography of Lanfranc: "quem Latinitas in antiquum scientiae statum ab eo restituta tota supremum debito cum amore agnoscit magistrum" (Migne, *P. L.*, CL, 29). For the political aspect of the conception, see P. E. Schramm, *Kaiser, Rom und Renovatio*, 2 vols., Leipzig, 1929. See also Augustine's judgement on Ambrose (*Soliloquia*, II, 14, 26)

[5] E. Panofsky, "Renaissance and Renascences," *Kenyon Review*, VI (1944), 201–36.

ing us to despise the Middle Ages or to minimize the debt of the Renaissance to the medieval tradition. Moreover, I should like to reexamine the relation between the Middle Ages and the Renaissance in the light of the following consideration. Scholars have become so accustomed to stress the universalism of the medieval church and of medieval culture and also to consider the Italian Renaissance as a European phenomenon, that they are apt to forget that profound regional differences existed even during the Middle Ages. The center of medieval civilization was undoubtedly France, and all other countries of Western Europe followed the leadership of that country, from Carolingian times down to the beginning of the fourteenth century.[6]

Italy certainly was no exception to that rule; but whereas the other countries, especially England, Germany, and the Low Countries, took an active part in the major cultural pursuits of the period and followed the same general development, Italy occupied a somewhat peculiar position.[7] Prior to the thirteenth century, her active participation in many important aspects of medieval culture lagged far behind that of the other countries. This may be observed in architecture and music, in the religious drama as well as in Latin and vernacular poetry in general,[8] in scholastic philosophy and theology,[9] and even, contrary to common opinion, in classical studies. On the other hand, Italy had a narrow but persistent tradition of her own which went back to ancient Roman times and which found its expression in certain branches of the arts and of poetry, in lay education and in legal customs, and in the study of grammar and of rhetoric.[10] Italy was more directly and more continually exposed to Byzan-

[6] E. Gilson, "Humanisme médiéval et Renaissance," in his *Les Idées et les lettres* (Paris, 1932), 171–96.

[7] The isolation of Italy in the Middle Ages and the comparative scantiness of Italian antecedents for Dante has been noted by K. Vossler (*Mediaeval Culture*, tr. W. C. Lawton, New York, 1929, II, 4 ff.).

[8] There are notable exceptions, such as Guido of Arezzo, Alfanus of Salerno, and Henricus of Settimello, but they do not change the general picture. For the share of Italy in medieval Latin culture prior to the thirteenth century, see: F. Novati and A. Monteverdi, *Le Origini* (Milan, 1926); A. Viscardi, *Le Origini* (Milan, 1939); M. Manitius, *Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters*, 3 vols., Munich, 1911–31.

[9] Although several of the most famous representatives of scholastic theology were Italians, such as Lanfranc, Anselm, Peter Lombard, Thomas Aquinas, and Bonaventura, they did most of their studying and teaching in France. For Lanfranc, see F. Novati, "Rapports littéraires de l'Italie et de la France au XIe siècle," *Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, Comptes Rendus des Séances d l'année 1910*, pp. 169–84. A typical representative of Italian theology in the eleventh century was Peter Damiani, and his background was juristic and rhetorical rather than philosophical, see J. A. Endres, *Petrus Damiani und die weltliche Wissenschaft*, Münster, 1910.

[10] For the history of education in Italy, see G. Manacorda, *Storia della scuola in*

tine influences than any other Western European country. Finally, after the eleventh century, Italy developed a new life of her own which found expression in her trade and economy, in the political institutions of her cities, in the study of civil and canon law and of medicine, and in the techniques of letter-writing and of secular eloquence.[11] Influences from France became more powerful only with the thirteenth century, when their traces appeared in architecture and music, in Latin and vernacular poetry, in philosophy and theology, and in the field of classical studies.[12] Many typical products of the Italian Renaissance may thus be understood as a result of belated medieval influences received from France, but grafted upon, and assimilated by, a more narrow, but stubborn and different native tradition. This may be said of Dante's *Divine Comedy*, of the religious drama which flourished in fifteenth century Florence, and of the chivalric poetry of Ariosto and of Tasso.

A similar development may be noticed in the history of learning. The Italian Renaissance thus should be viewed not only in its contrast with the French Middle Ages, but also in its relation to the Italian Middle Ages. The rich civilization of Renaissance Italy did not spring directly from the equally rich civilization of medieval France, but from the much more modest traditions of medieval Italy. It is only about the beginning of the fourteenth century that Italy witnessed a tremendous increase in all her cultural activities, and this enabled her, for a certain period, to wrest from France her cultural leadership in Western Europe. Consequently, there can be no doubt that there was an Italian Renaissance, that is, a cultural Renaissance of Italy, not so much in contrast with the Middle Ages in general or with the French Middle Ages, but very definitely in contrast with the Italian Middle Ages. It appears from a letter of Boccaccio that this general development was well understood by some Italians of that period;[13] and we should keep this development constantly in mind

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Italia, 2 pts., Milan, n.d. Typical representatives of Italian rhetoric in the tenth and eleventh century are Gunzo of Novara and Anselm the Peripatetic. It should be noted that the library of Bobbio in the tenth century was rich in grammatical treatises, but possessed few classical poets (G. Becker, *Catalogi Bibliothecarum antiqui*, Bonn, 1885, 64 ff.).

[11] Ch. H. Haskins, *The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century*, Cambridge, Mass., 1927. For secular eloquence, see below.

[12] For French influences in the thirteenth century, see G. Bertoni, *Il Duecento*, 3rd ed., Milan, 1939. Many poems and prose works by Italian authors were written in French, and much of the early vernacular poetry and prose in Italian is derived from French models.

[13] After having praised Dante and Petrarch as the restorers of poetry, Boccaccio continues: "inspice quo Romanum corruerit imperium . . . . quid insuper philosophorum celebres titulos et poetarum myrthea laureaque serta meditari . . . quid in

if we want to understand the history of learning during the Italian Renaissance.

The most characteristic and most pervasive aspect of the Italian Renaissance in the field of learning is the humanistic movement. I need hardly say that the term humanism, when applied to the Italian Renaissance, does not imply all the vague and confused notions that are now commonly associated with it. Only a few traces of these may be found in the Renaissance. By humanism we mean merely the general tendency of the age to attach the greatest importance to classical studies, and to consider classical antiquity as the common standard and model by which to guide all cultural activities. It will be our task to understand the meaning and origin of this humanistic movement which is commonly associated with the name of Petrarch.

Among modern historians we encounter mainly two interpretations of Italian humanism. The first interpretation considers the humanistic movement merely as the rise of classical scholarship accomplished during the period of the Renaissance. This view which has been held by most historians of classical scholarship is not very popular at present. The revival of classical studies certainly does not impress an age such as ours which has practically abandoned classical education, and it is easy to praise the classical learning of the Middle Ages, in a time which, except for a tiny number of specialists, knows much less of classical antiquity than did the Middle Ages. Moreover, in a period such as the present, which has much less regard for learning than for practical achievements and for "creative" writing and "original" thinking, a mere change of orientation, or even an increase of knowledge, in the field of learning does not seem to possess any historical significance. However, the situation in the Renaissance was quite different, and the increase in, and emphasis on, classical learning had a tremendous importance.

There are indeed several historical facts which support the interpreta-

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memoriam revocare militarem disciplinam . . . quid legum auctoritatem . . . quid morum conspicuum specimen. Haec omnia . . . una cum Italia reliqua et libertate caelesti a maioribus nostris . . . neglecta sunt et a nationibus exteris aut sublata aut turpi conquinata labe sordescunt . . . et si omnia resarciri nequeant, hoc saltem poetici nominis fulgore . . . inter barbaras nationes Roma saltem aliquid veteris maiestatis possit ostendere" (letter to Jacopo Pizzinghe, in: *Le lettere edite e inedite di Messer Giovanni Boccaccio*, ed. F. Corazzini, Florence, 1877, p. 197). Also Salutati, in his letter to Peter of Mantua, after admitting that Rome now has lost her military power, says that there is no excuse for her being excelled by other nations in literary distinction. "Gaudebam igitur apud nos emergere qui barbaris illis quondam gentibus saltem in hoc palmam eriperet, qualem me tibi (read: te mihi) fama et multorum relatio promittit", alluding to the achievements of Peter of Mantua in the field of logic (*Epistolario di Coluccio Salutati*, ed. F. Novati, III, Rome, 1896, 319 f.).

tion of the humanistic movement as a rise in classical scholarship. The humanists were classical scholars and contributed to the rise of classical studies.[14] In the field of Latin studies, they rediscovered a number of important texts that had been hardly read during the Middle Ages.[15] Also in the case of Latin authors commonly known during the Middle Ages, the humanists made them better known, through their numerous manuscript copies[16] and printed editions, through their grammatical and antiquarian studies, through their commentaries, and through the development and application of philological and historical criticism. Even more striking was the impulse given by the humanists to the study of Greek. In spite of the political, commercial, and ecclesiastic relations with the Byzantine Empire, during the Middle Ages the number of persons in Western Europe who knew the Greek language was comparatively small, and practically none of them was interested in, or familiar with, Greek classical literature. There was almost no teaching of Greek in Western schools and universities, and almost no Greek manuscripts in Western libraries.[17] In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, a great number of Greek texts were translated into Latin, either directly or through intermediary Arabic translations, but this activity was almost entirely confined to the fields of mathematics, astronomy, astrology, medicine, and Aristotelian philosophy.[18]

During the Renaissance, this situation rapidly changed. The study of Greek classical literature which had been cultivated in the Byzantine Empire throughout the later Middle Ages, after the middle of the fourteenth century began to spread in the West, both through Byzantine

[14] For the classical studies of the humanists, see G. Voigt, *Die Wiederbelebung des classischen Alterthums*, 2nd ed., II, Berlin, 1881, 377 ff. Sir J. E. Sandys, *A History of Classical Scholarship*, II, Cambridge, 1908, p. 1 ff.

[15] These discoveries included Lucretius, Tacitus, Manilius, several plays of Plautus, and several orations and rhetorical works of Cicero. See R. Sabbadini, *Le scoperte dei codici latini e greci ne'secoli XIV e XV*, 2 vols., Florence, 1905–14. M. Manitius, *Handschriften antiker Autoren in mittelalterlichen Bibliothekskatalogen*, Leipzig, 1935.

[16] It is not generally realized that fifteenth century manuscripts of the Latin classics are probably more numerous than those of all previous centuries taken together. These manuscripts are despised by most modern editors, and their value for establishing a critical text may be small. However, their existence is an important phenomenon since it reflects the wide diffusion of the classical authors during the Renaissance.

[17] Louise R. Loomis, *Medieval Hellenism*, Lancaster, Pa., 1906.

[18] For the translations of the twelfth century, see Ch. H. Haskins, *Studies in the History of Mediaeval Science*, 2nd ed., Cambridge, Mass., 1927. For the thirteenth century, see M. De Wulf, *Histoire de la philosophie médiévale*, 6th ed., II, Louvain, 1936. A bibliography of Latin translations from the Greek is still a major desideratum, even though some partial contributions have been made recently.

scholars who went to Western Europe for a temporary or permanent stay, and through Italian scholars who went to Constantinople in quest of Greek classical learning.[19] As a result, Greek language and literature acquired a recognized place in the curriculum of Western schools and universities, a place which they did not lose until the present century. A large number of Greek manuscripts was brought from the East to Western libraries, and these manuscripts have formed the basis of most of our editions of the Greek classics. At a later stage, the humanists published printed editions of Greek authors, wrote commentaries on them, and extended their antiquarian and grammatical studies as well as their methods of philological and historical criticism to Greek literature.

No less important, although now less appreciated, were the numerous Latin translations from the Greek due to the humanists of the Renaissance. Almost the whole of Greek poetry, oratory, historiography, theology, and non-Aristotelian philosophy was thus translated for the first time, whereas the medieval translations of Aristotle and of Greek scientific writers were replaced by new humanistic translations. These Latin translations of the Renaissance were the basis for most of the vernacular translations of the Greek classics, and they were much more widely read than were the original Greek texts. For in spite of its remarkable increase, the study of Greek even in the Renaissance never attained the same general importance as did the study of Latin which was rooted in the medieval tradition of the West. Nevertheless, it remains a remarkable fact that the study of the Greek classics was taken over by the humanists of Western Europe at the very time when it was affected in the East by the decline and fall of the Byzantine Empire.

If we care to remember these impressive facts, we certainly cannot deny that the Italian humanists were the ancestors of modern philologists and historians. Even a historian of science can afford to despise them only if he chooses to remember that science is the subject of his study, but to forget that the method he is applying to this subject is that of history. However, the activity of the Italian humanists was not limited to classical scholarship, and hence the theory which interprets the humanistic movement merely as a rise in classical scholarship is not altogether satisfactory. This theory fails to explain the ideal of eloquence persistently set forth in the writings of the humanists, and it fails to account for the enormous

[19] For the study of Greek classical literature in medieval Constantinople, see K. Krumbacher, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Literatur*, 2nd ed., Munich 1897, 499 ff. The direct influence of this Byzantine tradition on the Greek studies of the Italian humanists is beyond any question. There may also have been some indirect Byzantine influence on the Latin studies of the humanists. The range of interest of the humanists resembles that of many Byzantine scholars.

literature of treatises, of letters, of speeches, and of poems produced by the humanists.[20]

These writings are far more numerous than the contributions of the humanists to classical scholarship, and they cannot be explained as a necessary consequence of their classical studies. A modern classical scholar is not supposed to write a Latin poem in praise of his city, to welcome a distinguished foreign visitor with a Latin speech, or to write a political manifesto for his government. This aspect of the activity of the humanists is often dismissed with a slighting remark about their vanity or their fancy for speech-making. I do not deny that they were vain and loved to make speeches, but I am inclined to offer a different explanation for this side of their activity. The humanists were not classical scholars who for personal reasons had a craving for eloquence, but, *vice versa*, they were professional rhetoricians, heirs and successors of the medieval rhetoricians,[21] who developed the belief, then new and modern, that the best way to achieve eloquence was to imitate classical models, and who thus were driven to study the classics and to found classical philology. Their rhetorical ideals and achievements may not correspond to our taste, but they were the starting point and moving force of their activity, and their classical learning was incidental to it.

The other current interpretation of Italian humanism, which is prevalent among historians of philosophy and also accepted by many other scholars, is more ambitious, but in my opinion less sound. This interpretation considers humanism as the new philosophy of the Renaissance, which arose in opposition to scholasticism, the old philosophy of the Middle Ages.[22] Of course, there is the well known fact that several famous humanists, such as Petrarch, Valla, Erasmus, and Vives, were violent

[20] For the literary production of the humanists, see Voigt, *op. cit.* II, 399 ff., V. Rossi, *Il Quattrocento*, 2nd ed., Milan, 1933.

[21] The link between the humanists and the medieval rhetoricians has been recognized only by very few scholars, such as F. Novati, H. Wieruszowski, and E. Kantorowicz. These scholars, however, chiefly noticed that the medieval rhetoricians show some of the personal characteristics commonly attributed to the humanists. I should like to go further and to assume a direct professional and literary connection of which the personal similarities are merely a symptom. The common opinion is quite different, and most historians speak of the *ars dictaminis* as if there were no humanist rhetoric, and viceversa. See below.

[22] For the contributions of the humanists to philosophy, see: F. Ueberweg, *Grundriss der Geschichte der Philosophie*, III, 12 th ed., Berlin, 1924, 6 ff.; G. De Ruggiero, *Storia della filosofia*, pt. 3, 2nd ed., 2 vols., Bari, 1937; G. Gentile, *La filosofia*, Milan, n.d.; E. Cassirer, *Individuum und Kosmos in der Philosophie der Renaissance*, Berlin-Leipzig, 1927. For further literature on the entire subject of Renaissance philosophy, see P. O. Kristeller and J. H. Randall Jr., "The Study of the Philosophies of the Renaissance," *Journal of the History of Ideas*, II (1941), 449–96.

critics of medieval learning and tended to replace it by classical learning. Moreover, the humanists certainly had ideals of learning, education, and life that differed from medieval modes of thinking. They wrote treatises on moral, educational, political, and religious questions which in tone and content differ from the average medieval treatises on similar subjects. Yet this interpretation of humanism as a new philosophy fails to account for a number of obvious facts. On one hand, we notice a stubborn survival of scholastic philosophy throughout the Italian Renaissance, an inconvenient fact that is usually explained by the intellectual inertia of the respective philosophers whom almost nobody has read for centuries and whose number, problems and literary production are entirely unknown to most historians. On the other, most of the works of the humanists have nothing to do with philosophy even in the vaguest possible sense of the term. Even their treatises on philosophical subjects, if we care to read them, appear in most cases rather superficial and inconclusive if compared with the works of ancient or medieval philosophers, a fact that may be indifferent to a general historian, but which cannot be overlooked by a historian of philosophy.

I think there has been a tendency, in the light of later developments, and under the influence of a modern aversion to scholasticism, to exaggerate the opposition of the humanists to scholasticism, and to assign to them an importance in the history of scientific and philosophical thought which they neither could nor did attain. The reaction against this tendency has been inevitable, but it has been equally wrong. Those scholars who read the treatises of the humanists and noticed their comparative emptiness of scientific and philosophical thought came to the conclusion that the humanists were bad scientists and philosophers who did not live up to their own claims or to those of their modern advocates. I should like to suggest that the Italian humanists on the whole were neither good nor bad philosophers, but no philosophers at all.

The humanistic movement did not originate in the field of philosophical or scientific studies, but it arose in that of grammatical and rhetorical studies.[22a] The humanists continued the medieval tradition in these fields, as represented, for example, by the *ars dictaminis* and the *ars arengandi*, but they gave it a new direction toward classical standards and classical studies, possibly under the impact of influences received from France after

[22a] This point has been rightly indicated by R. McKeon ("Renaissance and Method in Philosophy," *Studies in the History of Ideas*, III, 1935, 37–114). "That shift in the emphasis in the three arts, that subversion of dialectic to grammar, is in itself sufficient to account for the changes which the Renaissance is reputed to have made" (*l.c.*, p. 87). I am not convinced by McKeon's attempt to distinguish within the Renaissance, as two separate trends, an emphasis on grammar represented by Erasmus, and one on rhetoric represented by Nizolius.

the middle of the thirteenth century. This new development of the field was followed by an enormous growth, both in the quantity and in the quality, of its teaching and its literary production. As a result of this growth, the claims of the humanists for their field of study also increased considerably. They claimed, and temporarily attained, a decided predominance of their field in elementary and secondary education, and a much larger share for it in professional and university education. This development in the field of grammatical and rhetorical studies finally affected the other branches of learning, but it did not displace them. After the middle of the fifteenth century, we find an increasing number of professional jurists, physicians, mathematicians, philosophers, and theologians who cultivated humanistic studies along with their own particular fields of study. Consequently, a humanistic influence began to appear in all these other sciences. It appears in the studied elegance of literary expression, in the increasing use made of classical source materials, in the greater knowledge of history and of critical methods, and also sometimes in an emphasis on new problems. This influence of humanism on the other sciences certainly was important, but it did not affect the content or substance of the medieval traditions in those sciences. For the humanists, being amateurs in those other fields, had nothing to offer that could replace their traditional content and subject matter.

The humanist criticism of medieval science is often sweeping, but it does not touch its specific problems and subject-matter. Their main charges are against the bad Latin style of the medieval authors, against their ignorance of ancient history and literature, and against their concern for supposedly useless questions. On the other hand, even those professional scientists who were most profoundly influenced by humanism did not sacrifice the medieval tradition of their field. It is highly significant that Pico, a representative of humanist philosophy, and Alciato, a representative of humanist jurisprudence, found it necessary to defend their medieval predecessors against the criticism of humanist rhetoricians.[23] Yet if the humanists were amateurs in jurisprudence, theology, medicine, and also in philosophy, they were themselves professionals in a number of other fields. Their domain were the fields of grammar, rhetoric, poetry, history, and the study of the Greek and Latin authors. They also expanded into the field of moral philosophy, and they made some attempts

[23] For Pico's defense of the medieval philosophers against Ermolao Barbaro, see my article, "Florentine Platonism and its Relations with Humanism and Scholasticism," *Church History*, VIII (1939), 203 f. For Alciato's defense of the medieval jurists against Valla, see R. Sabbadini, *Storia del Ciceronianismo* (Turin, 1885), pp. 88–92; B. Brugi, *Per la storia della giurisprudenza e delle università italiane*, *Nuovi saggi* (Turin, 1921), pp. 111 ff.

to invade the field of logic, which were chiefly attempts to reduce logic to rhetoric.[24]

Yet they did not make any direct contributions to the other branches of philosophy or of science. Moreover, much of the humanist polemic against medieval science was not even intended as a criticism of the contents or methods of that science, but merely represents a phase in the "battle of the arts," that is, a noisy advertisement for the field of learning advocated by the humanists, in order to neutralize and to overcome the claims of other, rivaling sciences.[25] Hence I am inclined to consider the humanists not as philosophers with a curious lack of philosophical ideas and a curious fancy for eloquence and for classical studies, but rather as professional rhetoricians with a new, classicist ideal of culture, who tried to assert the importance of their field of learning and to impose their standards upon the other fields of learning and of science, including philosophy.

Let us try to illustrate this outline with a few more specific facts. When we inquire of the professional position of the humanists, it is often asserted that they were free-lance writers who came to form an entirely new class in Renaissance society.[26] This statement is valid, although with some qualification, for a very small number of outstanding humanists like Petrarch, Boccaccio, and Erasmus. However, these are exceptions, and the vast majority of humanists exercised either of two professions, and sometimes both of them. They were either secretaries of princes or cities, or they were teachers of grammar and rhetoric at universities or at secondary schools.[27] The opinion so often repeated by historians that the humanistic movement originated outside the schools and universities is a myth which cannot be supported by factual evidence. Moreover, as chancellors and as teachers, the humanists, far from representing a new class, were the professional heirs and successors of the medieval rhetori-

[24] This humanist logic is represented by Valla, Agricola, Nizolius, and Ramus. For Nizolius, see R. McKeon, "Renaissance and Method in Philosophy," *Studies in the History of Ideas*, III (1935), 105 ff. For Ramus, see Perry Miller, *The New England Mind*, New York, 1939, p. 154 ff.

[25] For the battle of the arts, see *The Battle of the Seven Arts . . . by Henri d'Andeli*, ed. L. J. Paetow, Berkeley, 1914. There was a rivalry between medicine and law, in which the humanists were not directly concerned at all. See L. Thorndike, "Medicine versus Law at Florence," in his *Science and Thought in the Fifteenth Century*, New York, 1929, 24–58. Behind this kind of literature is the rivalry of the various faculties and sciences at the universities, a rivalry that found its expression in the opening lectures delivered every year by each professor in praise of his own field. One such lecture by the humanist Philippus Beroaldus senior, professor at Bologna, is entitled "Declamatio philosophi, medici et oratoris" (in his *Varia Opuscula*, Basel, 1513). Of course, the prize is given to the orator.

[26] J. Burckhardt, *Die Kultur der Renaissance in Italien*, 13th ed., Stuttgart, 1921, p. 151.

[27] For the careers of the humanists, see the works of Voigt and Rossi.

cians, the so-called *dictatores*, who also made their career exactly in these same two professions. The humanist Coluccio Salutati occupied exactly the same place in the society and culture of his time as did the *dictator* Petrus de Vineis one hundred and fifty years before.[28] Nevertheless there was a significant difference between them. The style of writing used by Salutati is quite different from that of Petrus de Vineis or of Rolandinus Passagerii. Moreover, the study and imitation of the classics which was of little or no importance to the medieval *dictatores* has become the major concern for Salutati. Finally, whereas the medieval *dictatores* attained considerable importance in politics and in administration, the humanists, through their classical learning, acquired for their class a much greater cultural and social prestige. Thus the humanists did not invent a new field of learning or a new professional activity, but they introduced a new, classicist style into the traditions of medieval Italian rhetoric. To blame them for not having invented rhetorical studies would be like blaming Giotto for not having been the inventor of painting.

The same result is confirmed by an examination of the literary production of the humanists if we try to trace the medieval antecedents of the types of literature cultivated by the humanists.[29] If we leave aside the editions and translations of the humanists, their classical interests are chiefly represented by their numerous commentaries on ancient authors and by a number of antiquarian and miscellaneous treatises. Theoretical works on grammar and rhetoric, mostly composed for the school, are quite frequent, and even more numerous is the literature of humanist historiography. Dialogues and treatises on questions of moral philosophy, education, politics, and religion have attracted most of the attention of modern historians, but represent a comparatively small proportion of humanistic literature. By far the largest part of that literature, although relatively neglected and partly unpublished, consists of the poems, the speeches, and the letters of the humanists.

[29] For the connection of Salutati with the medieval tradition of the *Ars dictaminis* and *Ars notaria*, see F. Novati, *La giovinezza di Coluccio Salutati*, Turin, 1888, pp. 66 ff. This chapter was reprinted with important omissions in his *Freschi e minii del Dugento*, Milan, 1908, pp. 299–328. There is a manuscript of the early fifteenth century transcribed for a young student of rhetoric, which contains the letters of Petrus de Vineis, together with those of Salutati, and of the latter's contemporary Pellegrino Zambecccari (L. Frati, "L'epistolario inedito di Pellegrino Zambeccari," *Atti e Memorie della R. Deputazione di Storia patria per le provincie di Romagna*, Series IV, vol. XIII, 1923, p. 169 ff.). Although Burdach's attempt to make of Cola di Rienzo the central figure of the Italian Renaissance must be rejected, it should be noticed that Cola was a notary by profession and owed a good deal of his reputation to the style of his letters and speeches.

[30] For the literary production of the humanists, see the works of Voigt and Rossi. For their historiography, see E. Fueter, *Geschichte der neueren Historiographie*, 3rd ed., Munich, 1936.

If we look for the medieval antecedents of these various types of humanistic literature, we are led back in many cases to the Italian grammarians and rhetoricians of the later Middle Ages. This is most obvious for the theoretical treatises on grammar and rhetoric.[30] Less generally recognized, but almost equally obvious is the link between humanist epistolography and medieval *ars dictaminis*. The style of writing is different, to be sure, and the medieval term *dictamen* was no longer used during the Renaissance, yet the literary and political function of the letter was basically the same, and the ability to write a correct and elegant Latin letter was still a major aim of school instruction in the Renaissance as it had been in the Middle Ages.[31]

The same link between humanists and medieval Italian rhetoricians which we notice in the field of epistolography may be found also in the field of oratory. Most historians of rhetoric give the impression that medieval rhetoric was exclusively concerned with letter-writing and preaching, represented by the *ars dictaminis* and the somewhat younger *ars praedicandi*, and that there was no secular eloquence in the Middle Ages.[32] On the other hand, most historians of Renaissance humanism believe that the large output of humanist oratory, although of a somewhat dubious value, was an innovation of the Renaissance due to the effort of the humanists to revive ancient oratory and also to their vain fancy for speech-making.[33] Only in recent years have a few scholars begun to realize that there was a considerable amount of secular eloquence in the Middle Ages, especially in Italy.[34] I do not hesitate to conclude that the

[30] For the grammatical studies of the humanists in their relation to the Middle Ages, see R. Sabbadini, *La scuola e gli studi di Guarino Guarini Veronese*, Catania, 1896, p. 38 ff.

[31] There are many humanist treatises on epistolography, and many collections of "salutations" in humanist manuscripts. The letters of most major humanists were collected and reprinted primarily as models for literary imitation.

[32] Ch. S. Baldwin, *Medieval Rhetoric and Poetic*, New York, 1928, pp. 206 ff. and 228 ff., especially p. 230. R. McKeon, "Rhetoric in the Middle Ages," *Speculum*, XVII (1942), 27 f. For the *Ars dictaminis* in Italy, especially during the twelfth century, see Ch. H. Haskins, *Studies in Mediaeval Culture*, Oxford, 1929, 170–92. See also: E. Kantorowicz, "An 'Autobiography' of Guido Faba," *Mediaeval and Renaissance Studies* I,2 (1943), 253–80. The same, "Anonymi 'Aurea Gemma,' " *Medievalia et Humanistica*, I (1943), 41–57. Helene Wieruszowski," Ars dictaminis in the Time of Dante," *ibid.*, 95–108. For the *Ars praedicandi*, see: H. Caplan, *Mediaeval Artes Praedicandi*, 2 vols., Ithaca, N. Y., 1934–36. Th. M. Charland, *Artes Praedicandi*, Paris-Ottawa, 1936. Italy's contribution to the literature on preaching seems to have been small and belated.

[33] Voigt, *op.cit.*, II, 442 ff. Ch. S. Baldwin, *Renaissance Literary Theory and Practice*, New York, 1939, p. 39 ff.

[34] See the studies of E. Kantorowicz and H. Wieruszowski, and especially A. Galletti, *L'eloquenza*, Milan, 1904–38, p. 430 ff.

eloquence of the humanists was the continuation of the medieval *ars arengandi* just as their epistolography continued the tradition of the *ars dictaminis*. It is true, in taking up a type of literary production developed by their medieval predecessors, the humanists modified its style according to their own taste and classicist standards. Yet the practice of speech-making was no invention of the humanists, of course, since it is hardly absent from any human society, and since in medieval Italy it can be traced back at least to the eleventh century.[35]

Even the theory of secular speech, represented by rules and instructions as well as by model speeches, appears in Italy at least as early as the thirteenth century. Indeed practically all types of humanist oratory have their antecedents in this medieval literature: wedding and funeral speeches, academic speeches, political speeches by officials or ambassadors, decorative speeches on solemn occasions, and finally judicial speeches.[36] Some of these types, to be sure, had their classical models,

[35] Galletti, *loc. cit.*

[36] Some of the rhetorical treatises and models of the thirteenth century are discussed by Galletti, *op.cit.*, 454 ff. Guido Faba's *Parlamenti ed epistole* (ed. A. Gaudenzi, *I suoni, le forme e le parole dell'odierno dialetto della città di Bologna*, Turin, 1889) include several model speeches. Models for political and funeral speeches are inserted in the anonymous "Oculus Pastoralis" and in other treatises written for the instruction of city officials (F. Hertter, *Die Podestàliteratur Italiens im 12. und 13. Jahrhundert*, Leipzig-Berlin, 1910). For an example of early academic oratory, see H. Kantorowicz, "The Poetical Sermon of a Mediaeval Jurist," *Journal of the Warburg Institute*, II (1938–39), 22–41. For the speech of an ambassador, see G. L. Haskins and E. Kantorowicz, "A Diplomatic Mission of Francis Accursius and his Oration before Pope Nicholas III," *English Historical Review*, LVIII (1943), 424–47. The medieval legal background of the wedding speeches of the humanists has been studied by F. Brandileone (*Saggi sulla storia della celebrazione del matrimonio in Italia*, Milan, 1906), but he does not mention any pre-humanistic wedding speeches. Rhetorical rules and samples are included in some of the early instructions for advocates; see M. A. von Bethmann-Hollweg, *Der Civilprozess des gemeinen Rechts in geschichtlicher Entwicklung*, VI, Bonn, 1874, pp. 148–59. Boncompagno's *Rhetorica Novissima* (ed. A. Gaudenzi, *Bibliotheca iuridica medii aevi*, II, Bologna, 1892) is not a treatise on *dictamen*, as most scholars seem to assume, but a rhetorical instruction for advocates. Also the treatise of Jacques de Dinant, published by A. Wilmart (*Analecta Reginensia*, Vatican City, 1933, pp. 113–51) covers judicial oratory. It is often asserted that the humanists did not cultivate judicial oratory (Rossi, 154), yet this is contradicted by a passage of Jovius (Burckhardt, 176), and there are at least a few examples of judicial speeches composed by humanists (H. Baron, *Leonardo Bruni Aretino: Humanistisch-Philosophische Schriften*, Leipzig, 1928, p. 179; J. Paquier, *De Philippi Beroaldi Junioris vita et scriptis*, Paris, 1900, pp. 96–113). A systematic investigation of the various types of humanist oratory and of their medieval antecedents has not yet been undertaken. It ought to include a study of the mutual relations between sacred and secular eloquence, and of possible Byzantine influences. See Krumbacher, 454 ff. and 470 ff. I hope to return to this subject in a separate article.

but others, for example, academic speeches delivered at the beginning of the year or of a particular course or upon conferring or receiving a degree, had no classical antecedents whatsoever, and all these types of oratory were rooted in very specific customs and institutions of medieval Italy. The humanists invented hardly any of these types of speech, but they merely applied their standards of style and elegance to a previously existing form of literary expression, and thus satisfied a demand, both practical and artistic, of the society of their time. Modern scholars are apt to speak contemptuously of this humanistic oratory, denouncing its empty rhetoric and its lack of "deep thoughts." Yet the humanists merely intended to speak well, according to their taste and to the occasion, and it still remains to be seen whether they were less successful in that respect than their medieval predecessors or their modern successors. Being pieces of "empty rhetoric," their speeches provide us with an amazing amount of information about the personal and intellectual life of their time.

In their historiography, the humanists succeeded the medieval chroniclers, yet they differ from them both in their merits and in their deficiencies.[37] Humanist historiography is characterized by the rhetorical concern for elegant Latin and by the application of philological criticism to the source materials of history. In both respects, they are the predecessors of modern historians.[38] To combine the requirements of a good style and those of careful research was as rare and difficult then as it is at present. However, the link between history and rhetoric that seems to be so typical of the Renaissance was apparently a medieval heritage. Not only was the teaching of history in the medieval schools subordinate to that of grammar and rhetoric, but we also find quite a few medieval historiographers and chronists who were professional grammarians and rhetoricians.[39] Even the Renaissance custom of princes and cities appointing official historiographers to write their history seems to have had a few antecedents in medieval Italy.[40]

Most of the philosophical treatises and dialogues of the humanists are really nothing but moral tracts, and many of them deal with subject

[37] Fueter fails to discuss the relations between medieval and humanistic historiography.

[38] I should like to mention Carolus Sigonius, both for his masterful discussion of the forged charter of Theodosius II for Bologna university (*Opera Omnia*, VI, Milan, 1787, p. 985 ff.), and for his quotation from Cicero in connection with the donation of Constantine: "primam legem historiae esse ut ne quid falsi audeat, ne quid veri non audeat" (*ibid.*, p. 985). Cf. *De Oratore*, II, 15, 62.

[39] For example, Boncompagno of Signa (*Liber de obsidione Anconae*, ed. G. C. Zimolo, Bologna, 1937) and Rolandinus of Padua (*Cronica*, ed. A. Bonardi, Città di Castello, 1905–08).

[40] G. Bertoni, *Il Duecento*, p. 263. Machiavelli was on the payroll of the university of Pisa for writing his Florentine history.

matters also treated in the moralistic literature of the Middle Ages. There are, to be sure, significant differences in style, treatment, sources, and solutions. However, the common features of the topics and literary patterns should not be overlooked either. A thorough comparative study of medieval and Renaissance moral treatises has not yet been made so far as I am aware, but in a few specific cases the connection has been pointed out.[41] Again it should be added that the very link between rhetoric and moral philosophy which became so apparent in the Renaissance had its antecedents in the Middle Ages. Medieval rhetoric, no less than ancient rhetoric, was continually quoting and inculcating moral sentences that interested the authors and their readers for their content as well as for their form. Moreover, there are at least a few cases in which medieval rhetoricians wrote treatises on topics of moral philosophy, or argued about the same moral questions that were to exercise the minds and pens of their successors, the Renaissance humanists.[42]

Less definite is the link between humanists and medieval Italian rhetoricians in the field of Latin poetry. On the basis of available evidence, it would seem that in the Italian schools up to the thirteenth century verse-making was less cultivated than in France. Throughout the earlier Middle Ages, historical and panegyric epics as well as verse epitaphs were composed abundantly in Italy, yet prior to the thirteenth century her share in rhythmical and in didactic poetry seems to have been rather modest.[43] It is only after the middle of the thirteenth century that we notice a marked increase in the production of Latin poetry in Italy, and the appearance of the teaching of poetry in the schools and universities. This development coincides with the earliest traces of Italian humanism, and it is tempting to ascribe it to French influences.[44]

[41] Allan H. Gilbert, *Machiavelli's Prince and its Forerunners* (Durham, N. C., 1938). The question *De nobilitate*, dear to the humanists of the fifteenth century, was already discussed in the thirteenth (G. Bertoni, "Una lettera amatoria di Pier della Vigna," *Giornale storico della letteratura italiana*, LVII, 1911, p. 33 ff.). The humanist treatises on the dignity and happiness of man also continued medieval discussions (G. Gentile, "Il concetto dell'uomo nel Rinascimento," in his *Il pensiero italiano del rinascimento*, 3rd ed., Florence, 1940, pp. 47–113).

[42] Boncompagno of Signa wrote two moral treatises: *Amicitia* (ed. Sarina Nathan, Rome, 1909), and *De malo senectutis et senii* (ed. F. Novati, *Rendiconti della Reale Accademia dei Lincei, Classe di Scienze Morali, Storiche e Filologiche*, Series V, vol. I, 1892, pp. 50–59).

[43] Novati-Monteverdi, *Le Origini*. F. Novati, *L'influsso del pensiero latino sopra la civiltà italiana del Medio Evo*, 2nd ed., Milan, 1899. U. Ronca, *Cultura medioevale e poesia latina d'Italia nei secoli XI e XII*, 2 vols., Rome, 1892. F. J. E. Raby, *A History of Secular Latin Poetry in the Middle Ages*, 2 vols., Oxford, 1934.

[44] The rise of Latin poetry in Italy begins with the Paduan group of "pre-humanists", see G. Bertoni, *Il Duecento*, p. 272 ff. N. Sapegno, *Il Trecento*, Milan, 1934, p. 149 ff.

The same may be said with more confidence of the literature of commentaries on the Latin classics, which are the direct result of school teaching. It is often asserted that Italy throughout the Middle Ages was closer to the classical tradition than any other European country. Yet if we try to trace the type of the humanistic commentary back into the Middle Ages, we find hardly any commentary on a Latin poet or prose writer composed in Italy prior to the second half of the thirteenth century, whereas we find many such commentaries, from the ninth century on, written in France or in the other Western countries that followed the French development.[45] Only after 1300, that is, after the earliest phase of humanism, did Italy produce an increasing number of such commentaries. Also of antiquarian studies there is very little evidence in Italy prior to the latter part of the thirteenth century.[46] Whereas we have abundant information about the reading of the Latin poets and prose writers in the medieval schools of France and of other Western countries, and whereas such centers as Chartres and Orléans in the twelfth and early thirteenth century owed much of their fame to the study of the Latin classics,[47] the sources for

[46] A comprehensive study of the literature of medieval and Renaissance commentaries on the classical authors is a major desideratum. Much scattered information may be found concerning the commentaries on individual authors. The commentaries written before 1200 are listed in Manitius, *op. cit.* An interesting survey of such commentaries up to 1300, by B. H. (Hauréau), is hidden in the *Histoire littéraire de la France*, XXIX, 1885, 568–83. Hauréau lists only one commentary which he believes to be from Italy. Of Italian origin are also certain legal glosses on Seneca, written in the twelfth century (C. Pascal, *Letteratura latina medievale*, Catania, 1909, pp. 150–54). There are also some Italian commentaries on Martianus Capella, but this refers to the teaching of the "artes" rather than to that of the "authores". The Paduans began to study Seneca's tragedies, and after the end of the thirteenth century, the number of classical commentaries begins to increase. That these early Italian commentators were acquainted with the work of their French predecessors has been shown in the case of Giovanni del Virgilio by F. Ghisalberti ("Giovanni del Virgilio espositore delle 'Metamorfosi,' " *Giornale Dantesco* XXXIV, 1933, 31 ff.). Relations between medieval and humanistic commentaries are also noticed by Eva M. Sanford ("The manuscripts of Lucan: *Accessus* and *Marginalia*," *Speculum*, IX, 1934, pp. 278–95).

[46] See Sabbadini, *Le scoperte*.

[47] A. Clerval, *Les écoles de Chartres au moyen âge*, Paris, 1895. L. Delisle, "Les écoles d'Orléans au douzième et au treizième siècle," *Annuaire-Bulletin de la Société de l'histoire de France*, VII, 1869, 139–54. See also Paetow, *The Battle of the Seven Arts*. For the contrast of "artes" and "authores", see E. Norden, *Die antike Kunstprosa*, II, Leipzig, 1898, pp. 688 ff. and 724 ff. To the well known material on the study of the "authores" in medieval France, I should like to add the following passage from the chronist Landulphus Junior, which seems to have remained unnoticed: "revocare Yordanum de Clivi a provincia que dicitur Sancti Egidii in qua ipse Yordanus legebat lectionem auctorum non divinorum sed paganorum" (*Historia Mediolanensis*, ed. C. Castiglioni, Bologna, 1934, p. 18). The event must be dated shortly after 1100 A.D.

Italy are silent during the same period and begin to speak only after the middle of the thirteenth century.[48]

It was only after the beginning of the fourteenth century that the teaching of poetry and of the classical authors became firmly established in the Italian schools and universities, to continue without interruption throughout the Renaissance.[49] Italian libraries, with the one exception of Monte Cassino, were not so well furnished with Latin classical poets as were some French and German libraries, and it has been noticed that the humanists of the fifteenth century made most of their manuscript discoveries not in Italy, but in other countries. The conclusion seems inevitable that the study of classical Latin authors was comparatively neglected in Italy during the earlier Middle Ages and was introduced from France after the middle of the thirteenth century.[50] The Italian humanists thus took up the work of their medieval French predecessors just about the time when classical studies began to decline in France, and whereas classical scholarship of the earliest humanists in its range and method was still close to the medieval tradition, that of the later Renaissance developed far beyond anything attained during the Middle Ages. Consequently, if we consider the entire literary production of the Italian humanists we are led to the conclusion that the humanistic movement seems to have originated from a fusion between the novel interest in classical studies imported from France toward the end of the thirteenth century and the much earlier traditions of medieval Italian rhetoric.

We have seen that the humanists did not live outside the schools and universities, but were closely connected with them. The chairs commonly held by the humanists were those of grammar and rhetoric,[51] that is, the same that had been occupied by their medieval predecessors, the *dictatores*. Thus it is in the history of the universities and schools and of their chairs that the connection of the humanists with medieval rhetoric

[48] Perhaps the earliest dated evidence of the reading of classical authors in an Italian school of the Middle Ages is the criminal record of the theft of "three books of Ovid" from a teacher of grammar in Bologna (1294), see O. Mazzoni Toselli, *Racconti storici estratti dall' archivio criminale di Bologna*, III (Bologna, 1870), 39 f.

[49] In 1321, Giovanni del Virgilio was appointed to lecture at Bologna on versification and on Virgil, Statius, Lucan, and Ovid (Ghisalberti, *loc. cit.*, 4 f.). L. J. Paetow comments on this document as follows: "This was a good beginning . . . . but the fair promise had no fulfillment" (*The Arts Course at Medieval Universities*, Urbana-Champaign, 1910, p. 60). Actually, the promise did find its fulfillment in the development of Italian humanism. The teaching of the classical authors never ceased in Italy after that memorable date which coincides with the approximate time when Petrarch was a student at Bologna.

[50] For French influences on Italian humanism in the fourteenth century, see also B. L. Ullman, "Some Aspects of the Origin of Italian Humanism," *Philological Quarterly*, XX (1941), 20–31.

[51] Burckhardt, *op.cit.*, p. 154.

becomes most apparent. However, under the influence of humanism, these chairs underwent a change which affected their name as well as their content and pretenses. About the beginning of the fourteenth century poetry appears as a special teaching subject at Italian universities. After that time, the teaching of grammar was considered primarily as the task of elementary instructors, whereas the humanists proper held the more advanced chairs of poetry and of eloquence. For eloquence was the equivalent of prose writing as well as of speech. The teaching of poetry and of eloquence was theoretical and practical at the same time, for the humanist professor instructed his pupils in verse-making and in speech-making both through rules and through models. Since classical Latin authors were considered as the chief models for imitation, the reading of these authors was inseparably connected with the theoretical and practical teaching of poetry and of eloquence.

Thus we may understand why the humanists of the fourteenth and fifteenth century chose to call their field of study poetry and why they were often styled poets even though they composed no works that would qualify them as poets in the modern sense.[52] Also the coronation of poets in the Renaissance must be understood against this background.[53] It had been originally understood as a kind of academic degree, and it was granted not merely for original poetic compositions, but also for the competent study of classical poets.[54] History was not taught as a separate subject, but formed a part of the study of rhetoric and poetry since the ancient historians were among the prose writers commonly studied in

[52] K. Vossler, *Poetische Theorien in der italienischen Frührenaissance*, Berlin, 1900.

[53] The work by V. Lancetti (*Memorie intorno ai poeti laureati d'ogni tempo e d'ogni nazione*, Milan, 1839) is antiquated, but has not been replaced. Important contributions were made by F. Novati ("La suprema aspirazione di Dante," in his *Indagini e postille dantesche*, Bologna, 1899, p. 83 ff.) and by E. H. Wilkins ("The Coronation of Petrarch," *Speculum*, XVIII, 1943, pp. 155–97). I believe that the coronation ceremony developed from the public recitals and approbations of books at the medieval universities (on such approbations, see L. Thorndike, "Public Readings of New Works in Mediaeval Universities," *Speculum*, I, 1926, pp. 101–3, and the additional notes by Haskins and Thorndike, *ibid.*, pp. 221 and 445 ff.). The intermediary link is the coronation of the approved book, as in the case of Boncompagno at Bologna 1215 (Novati, *Indagini*, p. 86 f.). There is definite evidence that Mussato was crowned not only for his tragedy *Ecerinis*, but also for his historical work on Henry VII. Also the diploma of Petrarch's coronation refers to him repeatedly as a poet and historian (*Opera Omnia*, Basel, 1581, IV, 6–7), and there are later cases of persons crowned as poets and orators.

[54] Petrarch was examined by King Robert of Naples and took the king's testimonial letters to Rome, that is, he followed much of the procedure that was used for academic degrees in the kingdom of Naples. His diploma resembles doctoral diplomas and grants him the authorization "tam in dicta arte poetica quam in dicta historica arte . . . legendi, disputandi atque interpretandi veterum scripturas et novas (read: novos) a seipso . . . libros et poemata componendi . . . " (*loc. cit.*).

school. Moral philosophy was always the subject of a separate chair and was commonly studied from the *Ethics* and *Politics* of Aristotle. However, after the beginning of the fifteenth century, the chair of moral philosophy was often held by the humanists, usually in combination with that of rhetoric and poetry.[55] This combination reflects the expansion of humanistic learning into the field of moral philosophy.

The chairs of Greek language and literature which were an innovation of the fourteenth century were also commonly held by humanists. This teaching was not as closely tied up with the practical concern for writing verses, speeches, or letters as was the study of Latin, and it was therefore more strictly scholarly and philological. On the other hand, since the fifteenth century we find several cases where humanist teachers of Greek offered courses on Greek texts of philosophy and science and thus invaded the territory of the rivaling fields.[56]

Later on the fields of study cultivated by the humanists were given a new and even more ambitious name. Taking up certain expressions found in Cicero and Gellius, the humanists as early as the fourteenth century began to call their field of learning the humane studies or the studies befitting a human being (*studia humanitatis*, *studia humaniora*).[57] The new name certainly implied a new claim and program, but it covered a content that had existed long before and that had been designated by the more modest names of grammar, rhetoric, and poetry. Although some modern scholars were not aware of this fact, the humanists certainly were, and we have several contemporary testimonies showing that the *studia humanitatis* were considered as the equivalent of grammar, rhetoric, poetry, history, and moral philosophy.[58]

These statements also prove another point that has been confused

[55] The chair of moral philosophy was held, for example, by Barzizza and by Filelfo.

[56] Lectures on the Greek or Latin text of Aristotle and other philosophical authors were given at Florence by Marsuppini, Argyropulos, and Politian, at Bologna by Codrus Urceus, and at Padua by Leonicus Thomaeus. I expect to treat this subject in my forthcoming study of the Italian universities.

[57] On *humanitas* in Roman antiquity and in the fifteenth century, see W. Jaeger, *Humanism and Theology* (Milwaukee, 1943), pp. 20 ff. and 72 f.

[58] The clearest statement is found in the famous library canon composed by Nicholas V in his youth for Cosimo de'Medici. After having listed many books on theology, then the works of Aristotle *in logicis*, *in physicis*, *in metaphysica*, and *in moralibus*, the Arabic and Greek commentators on Aristotle, other philosophical works translated from the Greek, and works on mathematics, he continues as follows: "de studiis autem humanitatis quantum ad grammaticam, rhetoricam, historicam et poeticam spectat ac moralem . . . . " (G. Sforza, "La patria, la famiglia ed i parenti di papa Niccolò V," *Atti della Reale Accademia Lucchese di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti*, XXIII, 1884, p. 380). An educational charter of the Jesuits of 1591 speaks of "studia humanitatis, hoc est grammaticae, historiae, poeticae et rhetoricae" (quoted by K. Borinski, *Die Antike in Poetik und Kunsttheorie*, II, Leipzig, 1924, p. 327).

by most modern historians: the humanists, at least in Italy or before the sixteenth century, did not claim that they were substituting a new encyclopaedia of learning to the medieval one,[59] and they were aware of the fact that their field of study occupied a well defined and limited place within the system of contemporary learning.[60] To be sure, they tended to emphasize the importance of their field in comparison with the other sciences and to encroach upon the latter's territory, but on the whole they did not deny the existence or validity of these other sciences. This well defined place of the *studia humanitatis* is reflected in the new term *humanista* which apparently was coined during the latter half of the fifteenth century and became increasingly popular during the sixteenth century. The term seems to have originated in the slang of university students and gradually penetrated into official usage.[61] It was coined after the model of such medieval terms as *legista*, *jurista*, *canonista*, and *artista*, and it designated the professional teacher of the *studia humanitatis*. The term *humanista* in this limited sense thus was coined during the Renaissance, whereas the term humanism was first used by nineteenth century historians. If I am not mistaken, the new term humanism reflects the modern and false conception that Renaissance humanism was a basically new philosophical movement, and under the influence of this notion the old term humanist has also been misunderstood as designating the representative of a new *Weltanschauung*. The old term *humanista*, on the other hand, reflects the more modest, but correct, contemporary view that the humanists were the teachers and representatives of a certain branch of learning which at that time was expanding and in vogue, but well limited

[59] This was attempted, however, in the sixteenth century by Vives in his work *De tradendis disciplinis*.

[60] The humanist Leonardo Bruni, when comparing Dante and Petrarch, attributes greater knowledge in philosophy and mathematics to Dante, "perocchè nella scienza delle lettere e nella cognizione della lingua latina Dante fu molto inferiore al Petrarca" (*Le Vite die Dante, Petrarca e Boccaccio*, ed. A. Solerti, Milan, n.d., p. 292 f.). For Bruni, the learning of Petrarch is not universal and does not include philosophy.

[61] Rossi (*op. cit.*, 6 and 15) cites a poem of Ariosto (1523) for the earliest appearance of the term *umanista* in Italian, and an epigram of the late fifteenth century for the earliest appearance of the term *humanista* in Latin. I have not been able to verify the latter passage, but I found the following passage in a vernacular letter written in 1490 by the rector of Pisa university to the officials in Florence: "avendole S. V. condocto quello Humanista che non è venuto", this will be a disappointment for many foreign students who have come "per udire humanità" (Angelus Fabronius, *Historia Academiae Pisanae*, I, Pisa, 1791, p. 369 f.). During the sixteenth century, the Latin term *humanista* appears in the university documents of Bologna and Ferrara. John Florio in his Italian-English dictionary has the following entry: "Humanista, a humanist or professor of humanitie" (*A Worlde of Wordes*, London, 1598, 164).

in its subject matter. Humanism did not represent the sum total of learning in the Italian Renaissance.

If we care to look beyond the field of the humanities into the other fields of learning as they were cultivated during the Italian Renaissance, that is, into jurisprudence, medicine, theology, mathematics, and natural philosophy, what we find is evidently a continuation of medieval learning and may hence very well be called scholasticism. Since the term has been subject to controversy, I should like to say that I do not attach any unfavorable connotation to the term scholasticism. As its characteristic, I do not consider any particular doctrine, but rather a specific method, that is, the type of logical argument represented by the form of the *Questio*. It is well known that the content of scholastic philosophy, since the thirteenth century, was largely based on the writings of Aristotle, and that the development of this philosophy, since the twelfth century, was closely connected with the schools and universities of France and England, especially with the universities of Paris and of Oxford. The place of Italy is, however, less known in the history and development of scholastic philosophy. Several Italians are found among the most famous philosophers and theologians of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, but practically all of them did their studying and teaching in France. Whereas Italy had flourishing schools of rhetoric, of jurisprudence, and of medicine during the twelfth and early thirteenth century, she had no native center of philosophical studies during the same period. After 1220 the new mendicant orders established schools of theology and philosophy in many Italian cities, but unlike those in France and England, these schools of the friars for a long time had no links with the Italian universities. Regular faculties of theology were not established at the Italian universities before the middle of the fourteenth century, and even after that period, the university teaching of theology continued to be spotty and irregular.

Aristotelian philosophy, although not entirely unknown at Salerno toward the end of the twelfth century, made its regular appearance at the Italian universities after the middle of the thirteenth century and in close connection with the teaching of medicine.[62] I think it is safe to assume that Aristotelian philosophy was then imported from France as were the study of classical authors and many other forms of intellectual ac-

[62] For the relation between theology, medicine, and philosophy in Italy, see H. Rashdall (*The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages*, 2nd ed. by F. M. Powicke and A. B. Emden, Oxford, 1936, I, 261 ff.). There is some Aristotelianism in the writings of Urso of Salerno (early thirteenth century), and there was a group of theologians and canonists at Bologna in the twelfth century who were influenced by Abelard. Yet the regular connection between medicine and Aristotelian philosophy, which was to become characteristic of Italian science, appears for the first time in the writings of Taddeo of Florence (late thirteenth century).

tivity.[63] After the beginning of the fourteenth century, this Italian Aristotelianism assumed a more definite shape.[64] The teaching of logic and natural philosophy became a well established part of the university curriculum and even spread to some of the secondary schools. An increasing number of commentaries and questions on the works of Aristotle reflect this teaching tradition, and numerous systematic treatises on philosophical subjects show the same general trend and background. During the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, further influences were received from Paris in the field of natural philosophy and from Oxford in the field of logic,[65] and from the latter part of the fourteenth century on we can trace an unbroken tradition of Italian Aristotelianism which continued through the fifteenth and sixteenth century and far into the seventeenth century.[66] The common notion that scholasticism as an old philosophy was superseded by the new philosophy of humanism is thus again disproved by plain facts. For Italian scholasticism originated toward the end of the thirteenth century, that is, about the same time as did Italian humanism, and both traditions developed side by side throughout the period of the Renaissance and even thereafter.

However, the two traditions had their locus and center in two different sectors of learning: humanism in the field of grammar, rhetoric, and poetry and to some extent in moral philosophy, scholasticism in the fields of logic and of natural philosophy. Everybody knows the eloquent attacks launched by Petrarch and Bruni against the logicians of their time, and it is generally believed that these attacks represent a vigorous new movement rebelling against an old entrenched habit of thought. Yet actually

[63] The influence of the school of Paris upon the earliest Italian Aristotelians ought to be further investigated. The earliest tangible fact seems to be the notice that Gentile da Cingoli, who became a teacher of logic and philosophy at Bologna around 1300, attended a course on Aristotle by Johannes Vate who appears at Paris around 1290 (M. Grabmann, *Mittelalterliches Geistesleben*, II, Munich, 1936, p. 265 f.). It is well known that Peter of Abano, the supposed founder of the school of Padua, studied at Paris and was in personal relations with Jean de Jandun. As late as 1340 the physician Gentile da Foligno is reported to have advised the ruler of Padua to send twelve youths to Paris to study the arts and medicine (H. Denifle and E. Chatelain, *Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis*, II, Paris, 1891, p. 558).

[64] M. Grabmann, "Studien über den Averroisten Taddeo da Parma," *op. cit.*, 239–60. Id., "Der Bologneser Averroist Angelo d'Arezzo," *ibid.*, pp. 261–71. Peter of Abano and Gentile da Cingoli belong to the same period. Urbano of Bologna would seem to belong to the second half of the fourteenth century.

[65] P. Duhem, "La tradition de Buridan et la science italienne au XVIe siècle," in his *Études sur Léonard de Vinci*, III, Paris, 1913, pp. 113–259; *Id.*, "La dialectique d'Oxford et la scolastique italienne," *Bulletin Italien*, XII, 1912, and XIII, 1913.

[66] For this Italian Aristotelianism, see Ueberweg, *op. cit.*, p. 22 ff. J. Brucker, *Historia critica philosophiae*, IV, pt. I, 148 ff. K. Prantl, *Geschichte der Logik im Abendlande*, IV, Leipzig, 1870, p. 118 ff.; p. 176 ff.; p. 232 ff. E. Renan, *Averroès et l'averroïsme*, Paris, 1852 (2nd rev. ed., Paris, 1861).

the English method of dialectic was quite as novel at the Italian schools of that time as were the humanistic studies advocated by Petrarch and Bruni,[67] and the humanistic attack was as much a matter of departmental rivalry as it was a clash of opposite ideas or philosophies. Bruni is even hinting at one point that he is not speaking quite in earnest.[68] Such controversies, interesting as they are, were mere episodes in a long period of peaceful coexistence between humanism and scholasticism. Actually the humanists quarreled as much among each other as they did with the scholastics. Moreover, it would be quite wrong to consider these controversies as serious battles for basic principles whereas many of them were meant to be merely personal feuds, intellectual tournaments, or rhetorical exercises. Finally, any attempt to reduce these controversies to one issue must fail since the discussions were concerned with many diverse and overlapping issues.[69] Therefore, we should no longer be surprised that Italian Aristotelianism quietly and forcefully survived the attacks of Petrarch and his humanist successors.

But the Aristotelianism of the Renaissance did not remain untouched by the new influence of humanism. Philosophers began to make abundant use of the Greek text and of the new Latin translations of Aristotle, of his ancient commentators, and of other Greek thinkers. The revival of ancient philosophies that came in the wake of the humanistic movement, especially the revival of Platonism and of Stoicism, left a strong impact upon the Aristotelian philosophers of the Renaissance.[70] Yet in spite of these significant modifications, Renaissance Aristotelianism continued the medieval scholastic tradition without any visible break. It preserved a firm hold on the university chairs of logic, natural philosophy, and meta-

[67] Usually the introduction of English dialectic in Italy is attributed to Paul of Venice at Padua about 1400. Yet Peter of Mantua, whom Prantl and Duhem treat as an author of the fifteenth century because of the publication date of his treatises, lived during the fourteenth century and probably died in 1400 A.D. He taught at Bologna and may have been the first Italian follower of the Oxford school. See the letter addressed to him by Salutati (note 13 above), and Novati's footnote which gives several biographical data and references to manuscripts, all unknown to historians of philosophy. A manuscript with logical works of Peter is at Columbia University Library. The text of the "loyca Ferebrigh" appears in the library of the Franciscans in Assisi as early as 1381 (Manacorda, *op.cit.*, pt. II, p. 361).

[68] After having joked about the Barbaric names of the English logicians, Bruni continues: "Et quid Colucci ut haec ioca omittam quid est inquam in dialectica quod non Britannicis sophismatibus conturbatum sit?" (*Leonardi Bruni Aretini Dialogus de tribus vatibus Florentinis*, ed. K. Wotke, Vienna, 1889, p. 16).

[69] For some of the humanist controversies see R. Sabbadini, *Storia del ciceronianismo*.

[70] For Stoic elements in Pomponazzi, see L. Zanta, *La renaissance du Stoicisme au XVIe siècle*, Paris, 1914. For Platonic elements in Pomponazzi see my note, "Ficino and Pomponazzi on the Place of Man in the Universe," *Journal of the History of Ideas*, V (1944), 220–25.

physics, whereas even the humanist professors of moral philosophy continued to base their lectures on Aristotle. The literary activity of these Aristotelian philosophers is embodied in a large number of commentaries, questions, and treatises. This literature is difficult of access and arduous to read, but rich in philosophical problems and doctrines. It represents the bulk and kernel of the philosophical thought of the period, but it has been badly neglected by modern historians. Scholars hostile to the Middle Ages considered this literature an unfortunate survival of medieval traditions that may be safely disregarded, whereas the true modern spirit of the Renaissance is expressed in the literature of the humanists. Medievalists, on the other hand, have largely concentrated on the earlier phases of scholastic philosophy and gladly sacrificed the later scholastics to the criticism of the humanists and their modern followers, a tendency that has been further accentuated by the recent habit of identifying scholasticism with Thomism.

Consequently, most modern scholars have condemned the Aristotelian philosophers of the Renaissance without a hearing, labeling them as empty squibblers and as followers of a dead past who failed to understand the living problems of their new times. Recent works on the civilization of the Renaissance thus often repeat the charges made against the Aristotelian philosophers by the humanists of their time, and even give those attacks a much more extreme meaning than they were originally intended to have. Other scholars who are not favorable to the humanists either include both scholastics and humanists in a summary sentence that reflects the judgments of seventeenth-century scientists and philosophers. Only a few famous figures such as Pietro Pomponazzi seem to resist the general verdict.

There has been a tendency to present Pomponazzi and a few other thinkers as basically different from the other Aristotelians of their time and as closely related with the humanists or with the later scientists. This is merely an attempt to reconcile the respect for Pomponazzi with modern preconceptions against the Aristotelians of the Renaissance. Actually Pomponazzi does not belong to the humanists or to the later scientists, but to the tradition of medieval and Renaissance Aristotelianism. The number of modern scholars who have actually read some of the works of the Italian Aristotelians is comparatively small. The most influential comprehensive treatment of the group is found in Renan's book on Averroes and Averroism, a book which had considerable merits for its time, but which also contains several errors and confusions which have been repeated ever since.[71] If we want to judge the merits and limitations of Renaissance

[71] E. Renan, *Averroès et l'averroïsme*, 2nd ed., Paris, 1861. Renan's work has been superseded for the thirteenth century by P. Mandonnet (*Siger de Brabant et l'averroïsme latin au XIIIe siècle*, 2nd ed., 2 vols., Louvain, 1908–11). There is a wide-

Aristotelianism we will have to proceed to a new direct investigation of the source materials, instead of repeating antiquated judgments. It will be necessary to study in detail the questions discussed by these thinkers, such as the doctrine of immortality and its demonstrability, the problem of the so-called double truth, and the method of scientific proof.[72] Due consideration should also be given to the contributions made by these Aristotelian philosophers to medicine and natural history, and to the influence they exercised upon such early scientists as Galilei and Harvey.[73] Current notions about the prevalence of Thomism among the Aristotelians, about the controversy of the Averroists and the Alexandrists, about the continuity and uniformity of the school of Padua, and even the very concept of Averroism will have to be reexamined and possibly abandoned. Also the widespread belief that the Italian Aristotelians were atheists and free-thinkers who merely did not dare to say what they thought ought to be investigated in its origin and validity.[74]

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spread belief that Renan has been entirely superseded by Mandonnet, but this is obviously not true for the fourteenth and later centuries. The recent article by M. M. Gorce ("Averroïsme," *Dictionnaire d'Histoire et de Géographie Ecclésiastique*, V, 1931, 1032–92) does not supersede Renan either, although it supplements him in a few details; Gorce largely follows Renan for the later period and does not correct any of his major mistakes. There is a fairly large literature on Pomponazzi, and a monograph on Cesare Cremonini by L. Mabilleau (*Étude historique sur la philosophie de la Renaissance en Italie*, Paris, 1881).

[72] An important contribution to the latter problem has been published by J. H. Randall Jr. ("The Development of Scientific Method in the School of Padua," *Journal of the History of Ideas*, I, 1940, 177–206).

[73] For the contributions of the Aristotelians to sixteenth-century science, see L. Thorndike, *A History of Magic and Experimental Science*, Vols. V–VI, New York, 1941. For Galilei's connection with Italian Aristotelianism, see Randall, *loc. cit.* I should like to add the following detail: Everybody knows Galilei's statement that the nobility of a science depends on the certainty of its method rather than on the dignity of its subject matter (*Opere*, Edizione Nazionale, VI, 1896, p. 237; VII, 1897, p. 246). Remembering this statement, I was surprised to find among Pomponazzi's Questions on the first book of Aristotle's *De anima* the following one: "Nobilitas scientiae a quo sumatur. Quaestio est a quo sumatur magis nobilitas scientiae, an a nobilitate subiecti an a certitudine demonstrationis vel aequaliter ab ambobus" (L. Ferri, "Intorno alle dottrine psicologiche di Pietro Pomponazzi," *Atti della Reale Accademia dei Lincei*, Series II, vol. III, 1875–76, pt. III, p. 423). Pomponazzi does not give a clear answer as does Galilei, but it is obvious that Galilei's statement is not an isolated aphorism, but a conscious answer given to a traditional question debated in the Aristotelian schools of philosophy.

[74] Most of these notions go back to Renan and have been repeated ever since, especially by French scholars. As I hope to show in a forthcoming study, there is no evidence for the existence of an Alexandrist school in the sixteenth century; there is hardly a uniform Averroist tradition, especially not in the sense used by Renan, who fails to distinguish between the use made of Averroes as a commentator and the adherence to specific Averroist doctrines such as the unity of the intellect; there was

Thus we may conclude that the humanism and the scholasticism of the Renaissance arose in medieval Italy about the same time, that is, about the end of the thirteenth century, and that they coexisted and developed all the way through and beyond the Renaissance period as different branches of learning. Their controversy, much less persistent and violent than usually represented, is merely a phase in the battle of the arts, not a struggle for existence. We may compare it to the debates of the arts in medieval literature, to the rivaling claims of medicine and of law at the universities, or to the claims advanced by Leonardo in his *Paragone* for the superiority of painting over the other arts. Humanism certainly had a tendency to influence the other sciences and to expand at their expense, but all kinds of adjustments and combinations between humanism and scholasticism were possible and were successfully accomplished. It is only after the Renaissance, through the rise of modern science and modern philosophy, that Aristotelianism was gradually displaced, whereas humanism became gradually detached from its rhetorical background and evolved into modern philology and history.

Thus humanism and scholasticism both occupy an important place in the civilization of the Italian Renaissance, yet neither represents a unified picture, nor do both together constitute the whole of Renaissance civilization. Just as humanism and scholasticism coexisted as different branches of culture, there were besides them other imporant, and perhaps even more important branches. I am thinking of the developments in the fine arts, in vernacular literature, in the mathematical sciences, and in religion and theology. Many misunderstandings have resulted from the attempts to interpret or to criticize humanism and scholasticism in the light of these other developments. Too many historians have tried to play up the fine arts, or vernacular poetry, or science, or religion against the "learning of the schools." These attempts must be rejected. The religious and theological problems of the Protestant and Catholic Reformation were hardly related to the issues discussed in the philosophical literature of the same time, and supporters and enemies of humanistic learning and of Aristotelian philosophy were found among the followers of both religious parties. The development of vernacular poetry in Italy was not

no distinctive school of Padua, especially not in the fourteenth century, but merely a broad movement of Italian Aristotelianism in which the university of Padua came to play a leading role during the sixteenth century; many philosophers listed by Renan as representatives of the Paduan school actually never lived in that city; the tradition that the Paduan Aristotelians were atheists and free-thinkers is mainly based on unverified anecdotes and insinuations and developed in France during the seventeenth and eighteenth century when the free-thinkers of that period were looking for forerunners whereas their orthodox opponents had no reason to defend the memory of thinkers who had tried to compromise between reason and faith in a way that was no longer considered permissible or possible by either side.

opposed or delayed by the humanists, as most historians of literature complain. Some humanists stressed the superiority of Latin, to be sure, but few if any of them seriously thought of abolishing the *volgare* in speech or writing. On the other hand, many humanists are found among the advocates of the *volgare*, and a great number of authors continued to write in both languages. Again, modern historians have tried to interpret as a struggle for existence what in fact was merely a rivalry between different forms of expression.[75]

The admirable development of the fine arts which is the chief glory of the Italian Renaissance did not spring from any exaggerated notions about the creative genius of the artist or about his role in society and culture. Such notions are the product of the Romantic movement and its eighteenth-century forerunners, and they were largely foreign to the Italian Renaissance. Renaissance artists were primarily craftsmen, and they often became scientists, not because their superior genius anticipated the modern destinies of science, but because certain branches of scientific knowledge, such as anatomy, perspective, or mechanics were considered as a necessary requirement in the development of their craft. If some of these artist-scientists were able to make considerable contributions to science, this does not mean that they were completely independent or contemptuous of the science and learning available in their own time. Finally, mathematics and astronomy made remarkable progress during the sixteenth century and assumed increasing importance in their practical applications, in the literature of the time, and in the curriculum of the schools and universities.

If this development did not immediately affect philosophy, this was due not to the stupidity or inertia of contemporary philosophers, but to the fact that physics or natural philosophy was considered as a part of philosophy and that there was almost no traditional link between the mathematical sciences and philosophy. Galileo was a professional student and teacher of mathematics and astronomy, not of philosophy. His claim that physics should be based on mathematics rather than on logic was not merely a novel idea as far as it went, but it revolutionized the very conceptions on which the curriculum of the schools and universities was based. It is hence quite understandable that he was opposed by the Aristotelian

[75] On the question of Latin and *volgare* as discussed by the humanists, see R. Sabbadini, *Storia del ciceronianismo*, 127–36. I do not agree with his presentation of the problem. The orations of Romolo Amaseo, and the similar one of Sigonius, were primarily defenses of Latin as a field of study, without any intention to abolish the *volgare*. We still need a history of the Italian literary language that would show its gradual expansion, at the expense of Latin and also of local dialects, according to the various regions of Italy as well as to the various branches of literary expression. The problem was formulated by Burckhardt (13th ed., p. 418).

physicists of his time who considered his method as an invasion of their traditional domain by the mathematicians. On the other hand, there is no evidence that Galileo met with any serious resistance within his own field of mathematics and astronomy in which he enjoyed the highest reputation and of which the main chairs were soon occupied by his pupils. If we want to understand and to judge these developments we must know the issues and the professional traditions of the later Middle Ages and of the Renaissance.

Modern scholarship has been far too much influenced by all kinds of prejudices, against the use of Latin, against scholasticism, against the medieval church, and also by the unwarranted effort to read later developments, such as the German Reformation, or French libertinism, or nineteenth-century liberalism or nationalism, back into the Renaissance. The only way to understand the Renaissance is a direct and, possibly, an objective study of the original sources. We have no real justification to take sides in the controversies of the Renaissance, and to play up humanism against scholasticism, or scholasticism against humanism, or modern science against both of them. Instead of trying to reduce everything to one or two issues, which is the privilege and curse of political controversy, we should try to develop a kind of historical pluralism. It is easy to praise everything in the past which happens to resemble certain favorite ideas of our own time, or to ridicule and minimize everything that disagrees with them. This method is neither fair nor helpful for an adequate understanding of the past. It is equally easy to indulge in a sort of worship of success, and to dismiss defeated and refuted ideas with a shrugging of the shoulders, but just as in political history, this method does justice neither to the vanquished nor to the victors. Instead of blaming each century for not having anticipated the achievements of the next, intellectual history must patiently register the errors of the past as well as its truths. Complete objectivity may be impossible to achieve, but it should remain the permanent aim and standard of the historian as well as of the philosopher and scientist.

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Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire orientales et slaves, vol. VII (1939–1944). New York: Éditions de l'Institut, H. Grégoire, 67 Riverside Drive, 1944. Pp. 563.

This volume presents the work of the famous Brussels Institute in America, where, under the presidency of M. Robert Werner and the vice-presidency of Professor Henri Grégoire, it was reconstituted after the military disaster of 1940 in the framework of the École libre des Hautes Études, under the New School for Social Research. The twenty-three articles composing it bear impressive testimony not only to the activity and range of this group of scholars but also to the beneficent results of the "entr'-aide", the "mutualité" of philologists and historians, of mediaevalists, classicists, and orientalists, the organization of which is stated by M. Grégoire, in his "Chronique de l'Institut" (pp. 473–492 of this volume), to have been one of the chief purposes of its founding. With what great success this purpose has been achieved is known to those privileged to attend, for example, M. Grégoire's Byzantine seminary or the seminary on *Le Dit d'Igor* of MM. Grégoire, Jakobson, Szeftel, and Vernadsky.

The present volume is dedicated to the memory of the orientalists and Slavic scholars who are among the martyrs of this war and whose obituaries (pp. 493–549) form one of the most tragic chronicles of our time. As an example of valor and achievement brutally cut off, let us cite the Belgian historian Henri Laurent (pp. 493–500) who was, in the words of M. Grégoire, "parmi les jeunes, sans distinction de nationalité, . . . humainement et scientifiquement le plus grand et le meilleur", who, though for twenty years a sufferer from tuberculosis, found the energy to produce a large body of work (the list of his publications comprises forty-two titles), and who died, May 28th, 1940, in his thirty-seventh year, when the ship taking him to England was torpedoed.

Since space is limited, only articles in the Byzantine field will be summarized here. The others will be listed at the end of this review.

W. H. and G. G. Buckler ("Dated Wall-Paintings in Cyprus," pp. 47–70) make a valuable contribution to the history of Byzantine painting by publishing inscriptions commemorating donors from eight churches in Cyprus. These inscriptions give the year of the erection or decoration, or sometimes both, of the church, and range from the twelfth to the sixteenth century. Photographs of many of the inscriptions and some of the paintings are included. A few misprints have crept into this excellent article. P. 56, l. 2, for οὗτος read οὗτος; l. 8, for Ἰουλίῳ read Ἰουλίῳ; p. 66, l. 5 of the second inscription, for οἱ read οἱ; in the caption on p. 65, for *north* read *south*. On p. 51, l. 4, δοξάσθαι seems to be a misprint for δοξάσαι. P. 58, l. 8, τοῦ, which is restored for the sake of the metre, should follow πηρὸς, otherwise φλογερου becomes a predicate. "Intercession" would be a better translation of πρεσβείαις than "messages" on p. 69, and the day of the month on p. 56 is the 4th, not the 1st.

S. H. Cross in a terse and eloquent article ("The Results of the Conversion of the Slavs from Byzantium", pp. 71–82) argues "that it was the good fortune of the Balkan and the Russian Slavs to have been converted from Byzantium rather than from the German west." He contrasts the treatment accorded the Western Slavs who "were not so much converted as enslaved and exterminated" with Byzantium's promotion of vernacular culture. The elements of Byzantine civilization that the Bulgarians adopted are enumerated, and the rapid absorption of Byzantine culture by the Russians is cited as proof of its vitality and power to inspire. It was the Tartar invasion that ended the intellectual advance of mediaeval Russia and the Tartar example that made the Russian ruling classes tyrannical and autocratic. It was, on the other hand, thanks to the extraordinary vitality of Byzantine culture that religious and social ideals survived in Russia, making her receptive to modern western civilization when it became accessible.

G. Levi Della Vida ("Le 'Stratagème de la vierge' et la traduction arabe du 'Pratum spirituale' de Jean Moschus," pp. 83–126) discusses a fragment of a late thirteenth or early fourteenth century Arabic manuscript belonging to the Theological Seminary of New Brunswick, New Jersey. It contains nine Christian legends of monks, nuns, and laymen, most of which are localized in Palestine or Sinai, among them the story of "The Virgin's Stratagem", other versions of which were discussed by Mr. Della Vida in *Byzantion*, XV, pp. 144 ff. The New Brunswick version seems to be the oldest so far discovered. Mr. Della Vida thinks it certain that the story originated in a Palestinian convent and quite possible that it was based on a real incident. He suggests that the New Brunswick fragment may be part of an expanded translation of the *Pratum Spirituale* of Johannes Moschus. The Arabic text and a translation of all nine stories in the fragment are appended to the article.

E. R. Hardy, Jr., ("A Fragment of the Works of the Abbot Isaias", pp. 127–140) publishes *Columbia Papyrus no. 553* containing on the verso a sixth-century deed of sale and on the recto forty-seven lines corresponding to *Orat.* IV, 6–7, of the abbot Isaias (died *ca.* 488 A.D.), one of the more moderate members of the monophysite party. The fragment, which is written lengthwise like a letter or legal document, consists of advice on a number of points touching the monastic life. This work had been published hitherto only in the Latin translation by P. F. Zini reprinted by Migne, *P. G.*, XL. I noted a number of misprints in the Greek text. In 1. 3, for ἐάσας read ἔασας (i.e., εἴασας); 6, for λογισμῶν read λογισμὼν (i.e., λογισμὸν); 21, for κατέχε read κάτεχε; 43, for ἀπό σου read ἀπὸ σοῦ; 44, for περισσότερόν σου read περισσότερον σοῦ. The expression σιωπῶντα εἰπεῖν (8–9), the form (or spelling?) δοῖς (*sic*) in 1. 46, and αὐτῷ in 1. 42 might have received comment. The following notes concern the translation. In 1. 12 the natural order of the words would make εὖ (if it belongs here at all; the critical note calls it uncertain) modify ἀλληγόρησον rather than ἀλληγορήσαντος. "Have not as yet ended the slavery of the evil passion of the body" seems a forced translation of 1. 24. "Have not completed

the subjection of the body to hardship" would be more in keeping with the usual meaning of κακοπάθεια; Zini's rendering, "corpus tuum nondum in servitutem redegisti", is substantially correct. I should prefer "since" to "because" in 1. 32, "with all his heart" to "in a whole heart" in 41, and "expedient" to "convenient" in 44 and 47 (cf. the Prayer Book's translation of the prayer of the third antiphon from the Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom: "Fulfil now, O Lord, the desires and petitions of thy servants as may be most expedient for them"—πρὸς τὸ συμφέρον). In 1. 18 of the deed of sale εὐλαβοῦς would be more exactly rendered by "pious"; the phrase, "of pious memory," is surely unobjectionable.

Ernest Honigmann ("Meridianus Episcopus", pp. 141–154), in a closely reasoned discussion of the eleventh novel of Justinian, shows that Justiniana Prima, which is mentioned in this novel, was situated not in Dardania, as is often assumed, but in Dacia Mediterranea, that its archbishop was not a metropolitan, but held a rank corresponding to that of the exarchs of the eastern dioceses, and that the *Meridianus episcopus* mentioned in the same decree was bishop, not of Mesembria, but of Meridium or Meridio, a town near the Timok which is perhaps to be identified with the ruins of Ravna.

In another article ("L'évêché phénicien de Porphyreon [Haifa]", pp. 381–394), Mr. Honigmann proves that the Phoenician bishopric of Porphyreon, known as early as 451 A.D., was not situated, as has hitherto been assumed, between Sidon and Beyrout, but corresponded to the modern town of Haifa. The bishopric was perhaps established by Photius of Tyre, who in 448–451 was hard put to it to hold his own against Juvenal of Jerusalem and Eustathius of Berytus, and may have reinforced his position by creating new bishoprics.

Roman Jakobson ("Saint Constantin et la langue syriaque", pp. 181–186) discusses a crux in the ninth-century Slavonic life of St. Constantine (Cyril)—the passage (ch. VIII) asserting that the saint found at Cherson a Gospel and Psalter written in Russian letters (rusĭskymi pisĭmeny) and a man who spoke this language and that by speaking with the man he learned the language and succeeded in deciphering the writing. A. Vaillant proposed reading surĭskymi (Syrian, i.e., Syriac) here and Suri (Syrians), with the majority of the MSS., instead of the variant Rusi (Russians) in ch. XV of the same life. Mr. Jakobson supports Vaillant's emendation by a number of arguments: (1) The short life of St. Cyril in the *Prolog* states that the saint knew four languages, Greek, Latin, Syriac (surĭsky), and Hebrew. (2) There is other evidence that Slavic-speaking scribes confused sur- (Syrian) with rus- (Russian). (3) St. Constantine's chief creation, the Glagolitic alphabet, includes many characters of Hebrew and, particularly, Samaritan origin, thus confirming the statements of the Slavonic life on his Hebrew and Samaritan studies. The Glagolitic *k* resembles the Syriac *kaph*; the question of possible Syriac traces in the Glagolitic alphabet ought to be examined. (4) Syrians are found on the shores of the Black Sea at an early date, and Constantine Porphyrogenitus mentions trade between Syria and the Russians. The Metropolitan

Michael the Syrian sent to Cherson by the Patriarch of Constantinople may have been sent by Photius rather than in Vladimir's time. These and like considerations show that there is nothing improbable in Constantine's finding a Syrian and Syriac books in Cherson.

Henry and Renée Kahane ("Mediterranean Bibliography", pp. 187–228) publish a bibliography on the subject of Italian loan-words in Modern Greek. This list, which contains 285 items conveniently grouped under eleven headings (for VI on p. 224 read XI) will at once become an indispensable tool for all specialists in Mediaeval and Modern Greek. Even the amateur whose reading of the modern language is so often hampered by the lack of adequate dictionaries will be benefited, for many individual words are noted, not only in the section devoted to them but also under "Dialects", "Phonetics and Morphology", etc. An index of all these words would have been an added boon; doubtless many users of the bibliography will make such an index for their own convenience.

Alexander H. Krappe ("Les Funérailles d'Alaric", pp. 229–240) points out parallels in Arabic and Jewish sources to the story of Alaric's burial beneath the River Busento, viz., the burial of the prophet Daniel beneath a tributary of the Tigris at Susa, that of Joseph beneath the Nile, and that of Jesus beneath a water-course in Judas's garden. Burial customs in the Congo, Colombia, and elsewhere show that such stories go back ultimately to primitive practice. The story attached itself to Alaric when, after an interval of eighty years or more, during which all memory of his real burial place was lost, the Ostrogoths began to inquire after his tomb. Other instances of the migration of oriental legends to South Italy are known. This particular one even reached the British Isles, where it was told both of St. Nectan and of Lear.

A hitherto unpublished contemporary account of the conquest of Cyprus in 1424–1426 by the armies of the Mamluk sultan Barsbey is translated from the *'Iḳd al Jumān* of Bedr ed-Din al-'Ainī by Mustafa M. Ziada (pp. 241–264). Al-'Ainī, an intimate friend of Sultan Barsbey, had access to official documents. His narrative of the conquest is detailed and his chronology particularly valuable. John L. La Monte adds a short introduction and copious notes comparing al-'Ainī's account with those of the other chroniclers and historians, Arabic, Cypriote, and Occidental.

Benjamin N. Nelson and Joshua Starr trace the sources and study the subsequent transformations of a seventh- or eighth-century Byzantine legend in which a pious merchant, to recoup his losses, borrows from a generous Jew and makes an ikon of Christ his surety. Differences in points of view, in law and commercial practice, between East and West and between the earlier and the later middle ages are shown in the variants of the tale. Its theological implications are considered. A comparison is made with the Shylock story. This article is a very illuminating study of commerce and ideas in the middle ages.

Adolphe Berger ("Pourquoi jus graeco-romanum?", pp. 357–368) argues against the application of the term "Graeco-Roman law" to the law of the Byzantine Empire of the period succeeding the publication of the second

edition of the Code. This term was given general currency in the nineteenth century by the great authority on Byzantine law, Zachariae von Lingenthal, but is much older than his time. It was used—and apparently introduced—by Johannes Leunclavius or Löwenklau (1533–1593), who probably meant by it nothing more than "Roman law translated into Greek." The general adoption of this term is to be deplored. A compound that can be made to link Roman law with Greek canon law is certainly not a happy one. A further and even graver objection is that in all other fields the term Graeco-Roman, while used in a variety of ways, is always applied to what is specifically not Byzantine. All classical scholars will agree with Mr. Berger that it is desirable that the Romanists should abandon their misleading and peculiar use of this not uncommon adjective. On p. 365, note 26, l. 3, for II read XI.

An outstanding example of co-operation between scholars working in different fields is furnished by S. Lieberman's article, "The Martyrs of Caesarea" (pp. 395–446). It was inspired by and presented to M. Grégoire's brilliantly conducted seminary on the history of the Christian persecutions. By the application of the principles of historical and philological criticism to the *Talmud*, Mr. Lieberman succeeds in discerning, amid the mass of legends in these writings, records of precisely dated events and reflections of the attitude of the Jews toward the Christian martyrs, toward the Samaritans, who conformed, though not under duress, with the demands of the Roman government, and toward Julian the Apostate. He examines as well the Jewish martyrdoms of Hadrian's time and discovers, in spite of resemblances in details to the later Christian martyrdoms, a fundamental difference in the legal basis of the two persecutions. It was a crime, in the eyes of the Roman government, to be a Christian, but it was no crime to be a Jew. What was prohibited, however, was the observance of specific Jewish rites. Four appendices follow the article; that on the occurrence of the word ἀνελήφθη in the Midrash and on the Jewish source of the title κοινωνός will be particularly interesting to students of the Montanist heresy.

Peter Charanis (pp. 447–450) contributes a note on the Short Chronicle no. 45 of the Lampros-Amantos Collection, and discusses in particular the notices dealing with negotiations for the union of the Churches in 1366–1371 and the account of Andronicus's revolt against his father in 1373.

Henri Grégoire ("Des dieux Cahu, Baraton, Tervagant . . . ", pp. 451–472) attacks and, it would seem, settles the vexed problem of the etymology of Tervagant (English Termagant, Italian Trivigante), the fictitious Moslem deity of the *Chanson de Roland* and the later chansons de geste, who became a favorite character of the miracle plays. His solution, unlike earlier ones, is firmly based on a methodical study of all the elements involved, viz. the variant spellings of the name in the MSS of the *Chanson de Roland*, the other gods attributed to the Moslems in the *Chanson*, the date of the redaction in which the Moslem gods are introduced, and the sources from which they are drawn. The tracing of these sources is a particularly intricate and acute piece of philological research. M. Grégoire concludes

that Trivigant, the reading of V^4, is to be preferred and that it goes back ultimately to Trivia, the name given the Sidonian Astarte in an old Latin version of *I Kings* xi, 5–7.[1] The immediate source, which accounts for the peculiar form of the name in the *Chanson*, is the phrase "*Triviam te*, Luna Diana, confiteor" of the sixth-century poet Dracontius (for the g M. Grégoire cites *fugit* for *fuit* and, conversely, *iuria* for *iurgia* in mediaeval MSS). The purpose of this and other curious divinities who make their first appearance in the last edition of the *Chanson*, c. 1090 A.D., was to justify the First Crusade by representing the monotheistic Moslems as pagans and idolaters.

The remaining articles are concerned, for the most part, with the oriental and Slavic fields. They are as follows: E. Bikerman, "Héliodore au Temple de Jérusalem", pp. 5–40; G. Bonfante, "Sabadios-Svoboda, le Libérateur, pp. 41–46; Roman Jakobson, "Some Russian Echoes of Czech Hagiography", pp. 155–180; Wolf Leslau, "Le rapport entre š et h en sémitique", pp. 265–272; A. Segrè, "The Stipulatio, its Original Meaning", pp. 273–282 (on Roman law); Henri Seyrig, "Sur une épigramme de Martial", pp. 283–288; George Vernadsky, "Svantovit, Dieu des Slaves baltiques", pp. 339–356; G. Bonfante, "Quelques Isoglosses gréco-germaniques", pp. 369–380 (on Indo-European linguistics).

Marjorie J. Milne,
Metropolitan Museum of Art

Seraphim G. Canoutas, J.G., *Christopher Columbus, A Greek Nobleman.* A Disquisition concerning the Origin and Early Life of the Great Discoverer and a Refutation of the Charges against him which have appeared in certain Recent Publications. New York: St. Marks Printing Corp., 1944, pp. XVI–288.

J'avais promis au regretté S. G. Canoutas, mon ami, d'examiner impartialement son livre et d'en rendre compte dans *Byzantion*. Je ne crois pas manquer à la piété en tenant cette promesse, d'autant plus que je n'avais pas caché à l'auteur, homme excellent et chéri de tous ceux qui le connaissaient, mon impression très sceptique à l'égard de sa thèse, et d'autant plus que son livre, muni d'une bibliographie assez complète du sujet, reproduit honnêtement les arguments de ses adversaires. En fait, Seraphim Canoutas aborde l'histoire de Colomb dans le même état d'esprit que les hérétiques de très bonne foi qui prétendent attribuer à d'autres que Shakespeare de Stratford l'oeuvre qui porte le nom de cet acteur. L'argument des anti-Stratfordiens, qu'ils soient Baconiens, Rutlandiens ou Stanleyiens, depuis notre Demblon belge jusqu'au professeur Lefranc, est toujours que William Shakespeare de Stratford, s'il était capable de jouer des tragédies ou des comédies, était en revanche bien incapable de composer des chefs-d'oeuvre, puisqu'il était à peu près completement illettré. De là le choix que font tous ces critiques de personnalités contemporaines, plus cultivées et selon eux plus

[1] As preserved in *Evagrii Altercatio Legis inter Simonem Judaeum et Theophilum Christianum* ed. Eduard Bratke (*Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*, vol. XLV, fasc. I, 1904). The date of the *Altercatio* is 440 A.D.

dignes de la réputation de Shakespeare. Pareillement M. Canoutas, sincère admirateur du Grand Amiral de la Mer Océane, ne peut se résoudre à l'identifier avec le fils de Domenico Colombo, cardeur de laine génois. Il n'y a qu'une différence entre les anti-Stratfordiens et l'écrivain grec. M. Canoutas ne nie pas que le découvreur de l'Amérique s'appelât Christophe Colomb, tout comme l'humble ouvrier génois. Comment le pourrait-il d'ailleurs? Mais, à part l'homonymie, notre ami affirme et répète avec beaucoup de conviction qu'il n'y a aucun rapport entre ces deux personnes. Christophe Colomb, l'ami des rois, qui donna un nouveau monde à Castille et à Léon, qui devint grand d'Espagne, et qui, comme Salomon, connaissait toutes choses, devait être noble et mieux que noble. Ici, M. Canoutas va beaucoup plus loin que les deux panégyristes du Gouverneur général des Iles de l'Inde, son fils Ferdinand et l'évêque Las Casas, lesquels se contentent, comme on sait, de dire que les parents du découvreur étaient probablement d'origine noble, mais réduits par les malheurs du temps à une extrême pauvreté. Et Ferdinand se défend de vouloir prouver que son père descendait d'un consul romain, Colon, mentionné par Tacite. M. Canoutas va plus loin même que Christophe en personne qui, dans une lettre célèbre se contente de dire mystérieusement: "Je ne suis pas le premier amiral de ma famille."

Sur quels arguments nouveaux, sur quelles découvertes feu Canoutas fondait-il sa prétention, à savoir que Christophe Colomb n'était autre qu'un prince byzantin, un membre de la famille impériale des Paléologues ou tout au moins de celle des Dishypati, apparentés à la dernière dynastie de Byzance? C'est très simple. Il y a eu deux Colombs avant Colomb, deux amiraux au service de la France, n'ayant entre eux aucune parenté et dont le second, dit Colomb le jeune, était effectivement un aventurier grec: c'est Georges le Grec, appelé encore Bissipat (en grec Dishypatos) qui signifie deux fois consul. Or, Christophe Colomb servit sous les ordres de ce dernier personnage qui était de sa famille. Donc Christophe Colomb n'était pas Génois, mais Grec.

Malheureusement ce raisonnement est faux. Il n'est pas prouvé du tout que le découvreur fût le moins du monde apparenté à l'amiral-aventurier Georges le Grec, ni même à vrai dire qu'il ait navigué avec lui. Cette parenté, j'y ai déjà fait allusion, ne se déduit que d'une vague allusion de Colomb lui-même, dont la phrase est certainement la source d'un passage de la biographie écrite par son fils Ferdinand.[1] Au contraire, les premiers témoignages contemporains, et M. Canoutas ne le dissimule pas, sont tous en faveur de l'origine génoise ou ligurienne, ce qui est la même chose. Qu'il me suffise de rappeler ce que dit Antonio Gallo, chancelier de cette fameuse banque de St. Georges, avec laquelle Colomb eut des relations d'affaires. Antonio Gallo sait que Christophe et Barthélemy Colomb étaient frères, qu'ils étaient plébéiens et ouvriers en laine dans leur jeunesse; qu'ils se consacrèrent ensuite à la navigation suivant la coutume de leur race, que

[1] Voyez l'histoire de Ferdinand Colomb, Chaps. 2 et 5. Je dois dire qu'un compte-rendu paru dans l'un des derniers fascicules (1945) de la *Hispanic American Historical Review* est plus favorable que le mien.

Barthélémy le plus jeune fut le premier à s'établir à Lisbonne et ainsi de suite. A vrai dire ce texte d'Antonio Gallo, Gallo, qui connut personnellement plusieurs membres de la famille de Colomb et que M. Canoutas appelle "this chronicler, well informed and trained in accuracy," suffirait à trancher la question ou plutôt à prévenir la question. Si l'on ajoute que les découvertes relativement récentes de Henri Harrisse et de Henry Vignaud nous ont fait connaître, d'après des actes authentiques tous les membres de la famille génoise des Colomb, confirmant ainsi, par des documents irréfutables le témoignage contemporain de Gallo, il ne reste plus qu'à conclure à la vanité de prétentions aristocratiques de Christophe et des siens, prétentions d'ailleurs bien tardives, bien vagues et bien modestes. Il est exact que Ferdinand proteste avec colère contre ce qu'il appelle les mensonges d'Augustin Justiniani, coupable d'avoir répété (ce que Ferdinand ne savait pas) la relation de Gallo. Mais cette protestation même prouve que Ferdinand considérait comme injurieuse l'imputation que Colomb "eût employé son temps dans sa jeunesse à un métier ou à des exercices mécaniques." C'est précisément à cause de ce préjugé, qu'il a la faiblesse de ne pas cacher, que le fils de Colomb a refusé de reconnaître dans ses voyages en Ligurie les membres de la vraie famille du grand navigateur encore occupée de métiers ignobles à son gré.

En d'autres termes, le livre intéressant et curieux de M. Canoutas pêche par deux défauts rédhibitoires. Il a sacrifié les témoignages directs et contemporains à un préjugé nobiliaire et national et il n'a pas tenu compte d'une considération décisive. Pourquoi, entiché de noblesse comme étaient Colomb et son fils, n'auraient-ils pas, si vraiment Colomb eût été cousin d'un Paléologue, proclamé hautement cette impériale origine? Il est puéril de dire qu'une ascendance byzantine ne pouvait être alors avouée à cause du schisme grec. Comme si les réfugiés grecs en Occident, convertis au catholicisme, avaient rougi le moins du monde de leur race! Comme si El Greco lui-même n'avait pas signé ses chefs d'oeuvre en grec!

H. G.

MARTIN J. HIGGINS. *The Persian war of the Emperor Maurice* (582–602). Part I. The chronology, with a brief history of the Persian calendar. Diss., The Catholic University of America. Byzantine Studies, Vol. I. (Washington: The Catholic University of America Press, 1939.)

This dissertation, the topic of which was suggested by the lamented Ernst Stein, is an extremely careful study on complicated chronological problems and a very valuable contribution to our knowledge of the Persian calendar or, more correctly, of the calendar in Sasanian times. It is intended to be the first part of a comprehensive study on the Persian war of the Byzantine Emperor Maurice. Parts II and III, which are said to be ready for publication, will deal with the sources and the narrative of events.

In the first chapter of the published first part a very clear exposition of the difference between the vague, movable civil year and the fixed religious (*vihēžakīk*) year is given, partly on the basis of S. H. Taqizade's article "Some chronological data relating to the Sasanian period", *Bull. of the*

School of Or. Stud., IX (1937), 125 ff. In the meantime Taqizade published a treatise *Old Iranian Calendars* (London: Prize Publication Fund, vol. XVI, 1938), giving only the conclusions of a book written in Persian which was going through the press in 1938. In Higgins' account of the religious year only the important passage of Zātsparm is referred to (p. 6 f.), though there are still other passages in the Pahlavi literature (Bundahishn, Dēnkart) in which the religious year is mentioned (cf. also West, *Sacr. Books of the East*, V, 92, and XLVII, Introd., p. xlv, with a wrong etymology of *vihēžakīk*).

However, the main part of the first chapter serves the purpose of ascertaining the exact dates of the accession of Khusrov II., the contemporary of the Emperor Maurice, and of the coronation of Bahrām (VI) Čōbēn. Whereas, according to the prevailing opinion, the coronation of Bahrām could not have occurred before June 27, 590, the author demonstrates that the detailed information furnished by Theophylact, from which it can be concluded that this event occurred already in the spring of 590, is strikingly supported by the date given in Firdousi's Shahnama: the day Hōr (i.e., Khor, the eleventh day) of the month Ādhar, which corresponds to March 9 in the Julian calendar. As the coronation must have taken place on one of the Fravardīghān days, the New Year's festival, it was the month Ādhar of the civil year which corresponded to the month Fravardīn of the religious year. There is, however, a discrepancy as to the days. For they are expected to be the same, the eleventh, in both calculations. However, the eleventh of Fravardīn cannot be taken into consideration, as the Fravardīghān comprises the five epigomenae and the first 6 days of Fravardīn, so that the Great Naurōz must have occurred at the latest on Fravardīn 6. According to the opinion of the author, this discrepancy can be explained only under the presupposition that the civil year had advanced five days ahead of the religious year, because the five epagomenae had been suppressed in the civil but maintained in the religious calendar. The reason for this anomalous procedure might have been, according to the author, the fact that the intercalary days were regarded by the Persians as of very ill omen and that even on the Nauröz the king abstained from discussing any matter, fearing lest something unpleasant should come of it and govern the whole year. "The Fravardīghān was, therefore, the most unpropitious moment possible for anyone to inaugurate a critical struggle and the epagomenae were probably omitted by mutual consent. On the other hand, it may be surmised that the Fravardīghān was too sacred to be entirely neglected in any year, and that a compromise was reached. It was observed in the religious, and disregarded only in the civil year" (pp. 9 ff.).

Though the Shahnama in general is very far from representing a source of historical facts, the mentioned date, the day Hör of the month Ādhar, makes the impression of being a reliable historical date, and its correctness seems, in fact, to be fully proved by the author's satisfactory explanation (pp. 15 ff.) of the discrepancy between the Armenian and the Persian calendar (difference of five days), by his fixing of the date of Mani's death:

February 24, 273 (not 276), by giving evidence of the use of the Persian calendar in the Syriac acts of the Persian martyrs.

These new results are interesting and very valuable. They lead to a revision of Noeldeke's table of the Persian New Year's days (Tabari, p. 436, Anhang B) for all the years previous to 590, and the dates calculated on the basis of the omission of the epigomenae in 590 are presented in the "Revised Table of the Persian New Year's Day" (p. 22).

The fundamental statements of the first chapter furnish the basis for clarifying the partly difficult and obscure problems of the chronology of the Persian wars of the Emperor Maurice which are dealt with in chapters II, III and IV of the dissertation, the dates being summarized in a chronological table, p. 72 f. It is not possible to give here a detailed account of the results. It may be sufficient to say that they seem to me mostly convincing, while on the other hand we are sometimes given solutions which are still incomplete and mere conjectures. On the whole, the dissertation can justly claim to represent an important progress beyond one part of the chronological calculations contained in Noeldeke's still indispensable and invaluable Tabari translation, which has been one of the main sources of information for the author. Besides that it has to be acknowledged that this first work of Higgins gives evidence of a most careful, conscientious and exhaustive study of the Greek sources and of translations of the Oriental sources, and of sound and cautious judgment. It is only regrettable that, owing to his lack of the knowledge of oriental languages, Arabic and Persian words are presented in quite incorrect forms. Taking "the liberty . . . of substituting . . . the less scientifically transcribed forms of the [Persian] day- and month-names . . . for the sake of consistency" (p. 7, n. 9) is inadmissible. Names like "Esfendermuz" and "Azur" do not exist at all. In the passage quoted from the Shahnama, p. 10, n., the first word *ba-ādhar* is badly reproduced in original letters and in the transliteration: *b'adhr* (sic!). Arabic *Hijra* appears in the form *Hegira*. Finally, it is not to be understood why the book-titles, though contained in the "List of Sources and Works Cited," are repeated in full length in the notes, and why in the "List" extremely long title-pages like that of Macan's Shahnama ($8\frac{1}{2}$ lines) are reproduced from the first to the last word.

Bernhard Geiger.

SAUL LIEBERMAN, *Greek in Jewish Palestine. Studies in the Life and Manners of Jewish Palestine in the II–IV Centuries C. E.* New York: The Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 5702–1942. IX pages de préface, 207 pages.

Cet ouvrage intéressera, malgré son sujet en apparence très spécial et limité, plus d'une catégorie de lecteurs. On peut l'envisager, en effet, de trois ou quatre points de vue différents. Tout d'abord, c'est une notable contribution à la connaissance du grec hellénistique, de la κοινή, dont l'étude a fait de si grands progrès depuis l'apparition des premiers papyrus, et depuis que le grec médiéval et moderne est consulté à propos des problèmes du grec biblique. M. Lieberman est, en somme, le premier savant qui,

d'une manière systématique et avec une méthode excellente, rapproche, du grec papyrologique, si l'on peut dire, ou si l'on préfère, du grec commun de l'époque romaine, les traces nombreuses que cette même langue courante a laissées dans la littérature talmudique. En second lieu, l'ouvrage dont nous rendons compte fait l'histoire psychologique et sociale de ces emprunts grecs. On sait combien l'examen approfondi des éléments étrangers du vocabulaire d'une langue quelconque est utile à l'histoire de la culture. Or, le plus important chapitre peut-être de l'histoire universelle demeure celui qui est consacré, ou qui devrait être consacré, à l'hellénisation plus ou moins complète, plus ou moins profonde, plus ou moins superficielle du monde oriental, et en particulier du monde sémitique. Malgré d'excellents travaux, il faut bien reconnaître que nous connaissons encore assez mal les modalités de la symbiose entre Grecs et Sémites dans les pays de langue araméenne, notamment en Palestine. Les conceptions les plus différentes et les plus opposées prévalent à cet égard dans le grand public et même parmi les érudits. Il semble bien que les Talmudistes modernes, par exemple, n'apprécient pas à sa vraie valeur l'importance de l'influence grecque dans la vie juive à l'époque romaine. M. Lieberman, lui, est convaincu, et avec raison, du caractère vraiment universel de cette influence, qui pénétrait tous les compartiments du vocabulaire et se faisait sentir dans la vie sacrée comme dans la vie profane, dans la vie intellectuelle comme dans la vie matérielle. Il commence par alléguer un texte décisif, péremptoire de Rabban Simeon, fils de Rabban Gamaliel, le patriarche: "There were a thousand young men in my father's house, five hundred of whom studied the law, while the other five hundred studied Greek wisdom". Ainsi, dès le début du second siècle de notre ère, dès le temps des Antonins, il y avait en Palestine, autour du chef de la religion juive et en quelque sorte dans le saint des saints, une véritable université grecque, dont les élèves étaient aussi nombreux que les étudiants en théologie mosaïque. Si le patriarche lui-même était "philhellène", par amour de la science grecque, ou plutôt, comme on nous le dit, par opportunisme ("permission was given to the house of Rabban Gamaliel to teach their children Greek owing to their relation with the Roman government," lit-on dans *Tosephta*), on peut imaginer la vogue de la langue et de la littérature grecque dans des milieux plus laïques ou si l'on veut plus profanes. Mais M. Lieberman (à tous seigneurs tout honneur) a tenu à prouver par de nombreux exemples que les rabbins eux-mêmes étaient profondément versés dans la langue et la littérature grecques. Particulièrement intéressants sont les jeux de mots grecs de Rabbi Abbahu, chef de l'école rabbinique de Césarée. La chose est d'autant plus remarquable qu'en général les rabbins condamnaient le calembour, le rangeant dans la catégorie damnable des propos oiseux. Il est très vrai qu'en revanche, des docteurs comme R. Hiyya b. Abba et R. Simeon ben Abba ne montrent, dans les propos que l'on rapporte d'eux, aucune trace d'influence grecque, bien qu'ils fussent tous deux, comme Rabbi Abbahu, disciples de Rabbi Johanan. M. Lieberman conclut en distinguant deux tendances: celle des docteurs qui vivaient dans des milieux hellénisés comme Césarée et qui étaient, en quelque sorte, des hommes du

monde—et les rabbins opposés à la culture grecque Mais il observe justement que les anti-hellénistes Rabbi Hiyya et Rabbi Simeon ben Abba étaient d'origine babylonienne: "the Babylonian scholars who migrated to Palestine did not ordinarily acquire the foreign language", tandis que les rabbins hellénistes comme R. Eleazar allaient jusqu'à citer, dans la synagogue, des proverbes grecs en grec, *et s'abstenaient de traduire*, ce qui implique que tous leurs auditeurs comprenaient le grec. Le fait était connu; mais on s'était efforcé de lui retirer toute signification en affirmant que certains prédicateurs "used Greek words in order to boast before the public; in reality the audience did not understand it, but were impressed by it." I. Loew, par exemple, dénonce à ce propos une sorte de manie pédante: l'usage souvent massif de mots grecs prouverait le mauvais goût des prédicateurs et de leurs auditeurs. M. Lieberman s'inscrit en faux contre cette étrange opinion. "To maintain this view means to do an injustice both to the rabbis and to the historical truth; the Greek language took hold of all classes among all the nations in the Mediterranean world. The Jews were no exception in this respect. We have already seen how deeply Greek penetrated into all the classes of Jewish society in Palestine. The rabbis spoke to the people in their language, and if in the midst of their Aramaic speeches they often inserted Greek words and expressions, they had very good reasons for it. Our Talmudic dictionaries overlooked the very important fact that the rabbis took whole sentences from Greek proverbs current among the people, from Greek legal documents, literature, and similar sources." Je renvoie à l'excellente discussion des pages 39 à 43, qui me parait avoir entièrement élucidé un curieux passage rapportant un commentaire de Rabbi Berechia (IVe siècle). A propos de Genèse, XII, 17, où Dieu frappa Pharaon et sa maison de grandes plaies, le rabbin emploie en effet trois mots grecs *ματρῶνα, σῶμα, ἐτόλμησεν*. Sa phrase a l'air d'être écrite en un jargon macaronique, et de justifier la critique de Loew. Mais M. Lieberman a bien vu qu'il est fait allusion ici au statut légal de la matrone romaine: "in ius vocanti matronam corpus eius attingere non permiserunt" (ceci d'après Valerius Maximus). Ce témoignage est complété par la novelle 134 de Justinien qui dit: *καὶ σωματικαῖς ποιναῖς αὐτὸν καθυποβάλλεσθαι . . . ἐπειδὴ πρόσωπον ἐλεύθερον ὑπὲρ χρέους ἐτόλμησε κατασχεῖν*.

M. Lieberman conclut: "R. Berechia did not preach in Greek, he only quoted part of the law in its original. But the hearers who knew Greek and were aware of the language of the law certainly appreciated R. Berechia's admirable interpretation: they caught the play of words associated with the biblical verse and the law; they could have imagined they were listening to R. Berechia as he said in Greek: *καὶ ἤπτετο* (version d'Aquila) *ὁ κύριος τοῦ Φαραὼ . . . ἁφαῖς* (version d'Aquila) *μεγάλαις* (Gen., XII, 1F)—*σωματικαῖς ποιναῖς καθυπεβλήθη, ἐπειδὴ ἐτόλμησε ματρώνης σώματος ἅψασθαι*.

Cette petite dissertation si convaincante, si instructive, n'est qu'un exemple choisi presqu'au hasard parmi une bonne centaine. Il faut rendre à M. Lieberman cette justice qu'aucun des problèmes qu'il a successivement abordés n'était facile à résoudre, même pour un "classiciste" con-

sommé. Presque toujours, en effet, les mots ou les expressions grecques cités par les rabbins sont tirés de contextes assez abscons, que les "instruments" de travail ordinaires ne permettent pas de retrouver. C'est pourquoi, je l'avoue, une première lecture du livre prodigieusement érudit de M. Lieberman laisse au philologue et à l'historien des doutes qu'un examen plus approfondi dissipe. Exemple, cette invective à l'Empire romain (Lieberman, p. 45) פגי פילאי קקיסכאתי = παγὶ παλαιὰ κακέσχατε. Lequel d'entre nous, hellénistes, ne regimbe d'abord contre une pareille transcription? Qui sait que παγίς est un équivalent de πόρνη, courtisane? Notre talmudiste, lui, a su retrouver cette expression, en quelque sorte technique, dans un fragment du comique athénien Amphis et dans Lucien. Et cette jolie trouvaille une fois faite, il était naturel qu'il se souvînt de l'Apocalypse de S. Jean XVII,1, où Rome est appelée "la grande courtisane." Plus jolie peut-être encore est l'identification du superlatif composé κακέσχατος, jusqu'à présent un ἅπαξ, et même moins qu'un ἅπαξ, puisqu'il a disparu de la plus récente édition de Liddell & Scott. Conclusion de M. Lieberman qu'il faut accepter malgré qu'on en ait: "a superlative like κακέσχατος is indeed in perfect harmony with the spirit of the comics, the oriental wisdom literature, and the κοινή, which is naturally what the Greek of the rabbis represents." On ne saurait mieux dire et nous ne ferons qu'une toute petite réserve. Ces trois lignes pourraient servir de refrain à tous les jolis couplets philologiques dont le livre est fait; mais précisément, dans le cas amusant qui vient de nous occuper, je ne suis pas tout à fait sûr qu'il s'agisse bien de κοινή. Je pense plutôt que le mot παγίς "piège, trappe," dans le sens de "courtisane", et le composé κακέσχατος sont des atticismes. Ils ne se rencontrent que chez les Comiques et chez l'atticiste Lucien. Le rabbin qui a lancé à la face de Rome cette double insulte était un érudit délicat. L'invective est mordante, mais elle est, je crois, littéraire plus que populaire, livresque plutôt que vulgaire. En tout cas, on voit que les rabbins n'hésitaient pas à se servir de textes grecs très profanes. *A fortiori* devaient-ils, à l'occasion, dans leur exégèse des textes sacrés, recourir à des interprétations grecques. Ici encore l'opinion courante est que les rabbins, de Palestine avaient horreur de la Septante, que les Chrétiens avait monopolisée. Mais il y avait d'autres versions, dont M. Lieberman (p. 47–67) trouve des traces assez nombreuses. "The rabbis drew from an old Greek translation of the Bible which widely diverged from the Septuaginta" (je renvoie par exemple aux pages 56, 58 sur les mots grecs qui désignent toutes les pierres du pectoral du Grand Prêtre, Exode, XXVIII, 17–20). Le chapitre que nous analysons, "The Greek of the Synagogue", se termine par un très brillant rapprochement, presqu'aussi inattendu que l'interprétation de παγίς. Un éloge funèbre de rabbi Zira rappelle en effet l'épitaphe de la courtisane Laïs. Que l'on compare: "The land of Shinear [Babylonia] conceived and bore, the land of choice [Palestine] brought up her darling. Woe is me, said Rakkath [Tiberias]. For she lost her precious gem" avec des vers que nous a conservés Athénée (XIII, 589b): ἣν ἐτέκνωσεν Ἔρως, θρέψεν δὲ Κόρινθος . . .

Les chapitres suivants sont intitulés "Gentiles and Semi-Proselytes",

"Pleasures and Fears", "Oaths and Vows," "Greek and Latin Proverbs in Rabbinic Literature," "Misunderstood Expressions and Words", "X and O", et d'excellents index terminent le concis et dense volume. Nous l'avons, croyons-nous, suffisamment analysé et caractérisé pour donner au lecteur pleine confiance, non seulement dans les conclusions générales de ces chapitres, toujours rédigées en termes judicieux et modérés et j'ose dire libéraux,[1] mais dans la méthode appliquée à la solution d'une foule de passionnantes énigmes. L'auteur ne prétend pas avoir toujours deviné juste. Il sait mieux que personne les difficultés de sa tâche. Il en connaît les aléas. Rien de plus difficile d'abord que d'établir philologiquement la graphie originale de mots ou de suites de mots corrompus dans un texte hébraïque. Tant de substitutions de lettres sont possibles que le calcul des probabilités nous force à compter avec un nombre excessif d'hypothèses. Mais je doute que personne puisse réussir mieux que M. Lieberman à ce jeu délicat, qui pour lui n'est pas un jeu de hasard mais d'adresse et de savoir multiple et précis. Je le répète, ce n'est pas dans les Encyclopédies et encore moins dans les Lexiques et dans les Manuels qu'il trouve les mots et les choses qui lui permettent d'élucider tant de passages d'une irritante obscurité. Je n'ai pas à juger autrement qu'à ses résultats sa souveraine maîtrise de l'hébreu et de l'araméen. Mais je dois proclamer mon admiration sincère pour son sens du grec, de tous les grecs. Il utilise merveilleusement et les papyrus et les apocryphes et la littérature martyrologique ainsi qu'en général l'hagiographie. Il connaît l'épigraphie grecque païenne, chrétienne et juive. Il est parfaitement chez lui dans les écrits des Parémiographes, comme dans le folk-lore grec moderne. Et à chaque instant il étend son enquête à la littérature latine et non point seulement aux oeuvres juridiques. Enfin, et c'est le cas de le dire, *last not least*, il trouve beaucoup à glaner dans le champ de la superstition, de la magie, de l'astrologie dont les classiques anciens et modernes sont sans cesse sous sa main. Il est presque incroyable que dans la masse de conjectures qu'il a été amené à faire pour élucider des textes parfois désespérés, on n'en trouve à peu près aucune qui soit évidemment téméraire ou fausse. Il semble que ce doive être désormais un jeu d'enfant pour M. Lieberman de nous donner le livre qui remplacera les *Lehnwörter im Talmud* de Krauss et l'*Index* de Loew, que mon maître Karl Krumbacher et beaucoup d'autres hellénistes et byzantinistes n'ont jamais manié sans force hochements de tête et haussements d'épaule. Avec Lieberman enfin un vaste et fécond champ d'études envahi par beaucoup de mauvaises herbes et surtout d'herbes folles a été définitivement reconquis par la science et pour la science. Et par science je n'entends pas seulement la théologie et la philologie, j'entends l'histoire.

Henri Grégoire.

[1] Voyez par exemple la conclusion excellente de "Gentiles and Semi-Proselytes": "The rabbis were not blind: nay, they refused to close their eyes to reality. They observe attentively and study carefully the non-Jewish hellenized world; they were quite conscious and well aware of it; they knew its shortcomings and failures. But they never denied the great virtue of the individuals in that world."

A very scholarly review of this book appeared (in Hebrew) in the journal *Zion*, X, no. 3/4 (Jerusalem, 1945), pp. 197 ff., from the pen of the lamented Hans Levi. I take pleasure in observing that in his appraisal of Lieberman's book the reviewer underlines the same striking examples as I do. He rightly calls Lieberman's discoveries "precious pearls salvaged from Talmudic and Midrashic sources." Hans Levi, almost in the same words as I used, "hopes that Liebermann will give us a new and corrected dictionary of Latinisms and Grecisms in the Rabbinic literature, a dictionary which will free us of the pains involved in the use of the Krauss-Löw dictionary." But Hans Levi, a high authority on Jewish epigraphy, does not limit himself to this praise. He fully bears out the author's conclusions, using the epigraphical argument, to this effect (for we quote in full this worthwhile passage): "Meanwhile a second undertaking, namely the collection of Judeo-Greek inscriptions in Palestine and the whole Near-East is enhancing the illumination of the study of Greek in Palestine during the Talmudic period. . . . It is a fact that of the 209 inscriptions that were found in Beth- Sh'arim, 175 were Greek, while only 34 were Hebrew Aramaic. Of the epitaphs which were found in Jaffa, 60 were Greek and seven were Hebrew or Aramaic. To be sure, Jaffa was a port-city, and most of its inhabitants were non-Jews and hence the predominating environmental influence; but Beth- Sh'arim was quite a Jewish city and consequently we infer that Greek was the language spoken there. Some scholars have objected to this conclusion on the ground that the use of Greek in epitaphs was merely the "mode" amongst Eastern-Hellenists; the latter, they say, sought thereby to flaunt their "high cultural achievement," and the Jews of Palestine followed the fashion. This contention dissolves upon examination of these inscriptions of Beth-Sh'arim and elsewhere in Palestine: the orthography is devoid of any signs of "culture," the inscriptions being replete with orthographical errors. Anyone capable of differentiating between culture and popularity can see that the inscriptions are a genuine reflection of the state of the popular knowledge of Greek current there at the time. That is to say, there was a command of the spoken language, but a complete lack of polish in Greek culture. The poetic epitaph composed in memory of Leontius in elegant rhymes proves that singular individuals there imbibed Greek culture as well. On the other hand, we must stress that a command of spoken Greek means not only a knowledge of law, business, political administration, etc., but also a familiarity with folklore, proverbs, etc. Thus the conclusions that Lieberman has made from Talmudic and Midrashic evidence are independently borne out.

HENRI GRÉGOIRE

V. MINORSKY, *Roman and Byzantine Campaigns in Atropatene, BSOAS*, 1944, XI/2 (1944), pp. 243–265.

In this paper the author intends to revise the complex problem first studied by Rawlinson concerning the sites of Gazaca, Vera, the fire-temple Ādhar Gush(n)āsp, Phraata (Praaspa) etc., surveying them again and adding some new evidence derived from recently published Oriental sources. The results of his studies confirm the usual opinion concerning the site of the following chief localities:

Gazaca = today Laylān (identified by Monteith in 1832),

The fire-temple Ādhar Gush(n)āsp, ash-Shīz or al-Birka of the Arab geographers, = the actual Takht-i Sulaymān (Rawlinson in 1840),

Βαλάραθος, Βαρασρὼθ ποταμὸς in the canton Vararat (of Armenian sources) = *Barāz-rōdh (Pers.), Vālarān (Arab.), the actual Jaghatū river (G. Hoffmann in 1880),

Phraata or Praaspa = today Marāgha (V. Minorsky, *Enc. Isl.*, s.v. *M.*, 1930).

In the present paper the opinions of M.'s predecessors are again discussed, confirmed or rejected and completed in an almost exhaustive and convincing manner. Since the results obtained are based not only upon probable deductions from historical accounts, but also upon strong archaeological evidence, to which M. could add his own knowledge of the country, they possibly will prove true, even if the interpretation of certain ancient texts by modern scholars is untenable. M. always duly acknowledges the merits of those to whom he is indebted as pioneers in that field; but their studies being as usual of unequal value, they should have been scrutinized more rigorously in certain cases. The author rightly stresses the importance of G. Hoffmann's work. As to the results of J. Markwart's research, a prudent reserve would have been preferable. My doubts refer particularly to the way how he and others value, interpret, and often arbitrarily change certain ancient texts. It is apparently a consequence of the excessive application of modern "Quellenkritik", that scholars often take the average ancient author to be an imbecile who thoughtlessly copies his prototype though ignoring the real meaning of that what he writes; his modern interpreter is therefore not only authorized, but even obliged to remodel utterly the text in question until it says exactly that what the modern Procrustes desires to read.

The "restoration" of a passage of Strabo[1], discussed on p. 260 f., is very characteristic of that procedure. The traditional text of the description of Gaza(ca) there runs as follows: Βασίλειον δ' αὐτῶν θερινὸν μὲν ἐν πεδίῳ ἱδρυμένον Γάζα καὶ ἐν φρουρίῳ ἐρυμνῷ Οὐέρα ὅπερ Ἀντώνιος ἐπολιόρκησε κατὰ τὴν ἐπὶ Παρθυαίους στρατείαν. Minorsky, referring to those words of Strabo, remarks: "Unfortunately the decisive passage is corrupt"; thereupon he surveys the different attempts to "cure" it. It is in fact somewhat awkward to refer to two localities as "the summer residence" instead of "residences"; Strabo probably first mentioned only one of them, to which he later added

[1] Strab., XI, 13, 3, p. 523 C; ed. H. L. Jones, *Strabo's Geography, vol. V, Loeb Class. Libr.* (London and New York 1928), p. 304.

the other without changing correctly the whole sentence. The Greek editor Koraïs still restricted himself to correct *levi manu* Οὐέρα into Οὐέρᾳ, but that seemed far from being sufficient. In a note of his German translation of Strabo Groskurd remarked[2] that the Parthian kings did not need two summer quarters; besides he argued that the words θερινὸν μέν required a corresponding χειμερινὸν δέ. By inserting those two words into the text he changed it in such a sense that Vera became the winter quarters. But his addition, introduced, as it seems, in all subsequent editions, did not satisfy Markwart, who wanted rather the hot city of Gazaca to be the winter quarters and therefore left blank the name of the summer residence[3]; besides, he accepted the emendation of Γάζα καὶ ἐν to Γάζακα σὺν made by W. Fabricius.[4] Many years later he had found out that Phraaspa was the wanted name of that summer residence, which he inserted in the blank. Moreover, he inverted the whole sentence in order to remove the (probably colder) stronghold of Vera from the neighbourhood of the hot city of Gazaca by placing it near Phraaspa.[5] Minorsky remarks, it is true, that "this second restoration . . . takes considerable liberties with the text"; he nevertheless agrees both with Groskurd in judging necessary the addition of χειμερινὸν δὲ and with Markwart in supplying as name of the winter residence "Phraata" or "Phraaspa".

It is strange that it was a translator of the whole *Geography* of Strabo who introduced the quoted words in his text, which would imply that during the whole year the Parthian Kings used to stay in Media Atropatene. This assumption would be in plain contradiction with an express statement of Strabo, repeated several times, viz., that during the winter those Kings resided at Seleucia-Ctesiphon.[6] By the way, Groskurd made no objection to Strabo's remark in another passage that their summer residences were both at Ecbatana and in Hyrcania, though these words add still more summer resorts to those mentioned.[7] Other sources confirm Strabo's statement: according to Ṭabarī[8], Hormizd, the son of Khosrav Anūshirvān, "used to pass the summer in Māh (Media)", and Khosrav Parvēz "used to spend the winter at Madā'in, the summer somewhere between Madā'in and Hamadhān"[9]. The same King stayed the winter of A.D. 559 in the cities of Beth Armāyē (Βηθαρμαΐς), i.e., the

[2] Strabons *Erdbeschreibung*, verdeutscht von Chr. Gottl. Groskurd, II (Berlin and Stuttgart 1831), 422, n. 1.

[3] Jos. Marquart (Markwart), *Ērānšahr*, p. 108.

[4] W. Fabricius, *Theophanes von Mytilene* (Strassburg, 1898), p. 228.

[5] J. Markwart, "A Catalogue of the provincial capitals of Persia", *Analecta Orientalia*, III (Rome, 1931), 109.

[6] Strab., XI, 13, 1, p. 522 C; ed Jones, V, 302. XVI, 1, 16, p. 743 C; ed. Jones, VII (1930), 218.

[7] Strab. XI, 13, 1.6. XVI, 1, 16, p. 522.524.743 C; ed. Jones, V, 302.308. VII, 218.

[8] Th. Nöldeke, *Tabari* (Leiden, 1879), p. 265. Cf. also G. Hoffmann, *Auszüge aus syr. Akten pers. Märtyrer* (Leipzig, 1880), p. 37: "when the King. according to custom, had left Seleucia and Ctesiphon in summer. . . ."

[9] Nöldeke, *loc. cit.*, p. 352–353.

northern 'Irāq[10]. All those testimonies show that we better resist to the desire to find at any price a winter residence in the quoted passage of Strabo; as antithesis to θερινὸν μέν the beginning of the following sentence διέχει δὲ τοῦτο τοῦ 'Αράξου ποταμοῦ κτλ. is sufficient. Though it may be regrettable that there is no more any mention of Phraata in Strabo's text if we abandon all those tempting "emendations", yet there can be no doubt that Antonius occupied "many populated places", as war bulletins would style it today, among which Strabo may have chosen others than Plutarch and Dio Cassius. It is even not quite impossible that Vera, being the Persian word (*vara*) for "stronghold", means Phraata, for the antithesis "in the plain"—"the elevated fort" could possibly imply that the latter was in a certain distance from the former in spite of the somewhat odd singular βασίλειον including both of them. Also the change of Γάζα καὶ into Γάζακα is not absolutely cogent, since "Gazae" is attested as name of that city by Pliny[11].

The interpretation of the passages of Georgius Pisides and Theophanes concerning Heraclius's campaigns (Minorsky, p. 248–250, 256–257) seems not quite satisfactory either. It is true that the place where the fire-temple (Ādhar Gushnāsp) was situated at that time, is called Θεβαρμαΐς by Theophanes as well as by his translator Anastasius Bibliothecarius. As G. Hoffmann remarked and Minorsky repeats, the same place is mentioned by others, e.g., Menander Protector (Βιθαρμαΐς), Theophylactus Simocatta (Βεραμαΐς), Evagrius[12]. But Minorsky omits mentioning the ingenious supposition by G. Hoffmann[13], viz., that the ninth century chronicler Theophanes confused on that occasion the name of the city east of Gazaca with that of the province Βηθαρμαΐς, in Syriac Bēth Armāyē, which he wrote with metathesis Θεβαρμαΐς. Hoffmann quite justly added that "the name of the province is sometimes used instead of that of its capital [i.e., Betharmaīs here means Ctesiphon], like χωρίον 'Αδαρβιγάνων instead of Γάνζακα, Procop., *b.P.*, II, 24"[14]. He could have added several other instances, e.g., Heraclius's letter as quoted by Patriarch Nicephorus[15]: μέχρι τοῦ 'Αδορβαδιγάνου καλουμένου τόπου, or the passage of Ibn Faqīh, p. 246, quoted by Minorsky, p. 257$_7$. Minorsky applies all those toponyms like Bethar-

[10] *Acta S. Sirae* (in Syriac: Shīrīn), ch. 24, *Acta Sanct.* Maii, t. IV (May 18), (Antwerp, 1685), p. 182^D: εἰς τὰς πόλεις τοῦ Βηθαρμαῆς παραχειμάζει κατὰ συνήθειαν. Afterwards the King went via 'Αλουακῶν and the τόπος 'Ρεσανκουσάδων to Καρσὰ τὸ μέγα (Kars in Persarmenia?). The *Acta Sirae* are so little known that F. C. Andreas in his long article "Aluaka" (*R. E.*, I, col. 1698–1704) quotes Ptolemy (*Geogr.*, VI, 2, 10) as only author mentioning that city, the actual Bash Qal'e in the district Albāq. The other name probably should be written Ρεσανκουβάδων, rendering rather a Syriac Rōshan-Quvādh than Rōshan-Kusrō [n], as G. Hoffmann suggested (*Auszüge*, p. 265, n. 2088, though mentioning the attestation of the toponym Rūshanqubād by Ṭabarī and Ibn al-Athīr).

[11] Pliny, *Nat. hist.*, VI, 42, besides Phisganzaga, Fiscanzaga, ibid. 43.

[12] G. Hoffmann added moreover εἰς τὸ "Αρμαν (*Chron. Pasch.*, I, 730, ed. Bonn).

[13] G. Hoffmann, *loc. cit.*, p. 252, n. 1997.

[14] A fact contested without reason by Andreas, *R.E.*, I, col. 345, s.v. "Adarbigana."

[15] Nicephor. patr., Ἱστορία σύντομος, p. 17$_{10}$: ed. C. de Boor.

maīs to the ancient place corresponding to the actual Takht-i Sulaymān, to which he rightly relates the name Δαράρτασις attested by Georgius Pisides, which F. Justi unduly identified with Dastagerd[16]. Strange to say, Minorsky (p. 256) considers that name used by the only contemporary author as corrupt, because "he wrote his panegyric . . . , when the exotic name of the fire-temple could not be properly ascertained". In my opinion Darartasis is the exact form of that Persian toponym, meaning the "door, gate (i.e., house) of Ardashīr". There probably existed besides the corresponding Syriac form *Βηθάρτασις = *Bēth Ardashīr, which would easily explain the error of Theophanes caused by its resemblance to Βηθαρμαΐς or Bēth Armāyē. There is no reason to doubt the exactness of the form Δαράρτασις (ἐν Δαραρτάσει) which the Byzantine poet derives from the name of Ardashīr ('Αρτασήρ); for the ancient Persian name Artakhshathrā is also sometimes written 'Αρτασέσσης, 'Αρταξέσσης etc.[17], and similarly there exists a coin of Artaxata on which that city is called "Artaxisata metropolis"[18]. Minorsky affirms in that connection (p. 255 f.) that the chronology of Mis'ar ibn Muhalhil (first half of the tenth century), according to whom the fire of ash-Shīz had been burning for 700 years, "is a pointer to the early part of the third century A.D., i.e., to the time of Ardashīr". But in his opinion that coincidence is without value, "for Georgius commits a gross error about the date of Ardashīr" (p. 256). He even believes that the transfer of the fire by Anūshirvān (A.D. 531–579) "finds some indirect confirmation in Georgius Pisides. The latter's reference to Ardashīr as the founder of Darartasis is contradictory, but the date which he assigns to 'Ardashīr' ('60 + 16 years ago') is very significant, for 626 − 76 = 550 corresponds to the reign of Anūshirvān. Unconsciously Georgius may have quoted the date of the transfer of the fire to Takht-i Sulaymān" (p. 257).

Unfortunately those subtle combinations are based on an erroneous translation of Georgius's words χρόνους δέκα σὺν ἓξ διαδραμόντας ἑξακοντάσιν[19], which mean of course "10 + 6 times 60", i.e., 370 years. That calculation, interesting because of the reckoning according to the Oriental sexagesimal system, dates the foundation of Darartasis in A.D. 256, viz. 15 years after Ardashīr's death. But apart from this perhaps pardonable miscalculation there is no "contradiction" in Georgius's statement, for he speaks of the city's foundation which by no means must have coincided with the transfer of the fire to it.

Concerning that transfer Minorsky quotes two passages which run as follows:

(1) Anūshirvān transferred the fire from ash-Shīz [va] Vālarān to al-Birka (al-Mas'ūdī, IV, 74).

(2) Ādhar-Gushnāsp is the fire of Kay-Khusrav; it was in Ādharbayjān

[16] F. Justi, *Grundriss der iranischen Philologie*, II (Strassburg, 1896–1904), 517.

[17] *CIG*, II, p. 583, no. 2929. Le Bas-Waddington, no. 1651. Cf. F. Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch* (Marburg, 1895), p. 34 f.

[18] Ernest Babelon, *Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des Inscr. et Belles Lettres*, 1911, p. 363–374.

[19] Georgius Pisides, *Heraclias*, acroas. II, v. 178; *P. Gr.*, XCII, col. 1329[A].

(i.e., Ganzaca), but Anūshirvān transferred it to ash-Shīz (Ibn Faqīh, 246).

Though Minorsky remarks (p. 257): "The two reports are identical", their identity only exists if, in the text of al-Mas'ūdī, we substitute the words "he ought to have said" (viz., "to ash-Shīz") for those we read in his text (viz., "from ash-Shīz"). It is not impossible that the name of ash-Shīz has migrated together with the fire-temple from Ganzak to Takht-i Sulaymān; that assumption could explain "some special complications in the toponymy of Azarbayjān" treated by Minorsky in the last chapter ("Lake Čēčast") of his paper.

Ernest Honigmann.

S. Riccobono, ed., *Fontes Iuris Romani Anteiustiniani*. I, *Leges*, 2e éd. Florence: G. Barbèra, S.A., 1941. Pp. xxii, 513.

La première édition de cette Collection des Sources du Droit romain antéjustinien qu'on appelait d'habitude dans la littérature spéciale "les *Fontes* italiens", pour la distinguer de l'ouvrage allemand analogue de Bruns-Mommsen, fut publiée, en 1909, après une impression laborieuse qui dura plus de sept ans. C'est un laps de temps quatre fois plus considérable, plus de trois décades, qui sépare les deux éditions italiennes, car l'impression de la seconde était commencée dès 1938.

Il est compréhensible qu'une nouvelle édition de cette utile collection de sources, qui jouissait d'une grande diffusion dépassant, et de loin, les milieux universitaires italiens pour lesquels elle avait été composée fût devenue indispensable. D'un côté, de nouveaux monuments juridiques avaient été découverts en grand nombre, pendant ces trente dernières années, aussi bien parmi les inscriptions que dans le trésor des papyrus gréco-égyptiens. D'autre part, l'immense progrès fait de notre temps par les études de Droit romain avait jeté beaucoup de lumière sur les pièces épigraphiques que contenait déjà la première édition, pièces rééditées pour la plupart depuis lors d'une manière plus exacte et commentées d'une façon plus approfondie, en tenant compte des résultats obtenus dans tous les domaines de la science de l'antiquité classique. De même, les documents et monuments n'appartenant pas aux catégories sus-mentionnées, je veux dire aux sources épigraphiques et papyrologiques, et auxquels l'éditeur, le professeur Salavatore Riccobono, aujourd'hui le Nestor des romanistes italiens, avait donné dans la première édition une attention particulière—les Douze Tables et l'Edit perpétuel, pour ne citer que deux exemples—ont été dans l'entretemps l'objet de nouvelles recherches, plus minutieuses et plus fructueuses, de manière que leur présentation a pu être largement enrichie. En outre, les nouvelles publications épigraphiques, la continuation du *CIL* et des *IG*, la réédition des textes anciennement connus avec de nouvelles leçons et de nouvelles conjectures complétant les lacunes, 30 volumes de la *Realencyklopaedie* de Pauly-Wissowa, tout cela a rendu un remaniement profond de la première édition d'autant plus désirable que les *Fontes* de Bruns-Mommsen, (7e édition de Gradenwitz en 1909, du reste pas très exacte), n'ont pas été rajeunis pendant cette longue période.

C'est sans doute une preuve éloquente de la vitalité de la science du Droit

romain en Italie qu'une nouvelle édition de cette collection de sources ait pu être entreprise et même sur un plan plus vaste: au lieu d'un seul volume comme en 1909, il y en a maintenant trois puisqu'une nouvelle section, absente de la première édition et comprenant les actes juridiques, les *negotia*, y a été ajoutée. Notons que le second volume contenant les *Auctores* (Gaius, Ulpien, Paul, les *Fragmenta Vaticana* etc.) et le Livre Syro-Romain fut publié, encore en 1940, en seconde édition, grâce aux soins de G. Baviera et G. Furlani. Le troisième volume, confié à la plus compétente autorité parmi les romanistes italiens, le professeur Vincenzo Arangio-Ruiz, fut imprimé et vélie en 1943–1944. Heureusement les exemplaires de cette partie, gardés dans les magasins de la maison éditrice Barbèra à Florence, n'ont pas souffert pendant la bataille pour la libération de la ville. La distribution, cependant, a subi un retard considérable.

Ce qui caractérise la nouvelle édition des *Leges*, c'est qu'elle s'écarte notablement de l'édition Bruns-Mommsen que la première édition de 1909 suivait parfois fidèlement, allant jusqu'à reproduire les fautes d'impression et autres erreurs qui s'étaient glissées dans quelques textes épigraphiques. L'édition de 1941, beaucoup plus originale, est complètement indépendante du vieil ouvrage allemand, depuis longtemps dépassé. Les introductions aux différentes sections du volume, considérablement augmentées et modernisées (on trouve, p.e., dans la section des Constitutions Impériales une liste des lois impériales conservées dans les inscriptions et les papyrus, pp. 395 ss., ou une liste des édits des préfets d'Egypte, transmis dans les papyrus, pp. 303/304), ainsi que les remarques préliminaires à chaque pièce, remaniées *up to date*, de très copieuses indications de la littérature récente jusqu'à 1939 (et même jusqu'à 1940, voy. les Addenda, pp. XVII ss)—pour citer un seul exemple: l'édition des Douze Tables a été augmentée de plus de 200 nouvelles citations—l'appareil critique, richement élargi et complété, dans les limites d'une édition destinée tout de même *in usum scholarum*,—tout cela donne à la publication une fraîcheur remarquable. Il va sans dire que la nouvelle édition a fait disparaître les innombrables fautes d'impression de l'édition antérieure, particulièrement dans les textes grecs où elles abondaient dans une mesure peu admissible, elle a corrigé les différents crochets, et introduit une uniformité typographique dans les textes épigraphiques. Il a fallu en outre rectifier le numérotage des lignes dans les inscriptions et les papyrus, reviser la traduction du texte grec, accomoder aux nouvelles éditions les citations des ouvrages réédités dans l'entretemps (p.ex. Mommsen, Lenel, Girard, Bruns, Scialoja, le *CIL*, les *IG*, etc., etc.), contrôler et compléter les renvois aux autres sources juridiques romaines.

Ce qu'il faut noter surtout c'est que l'édition nouvelle est enrichie de 20 nouveaux textes, dont 14 en grec. Leur choix démontre qu'on a tenu compte de toute nouvelle découverte épigraphique ou papyrologique présentant un certain intérêt pour l'histoire du droit romain privé ou public, en commençant par le *Cippus antiquissimus* (ou Lapis Niger) du forum romain (p. 19 ss, il faut l'ajouter à l'Index rerum, p. XIII), jusqu'à la constitution impériale du VIe siècle (de Justinien?), relative aux acqueducs (no 98, p. 468). Les nouveaux textes grecs sont pourvus d'une traduction latine qui, lorsqu'elle manquait dans les éditions originales, a été faite exprès pour cette

édition par les professeurs N. Festa (décédé pendant l'impression du volume) et Arangio Ruiz. Nous ne mentionnerons ici que quelques-unes des pièces les plus importantes. On y trouvera donc dans la section de *Constitutiones Imperatorum* les fameux Édits d'Auguste aux citoyens de Cyrène (no 68, pp 403–414); le Diatagma Kaisaros (d'Auguste?) relatif aux violations de sépultures (no 69, pp. 414–416), qui a suscité une vive discussion dans la littérature récente, notée consciencieusement dans l'édition des *Fontes*; l'édit de Vespasien concernant les privilèges des médecins et professeurs (no 73, pp. 420–422); la célèbre constitution de Caracalla *de civitate* de 212 (no 88, pp. 445–449), avec une quantité considérable de notes signalant les différentes propositions pour la reconstruction des parties mutilées; le texte excellemment conservé des *sacrae litterae* de Constantin et Licinius de 311, relatif aux privilèges des soldats et vétérans, et trouvé en 1930 en Hongrie sur le site de l'antique Brigetio (no 93, pp. 455–458); le rescrit de Constantin, entre 326 et 333, que l'on doit à un papyrus de la collection de la Columbia University, concernant la prescription de 40 ans (no 96, pp. 464–465). Parmi les textes placés en dehors de la section des constitutions impériales il faut noter que le célèbre *liber mandatorum*, nommé ΓΝΩΜΩΝ τοῦ ἰδίου λόγου (*BGU.* v), reproduit partiellement sur une dizaine de pages, avec un appareil critique notable (no 99, pp. 469–478); le sénatusconsulte concernant les corporations d'artisans grecs (no 34, pp. 248–255), et les extrêmement intéressantes épîtres d'Octavien se référant au navarque Seleukos de Rhosos (no 55, pp. 308–315) etc.

Les nouveaux textes, les notes bibliographiques nouvelles, qui dépassent considérablement le millier (on a tenu compte parmi autres des articles de l'*Encyclopédie* de Pauly-Wissowa, relatifs aux personnages officiels et aux noms géographiques), le constant rapport avec les autres sources du droit romain de tout genre ont grossi le livre de plus de 150 pages, c'est à dire plus de deux cinquièmes de l'ancienne édition de 1909.

Le soussigné a eu l'honneur de collaborer à la préparation de l'édition susindiquée. Quand cette collaboration est devenue impossible à cause de la rupture de la communication postale avec l'Italie, en 1941, V. Arangio Ruiz, l'excellent connaisseur de l'épigraphie et de la papyrologie juridiques, mentionné déjà au cours de ce compte rendu, rendit possible la continuation de l'impression en assumant au dernier moment l'ennuyeuse tâche de corriger et compléter les épreuves des dernières 250 pages. Les mérites de ce savant sont mentionnés dans la préface du professeur Riccobono, p. IX. Il a contribué efficacement à l'achèvement de l'ouvrage et a ajouté des additions très utiles pendant l'impression, notamment dans la seconde partie du volume et dans les *Addenda* p. XVI–XIX.[1]

Adolphe Berger.

Ecole Libre des Hautes Etudes.

[1] Note de la Rédaction. Nous avons invité M. Berger à faire un compte rendu de cette publication à laquelle il a collaboré très activement comme l'en témoigne la remarque du professeur Riccobono, p. IX: "in hac editione paranda magnopere me Adolfus Berger adiuvit, qui priorem editionem summa cum diligentia totam inspexit emendavitque et scripta, quae in hac editione laudarentur, atque nova documenta, quae hac parte reciperentur, critice paravit."

JOSHUA STARR, *The Jews in the Byzantine Empire, 641–1204*, Texte und Forschungen zur Byzantinisch-Neugriechischen Philologie, no. 30, Athens, 1939, pp. 266.

Starr's valuable book consists of two parts. In the first the author discusses certain aspects of Jewish life in the Byzantine Empire, in the second he collects, in translations or summaries, the texts that deal with this problem.

Part II of the book is excellent. With remarkable patience and an admirable philological equipment Starr has made available to students of medieval history translations of the Greek, Latin, Hebrew, and Arabic sources which bear on his subject. Many of these sources had never been translated before; in other cases Starr has corrected the renderings of his predecessors with the help not only of his enviable command of the languages concerned but also of his thorough knowledge of Jewish and Byzantine history. His translations are accompanied by useful notes of an exegetic character and by bibliographical references. All this is a considerable advance over the stimulating but sometimes questionable work of S. Krauss, *Studien zur byzantinisch-jüdischen Geschichte*, which appeared in 1914. Obviously this second part of the book will become a standard place of reference.

As to its first part, it seems advisable to discuss it chapter by chapter.

Chapter I ("Persecution and Intolerance") is the only one to contain a connected narrative. It leads up to the statement that, "with respect to the period falling within the direct scope of the present work (641–1204), it is thus clear that 90 per cent of it was free from general and serious persecution."

Chapter II ("Taxation") raises certain questions. The thorny problem of a special tax on Jews seemed to be settled by the acceptance by Andreades (*Economic History*, III [1934], 18) of Dölger's view (*Vierteljahrschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, XXVI [1933], 1–24) that such a special tax existed in the Byzantine Empire. Starr subjects the sources to a fresh analysis and makes two interesting observations of a textual character:

(1) The famous passage from Ibn Khurdadhbah (no. 44 of Starr's collection) speaks of a tax on Jews and Magians, not on Jews and pagans as Dölger had thought on the basis of a faulty translation of the Arabic. Ibn Khurdadhbah is therefore transferring the Islamic tax on Christians, Jews, and Magians (i.e., Zoroastrians) to the Byzantine Empire, where the term Magians is meaningless. This is undoubtedly true, but Starr himself has to admit as defensible the thesis that "our author or his source was aware of a special tax on non-Christians" and that "the confirmation or rejection of our passage consequently depends on the relevant material from other sources."

(2) Starr (p. 14) points out that the word κεφαλητίων as used by Zonaras (no. 14 and note) is derived from Cedrenus. This may be the case, yet this reviewer cannot follow Starr when he states that Cedrenus uses it "*unequivocally* (italics mine) in the sense of (the general) capitation tax." It is true that Cedrenus does not connect the term expressly with the Jews,

but his words τὸν λεγόμενον κεφαλητίωνα *may* indicate that Cedrenus was applying the name of the only tax known at his own period to be assessed κεφαλικῶς, i.e., of the Jewish tax, to the general tax of Leo III because it was levied in the same manner.

Let us concede, for the sake of argument, that the passage from Ibn Khurdhadhbah is meaningless, and that at the time of Zonaras the term κεφαλητίων had no specific Jewish connotation. Would this mean that "the relevant material from other sources" does not warrant the assumption of a special tax on Jews? The texts dating from the age of Basil I (nos. 69, 74) are more likely to refer to a special Jewish tax than to the general taxes, in spite of Starr's unspecified and unconvincing assertions to the contrary (p. 12 f.); at best they are ambiguous. Starr does not even try to argue away (pp. 14–16) the Chios documents (nos. 143, 147, 151) and a text from Thessalonica (no. 153); he merely remarks that Dölger's explanation of the Chios documents "fails to check with the other relevant data" (p. 15). Finally I do not find where Dölger has adduced the recently published poem of Nikolaos Muzalon (verse 684) in favor of his thesis as Starr claims (p. 16): most certainly he has not done so in the article quoted by Starr *ad locum* (p. 218). Thus the balance of the argument is still heavily weighted in favor of Dölger.

Chapter III ("Legal Aspects") discusses the various restrictions imposed on the Byzantine Jews by the law, the question of Christian converts from Judaism, etc. Although the Byzantine Jew was declassed (ἄτιμος), "there was no interference with the fundamental rights of freedom of economic and communal life," at least in normal times.

In Chapter IV ("Economic Activities and Population") the author discusses the holding of landed property by Jews, both in the towns and in the country, their role in agriculture, industry (silk, tanning—in the latter connection we find another diatribe against Dölger which is somewhat vague), and commerce. In the last respect, as in others, Starr was able to draw heavily on documents which have been published recently by the great American scholar Jacob Mann from the Genizah in Cairo. The question of the Jewish population within the Byzantine Empire gives Starr an opportunity to examine the *Itinerary* of Benjamin of Tudela: at the time of his visit there were, Starr thinks, around 12,000 Jews in an Empire which numbered 15 million souls at the most.

The last three chapters of the book are the most interesting of all.

In Chapter V ("Communal and Social Life") the author discusses the pertinent material classified according to subject headings, such as leadership in the communities, jurisdiction, heretical minorities, etc. If one looks at it from a geographical point of view, one is struck not so much by its scarcity as by its scattered distribution in space and time. With the possible exception of Oria in Apulia, we are unable to follow the development of a given community for any length of time or to study it in detail at any given moment. Let us review briefly our information about the three communities for which we have a relatively great amount of material. At Oria we are particularly fortunate, since we have the chronicle of Ahimaas

written in rhymed prose around 1054 and recording the life of the chronicler's ancestors (genealogy, p. 116) in that city from ca. 800 down to its sack in 925. These ancestors, the Amittai family, furnished the Jewish community with leaders at least from the beginning of the ninth century on. In addition many of its members distinguished themselves as scholars and poets, especially after Jewish learning at Oria had been stimulated by the arrival of a Mesopotamian scholar, Aaron of Bagdad. Social distinctions within the community between the "eminent" and the "poor"—a parallel to those of the "powerful" and the "beggars" in the rest of the Empire—seem to have been very marked at Oria. Our information is not as full for Thessalonica, where we have no connected narrative. In the first quarter of the eleventh century we hear of an attempt, on the part of the archbishop, of converting a learned Jew (no. 118). At the end of this century we are told, on the occasion of a Messianic movement, about a miracle "in Saloniki where the Christians have always hated the Jews most intensely." In 1165 Benjamin of Tudela records 500 Jews at Saloniki; they are engaged in the manufacture of silken garments and the head of the community serves by royal (imperial) authority. Ten years later, Eustathius of Thessalonica complains to the Patriarch of Constantinople that the Jews had occupied Christian dwellings. Of community life in the capital of the Empire we do not hear before the eleventh century: then the Jews lived in wooden houses beyond the Golden Horn (no. 150). In 1082 a pier is named Ἡβραϊκή and may have been reserved to the Jews in earlier times (no. 152). Benjamin of Tudela records about 2,500 Jews, among them scholars, workers in silk, merchants, tanners, and rich men (no. 182). There is much hatred against them (*ibid.*) and the continuous quarrels between Rabbinites and Karaites sometimes require the intervention of the authorities. Thus even for Oria, Thessalonica and Constantinople our information is more than meager and it is therefore through no fault of Mr. Starr that we do not obtain a total view of the development of Jewish life in the Empire or any part of it.

Chapter VI ("Intellectual interests and literary productions") is highly recommended to anyone not intimately acquainted with medieval Jewish literature. Here the author summarizes the works of Shabbetai Domnolo, who lived in the tenth century in Southern Italy, and wrote on medicine, astrology, and mysticism. We then hear of the chronicle of Ahimaaz, of liturgical poetry, and of biblical commentaries. The present reviewer would have expected a fuller account of the mutual interactions between the Jews and their Byzantine neighbors. To what extent were they affected by the Greek language, by Byzantine literature, by the Christian religion? Also Starr might have discussed with more detail than he actually does the part of Byzantine Jewry in Jewish missionary activity. The scarcity of archival material of which Starr complains (p. 79) is a general Byzantine phenomenon. Last, it is regrettable that Starr did not translate and discuss the most elaborate list of Byzantine Emperors in Hebrew, which was published by Neubauer (*Medieval Jewish Chronicles*, I, 185 f., analysis by Krauss, *op. cit.*, 140–143; see Starr p. 166). It may be hoped that Starr

will deal with this document in a special article. One small detail: Starr states (pp. 63 and 213) that there was no definite sign of Jewish life in Bulgaria prior to the twelfth century. In 866, however, Pope Nicholas I mentions, in the hundred and fourth chapter of his famous *Responsa ad Bulgaros* (*M.G.H., Epistolae*, VI, 599), a somewhat obscure Jew of whom it was not certain whether he was Christian or pagan and who had baptized many in Bulgaria ("A quodam Iudeo, nescitis utrum Christiano an pagano, multos in patria vestra baptizatos asseritis").

Chapter VII ("Aspects of religion and culture") deals with a number of texts, of which the most interesting are the formulas of abjuration (no. 121—could the "anomalous" μονοποδαρέα in the appendix be emended to read ὁμοποδαρέα cf. "Some of them place their *feet together*"?) and the Messianic movement of 1096 (no. 153).

In his Conclusion (p. 78 f.) the author speaks of the mediocre achievements of the Byzantine Jews in the economic and cultural field as of a serious historical problem, and expresses the hope that further research and publication of hitherto unpublished material "will uncover the causes which have interfered with the growth of Byzantine Jewry as well as gain a better idea as to how Judaism was affected by its interaction with that environment." Such questions are rarely answered by the discovery of fresh material; each generation of historians must attempt to solve them on the basis of the material then available. With regard to the mediocre achievements of Byzantine Jewry I submit that it was due to a combination of two factors: the *déclassement* of the Byzantine Jew on the one hand and his relative economic security on the other. He was excluded from cultural communication with his environment while he lacked the grim stimulus of persecution and hardship—χαλεπὰ τὰ καλά, to quote A. J. Toynbee. The Jewish situation during the Byzantine period was comparable to that planned for the Christians by the Emperor Julian, and the Christian writers knew why they protested so vigorously against this Emperor's cultural policy.

PAUL J. ALEXANDER.

R. TAUBENSCHLAG, *The Law of Greco-Roman Egypt in the Light of the Papyri* (332 *B.C.*—640 *A.D.*). New York: Herald Square Press, Inc., 1944. Pp. i–xv, 1–484.

The Law of Greco-Roman Egypt in the Light of the Papyri, a new volume by R. Taubenschlag is chiefly a compilation of his papyrological contributions already published elsewhere, with additional bibliography. In most cases the compilation does not show any evolution of the legal thought of the author.

The painstaking work of Taubenschlag was encouraged by the suggestions of Wenger[1] and Arangio-Ruiz.[2] The author claims to complete the task of the great Austrian scholar Ludwig Mitteis, the author of the *Grundzüge und Chrestomathie zu der Papyruskunde* (1912) which, in my

[1] *Archiv f. Pf.*, XIII 156.

[2] *Enciclopedia Italiana*, XXXIII, 334.

opinion, is still to be regarded as the first and last synthetic work on the law of papyri. Mitteis always expresses his thought clearly, never avoids difficult issues, and always takes a position concerning the most perplexing problems. Therefore his *Grundzüge* is still a living book.

Taubenschlag usually cites the authors, but does not quote their opinions. Therefore, whenever the authorities disagree, the reader is unable to determine which of the conflicting opinions he accepted. The bibliography of the book is complete only so far as older scholars are concerned. Many of the more recent jurists, especially Europeans, are ignored.

It is impossible to review a book of such an extent in a few pages. I shall confine myself to the consideration of some of the few original ideas of the author.

On page 2 a codification of the Egyptian native law by the Ptolemies is mentioned. There is no doubt that in Ptolemaic times a collection of native laws was made and that these laws continued to be applied. If Taubenschlag loosely calls a mere collection of laws a code, we have no objection, but he ought to have emphasized in this case that by code he does not mean what we usually call a code.

On page 3 Taubenschlag assumes that probably in the early second century A.D. the Romans undertook a new codification of Egyptian laws to be applied to Egyptian nationals. The nature of this second codification appears from the noted law-suit of Dionysia.[3] In this law-suit the Roman prefect did not apply the Egyptian law in a case in which, had the codification occurred, it would have been applied, on the motivation that this law was inhuman.[4] This decision is sufficient to show that a genuine codification of the Egyptian law in the Roman age did not take place. Taubenschlag's assertion (p. 4) that in the Roman age, as in the Ptolemaic age, the Greek code was considered as the law of the land and the Egyptian law as the personal law of the Egyptian nations is unclear. The Greek law of the country was more and more influenced by Egyptian law. Greek and Egyptian law of contracts blended more and more with each other, while the law of the family retained Greek traits for the Greek, Egyptian traits for the natives for a longer time.

The territorial law, i.e., the law common to the Greeks and to the Egyptians, was applied to a much greater extent than it appears from Taubenschlag's book.[5] By the way, the social difference between Greeks

[3] P. Oxy. 237, col. VII, l. 30 ff.

[4] See A. Segrè, "Note sulla costituzione di Caracalla", *Rend. Pont. Acc. Rom. di Archeol.*, XVI (1940), 200 ff. Probably the unwritten marriage of the father of Dionysia, Chaeremon, is based on an Egyptian *syngraphe* composed according to the native law of Egypt.

[5] On the question of the personality of the law in Roman Egypt, see A. Segrè, *ibid.*, p. 198 ff., where the opinions of Taubenschlag expressed in *Studi Bonfante*, I, 480 are duly considered. This article is ignored by Taubenschlag as well as H. J. Bell, *P Giss. 40* and the Constitutio Antoniniana *JEA*, XXVIII (1942), 38–49, to which a reply appeared in *JEA*, XXX (1944), 69, followed by a second reply of H. J. Bell. Of the most recent literature on the C.A., Taubenschlag quoted only the poor article of Heichelheim, *JEA*, XXV (1939) 15 ff.

and Egyptians did not necessarily imply a difference in the law applied to the two races.[6] Taubenschlag's opinion that the Greek law of Egypt was composed of various elements corresponding to the various strata of Greek emigration is to my mind quite original. In a paper published in the Actes du Vème Congrès internatunal de Papyrologie, Oxford (1938), p. 471 ff., and particularly 489, he asserted fourteen different Greek laws at least influenced the Greek law of Egypt. In an article on the Legal Status of the Jews in Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt (*Jewish Social Studies*, VI, n. 4, 1944, p. 397), I show that this view has no basis, and that the Greek law of Egypt was in the main an extension of the law of Alexandria, which in its turn was reputed to be derived from the law of Athens. I prove there that Greek law in Egypt was Attic law, in the same way that the Greek dialect spoken in Egypt was the κοινή derived from the Attic language.

The *politikoi nomoi* were not the laws of the politeumata, as Taubenschlag contends,—or of the members of the ethnical or pseudo-ethnical unions. They were not autonomous statutes (p. 6) but only a Greek *ius civile*. It is the Attic law of Alexandria, as Wilcken correctly states.[7] The *politikos nomos* never was the law of a barbarous politeuma. The law of the Jews, and still less the law of the Persians of the epigone, were never called *politikoi nomoi*.[8,9]

The part devoted to slavery (p. 50 ff.) reproduces in the main Taubenschlag's article "Das Sklavenrecht im Rechte der Papyri", *Sav. Z.*, L, 140 ff.[10] Taubenschlag himself is rightly amazed at his own discoveries. This part of the book is certainly the author's most original contribution to the study of the Hellenistic law. On page 5 he asserts that the slave, regardless of sex and age, is a personal chattel of his master and thus is part of the latter's property. According to Taubenschlag, Greek and Roman law here agree. On page 65 he says, however: "Whereas in most ancient legal systems the Greco-Egyptian slave is regarded as capable of owning property the Roman slave is not, acquisitions can be made by him but only on behalf of his master; whatever he possesses is merely considered as a peculium. Imperial slaves, however, held property of their own and were competent to transact business with Roman and peregrines according

[6] Incidentally, the quotation of Westermann-Keyes-Liebesny, Col. Zen, II 66 (about 256 or 255 B.C.), v. 18: ἀλλὰ κατεγνώκασί μου, ὅτι εἰμι βάρβαρος, further, v. 21: ὅτι οὐκ ἐπίσταμαι ἑλληνίζειν translated by the Editors, "because I don't know how to behave like a Greek," is inaccurate because ἑλληνίζειν means "to talk Greek. Moreover, the letter refers to a complaint of an Arab on the service of Zeno and not to an Egyptian and it is written outside of Egypt. The letter was obviously written in a good Greek by a scribe.

[7] *U P Z*, II, 82 ff.

[8] Differently Taubenschlag, p. 9.

[9] Incidentally ἀπαρχή means "birth certificate" and never "death duty" as asserted by Taubenschlag p. 7 *n.* 27. The ἀπαρχή is found in connection with inheritances because the heritors, when they are Greek, show their nationality by exhibiting their birth certificate, the ἀπαρχή. The ἀπαρχή, of course, is connected with the payment of a tax.

[10] Some pages of an extensive unpublished article of mine on legal aspects of ancient classical slavery are reproduced here.

to the rules of the *ius gentium* (p. 67). It is therefore remarkable that in one case, P Oxy. 244.15, 23 A.D., a privately owned (Roman) slave acts as an independent owner of property. It may be due to the influence of local law."

In Greco-Egyptian law, as in Roman law, Taubenschlag finds slaves engaged in legal transactions in behalf of either themselves or their masters (p. 67). He concludes that, according to Greco-Egyptian law, slaves were considered as objects as far as personal relations with their masters were concerned, but that they could still be considered as independent owners of property (p. 67). Taubenschlag's views on Greek slavery deserve to be carefully investigated.[11]

In most papyrological texts slaves who transacted did not say that they acquired on behalf of their masters. Everybody who dealt with a slave knew it. Neither did Roman slaves who disposed of a peculium emphasize on every occasion that the property they actually detained belonged to their masters. They used to call their own what belonged to their peculia.[12] The evidence supplied by the papyri referring to slaves other than Roman does not support Taubenschlag's assumption[13] that the Hellenistic slave could own property.[14] If Taubenschlag's assertion were correct, our

[11] My criticisms to Taubenschlag's views on Greek slavery are condensed in a sentence of the first chapter of Uncle Tom's Cabin, "Whoever visits some estates there (in the state of Kentucky) and witnesses the good-humored indulgence of some masters and mistresses and the affectionate loyalty of some slaves might be tempted to dream of the oft fabled poetic legend of the patriarchal institution and all that, but over and above the scene there broods the portentous shadow of the LAW. So long as the law considers all these human beings with beating hearts and living affections only as so many things belonging to the master—so long as the failure or the misfortune or imprudence or death of the kindest owner may cause any day to exchange a life of kind protection and indulgence for one of hopeless misery and toil—so long it is impossible to make anything beautiful or desirable in the best regulated administration of slavery."

[12] Jhering, *Geist d. röm. Rechtes*, II, 180.

[13] It is completely out of the question that a slave could own an estate not only in ancient Greece, as it is shown in IG, VII, 3376, Thalheim, *Philol. Wochenschrift*, 1895, m. 39, p. 1235, but everywhere in the ancient Hellenistic world. See for the whole question Angelo Segrè, *An Essay on the Nature of Real Property in the Classical World* (1943), p. 74 ff.

[14] Arangio-Ruiz, *Persone e famiglia nel diritto dei papiri* (1930), p. 17 ff., apparently independently of Taubenschlag, asserts a right of ownership of the slaves from Gortyn IV 35 f. and Athen. VI p. 263 f. He asserts: "The old opinion that property (*cespiti patrimoniali*) and earnings belonged to the slaves merely de facto as in Rome (the peculium) is one of the many gratuitous assertions and as such was resolutely put aside by Partsch, Griechisches Büergschaftsr., p. 136 [Partsch see Bürgschaftsr., p. 135 has been here misunderstood by Arangio-Ruiz], Lipsius, *Attisches Recht*, p. 797 and n. 27, and Kohler, Ziebarth Stadtrecht von Gortyn, p. 96 f. In other lands (i.e., not in Rome) the convenience of leaving to some categories of slaves a certain financial disponibility was translated into a very limited patrimonial capacity." The principle that the slave may own property appears to Taubenschlag as general in the Greek law, in the Babylonian, and in the Talmudic law. (*Sav. Z, L*(1930), 156 ff.). The contrary is true, as is shown later.

ideas on ancient slavery would have to be reversed and Greek slavery would not be a slavery at all. No text, however, supports Taubenschlag's view. The term ὑπάρχοντα[15] in P Gen. 5 (138–161) can very well refer to a slave's peculium. Another text, P Lond. II, 5 137a, p. 255, does not prove what he assumed it to prove. It is a letter of a master to some slaves who robbed the house of one of their fellow-slaves, a camel-herd. They are enjoined to restore to him his property or else to bring it to the master.[16] The appeal of the camel-herd to the master and the decision of the latter shows that the property of the slave was a sort of peculium rather than genuine property. B G U 617 (216 A.D.) mentioning a female slave, who is a trader, as paying her own trade tax does not prove Taubenschlag's assertion because after the *Constitutio Antoniniana*, the institution of the peculium was introduced into Egypt.[17] Taubenschlag's views are not supported by the much-discussed P Oxy 244 l. 15 (23 A.D.) where a Roman slave, Cerinthus Antoniae Drusi servus, disposes of his cattle.[18] The cattle could belong to the peculium of the slave, the slave could have acted *quod iussu* or as *institor*, or even could have incurred an *obligatio naturalis*. The noted passage of Gaius Inst. I 52 excludes any possibility of a right of ownership of the Greek slaves. "In potestate itaque sunt servi dominorum. Quae quidem potestas iuris gentium est nam apud omnes peraeque gentes animadvertere possumus dominis in servos vitae necisque potestatem esse et quodcumque per servum adquiritur id domino adquiritur." It is clear that this principle of *ius gentium* expressed by Gaius had to be at least a principle of Greek law.[19]

Taubenschlag, after having stated that the Graeco-Egyptian slave could have owned property, tries to show that he could also contract independently from his master. He quoted for this purpose[20] P Grenf. I 47 1. 7 (148 A.D.) where a slave rents his land to the slave of a certain Neilos;

[15] Taubenschlag, *Rezeption*, p. 63, thinks otherwise.

[16] *Ibid.*, p. 156 ff.

[17] Peculium of the Graeco-Egyptian slave, see Taubenschlag, *ibid.*, p. 157 f., BGU 96 14 (III A.D.); *Rezeption* 42, n. 265; PSI 1040 (III A.D.); *Rezeption*, *ibid.*, P Cairo 67313, 68 (Byz.); P Cairo 67312, 101–2 (567 A.D.).

[18] Rostovtzeff, *Kolonat*, p. 126; Wenger, *Stellvertretung*, p. 167, n. 7; Taubenschlag, *Rezeption*, p. 283 f. P Oxy. 244 is a puzzle for these authors. Taubenschlag, p. 158, tries to explain the case of Cerinthus as a direct influence of Greek laws on Roman laws.

[19] Gai. Inst., I, 52, not mentioned in the researches of Taubenschlag, considered the *dominica potestas* of the Romans akin to the *dominica potestas* of the other *gentes*. If this *dominica patestas* had been so different as it is asserted by Taubenschlag, Gaius would have emphasized this difference as he did in the case of the *patria potestas* (see Angelo Segrè, *Rend. Pont. Acc. Rom.*, XLVI [1940], 199 f.). To complete the evidence collected on the *patria potestas* we add two further passages quoted by Kniep, *Rechtsgelehrter Gaius*, p. 293 ff.: Gai., III, fragm. 39 de obl. et act. 44 7. "Filius familias ex omnibus causis tamquam pater familias obligatur et ob in agi cum eo tamquam cum patre familias potest" and D 45 I 141 2. Both fragments belong probably to the commentary of Gaius to the provincial Edict.

[20] *Ibid.*, p. 158.

PSI 709 (566 A.D.) where a female slave contracts a lease; BGU 1079-W Chr 60 (41 A.D.) where a slave borrows money together with his master; P Ryl. 144 (38 A.D.) where a slave borrows money; BGU 725 (618 A.D.) where a female slave with a free man borrows money from a third person. These texts may be all interpreted in different ways. In some cases slaves acted upon a specific mandate of the master as it appears in P Flor. 61, 39.[21] In this text a certain Isidorus sues a certain Achilleus before the praefect Septimius Vegetus for the payment of 100 artabas of wheat. I understand that the slave of the father of the debtor engaged himself to pay, subscribing a promissory note (very probably a chirograph) following an order ἐπίσταλμα of his master. In the passage l. 38 ff., *τὸ μὲν ἐπίσταλμα τοῦ πατρὸς τούτου ἐστὶν προστάτης δὲ ὧν ὁ δοῦλος ὑπέγραψεν ὅτι μετρήσει οὐδὲν δὲ μεμέτρηκεν ἅπαξ ἀπὸ τοῦ πηιστάλματος.* I understand ἐπίσταλμα as a mandate and not as a promissory note as Wilcken did.[22] On the basis of P Flor 61 I think that in the cases where the slaves contracted as a sort of partners of their masters, they were actually not partners. They acted, as a rule, only in the interest of their masters, as in the cases of the *stipulationes servorum* according to C 8 37 14.[23] It is very improbable that a slave of a Roman living in a Greek town had a different legal capacity than the slave of a Greek. The reasons for this improbability are manifold. First, the law of contracts is usually the territorial law; second, the Romans of the Eastern provinces are mostly romanized *peregrini*, citizens of the Greek towns, in Egypt particularly *veterani* and descendants of *veterani*. It is impossible to imagine that a rich Alexandrian who owned slaves had to reorganize all his business on a different legal basis because he was granted Roman citizenship. Romans living in the provinces in the East followed the territorial law of slavery of the provinces, which was based on the *ius gentium* and therefore had the same principles in Rome as well as in the Hellenistic world.

Taubenschlag asserts that according to the Jewish law the slave could own property. The Jewish law of slavery appears more like the Greek law than the Roman law. The Roman law of slavery differs from most other classical peoples owing to the peculiar organization of the Roman family based on the *patria potestas*.[24] In more than one case, according to the Jewish law, the slave could not own property. The Jewish slave as

[21] Partsch, *Griech. Bürgschaftsr.*, p. 122 ff.

[22] Partsch, *ibid.*, p. 122 and Preisigke, *Wtb.*, s.v.; L. Wenger, *Stellvertretung*, p. 260; Taubenschlag, *Sav. Z.*, L, (1930), 159.

[23] The application of the Greek law to the contracts of slaves in the Eastern provinces would not be based on the double citizenship of the Romanized *peregrini*. I suppose, on the contrary, that even genuine Romans acted according to the Greek laws on slavery. If a Greek master settled in Rome, his slaves acted according to the Roman law (in the main, the *ius gentium*, because the master was a *peregrinus*). I do not think, however, that the Greek slave, i.e., the slave of a Greek master, was granted a peculium before the Constitutio Antoniniana.

[24] See p. 403.

well as the Roman slave acquired for his master.[25] This legal principle was so much observed that in the II-III century A.D. to explain the possibility of the slave rescuing himself with his own money or to own a *servus vicarius*, the Jews figured out a sophisticated escape. They imagined that somebody gave money to the slave on the condition that the owner of the slave had nothing to do with this money.[26] While Jewish law recognized the case of the slave *suis nummis emptus*, very probably the slaves were rescued in most of the cases by third persons who gave the masters money to free the slaves as usually happened in the Greek and in the Hellenistic law.[27] No passages in the Jewish laws support the view that a slave might own property.[28] The very fact that the slave could find a donor who would rescue him with a gift of money shows that actually, not legally, a slave owned property, owned even slaves. The real title was in the master.

In the law of marriage, p. 77 ff., I do not agree with Taubenschlag that in P Tur. 13-UPZ 1 No. 118 (136 B.C.) Psintaes being married to Θαυῆς, takes Θαυῆς ἡ καὶ Ἀσκληπιάς for his second wife—Θαυῆς and Θαυῆς ἡ καὶ Ἀσκληπιάς are the same person—the interpretation of the text by Taubenschlag in my opinion is not accurate.

There is much to say about the legal condition of children of marriages of persons of different *ethnika* which is not considered by Taubenschlag, p. 79. The conclusion that the daughter of a marriage between a Cyrenaican settler of Pathyris and an Egyptian are citizens of Cyrene residing

[25] The principle of the Mishna, "the hand of the slave is the hand of the master," means "quodcumque per servum adquiritur id domino adquiritur." While Roman law did not admit representation except in the case of acquisition of possession, Talmudic law admitted representation. Even a slave owned by a third person may act as a representative. Jerushalmi Kiddushin, p. 60, i. It is doubted if a slave might acquire a gift from a person who is not his master as from a third person for his master, surely not from his master for himself, and it is discussed if he may acquire from his master for a third person. The representative, according to the Talmudic law, must be not only capable of willing, but also capable of performing legally the legal deed, therefore the slave cannot represent an Israelite in a marriage or in a divorce (S. Rubin, *ibid.* p. 53 f.). According to the Jewish law the slave may not even be witness (Rubin, *ibid.* p. 54 f.).

[26] According to the Mishna Kiddushin (I, 3, II cent.) Rabb i Meir is of the opinion that a slave acquired his freedom by money paid by others to the master. Both Talmuds (ad loc.) explain that the difference of opinion of Rabbi Meir and the sages is if a slave can possess property in the case of a donation given to him on condition that his owner would have nothing to do with it. Sifra (compiled in the II or in the beginning of the III cent.) (EMOr V ed Weiss 97 b) takes it as granted that a slave could possess slaves. T. P. Jebamoth (VII, I 8a) explains it in the same way that the slave got a donation on condition, etc. etc.

[27] Rubin, *ibid.* p. 99, and p. 116, n. 18.

[28] The passages quoted by Rubin, *Das Talmudische Recht—Personenrecht* (1920, Vienna) p. 68, n. 40, 41 and 42, have been misinterpreted as it was confirmed to me by Professor S. Lieberman. They have nothing to do with the right of property. They have been used inaccurately by Taubenschlag, Sav. Z., L (1930), 15 f., to show that the Greek slave as well as the Jewish slave might own property.

at Pathyris is not correct, because "Cyrenaican" in Egyptian texts does not mean "citizen of Cyrene" but having the Cyrenean ethnicon which is a quite different thing.

I think that for the ἐπιγαμία of the Antinoeis it would have been useful to emphasize that originally the Antinoeis were nearly all Roman veterans and that therefore the privilege of the ἐπιγαμία of the Antinoeis was connected with the privilege of the marriages of the *veterani*.[29]

According to Taubenschlag, page 80, under Roman jurisdiction marriages between Romans in Egypt (iusta matrimonia) were the rule but marriages between Romans and peregrines (iniusta matrimonia) were not infrequent. Children born in *iustum matrimonium* (I think this should be read rather *in iniustum matrimonium*) share the status of their father if the latter "accepts" them. Their birth is reported as the birth of Roman children ordinarily is to the perfect at Alexandria. As far as we know, children born of mixed marriages were peregrini. In the case of the children born of a concubinate of a Roman soldier and a peregrina these may become legitimate and Roman after the discharge of the father from the army.[30] As a rule children born of the union of a Roman with a peregrina could not be made Roman by an act of their father. Taubenschlag, *Private Law*, p. 69, asserts that in marital relationships a slave is considered as a person and that in Hellenistic Egypt slaves could be married to free women and free men to slave girls. I do not need to refute such an assertion. It is enough to say that even in Roman inscriptions the woman contubernalis is often called coniunx.[31]

The most impressive refutation of the ideas of Taubenschlag may be heard by Eliza's husband in *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, Chapter III:

" 'Why—but you were married to me by the minister as much as if you had been a white man!' said Eliza simply. 'Don't you know a slave can't be married?' [George replied]. 'There is no law in this country for that. I can't hold you for my wife if he [the master] choses to part us . . .' "

The ideas on the right of ownership expressed in the new work of Taubenschlag are partially different from those of his former articles. It is not apparent whether he considers seed land a possible object of private ownership.[32] In Section 40, Real Contracts 1, Sale, we would have expected to find more on the *katagraphe* than a mere declaration of neutrality (p. 240) in the form: "It is not my purpose to enter into polemics with diverging opinions expressed in the vast literature and I give only a short presentation of my own point of view. It shows a far-reaching resemblance to that

[29] See A. Segrè, *Rend. Acc. Pont.*, XVII, (1940/41), 169 ff.

[30] A. Segrè, "Il diritto dei militari peregrini nell'esercito Romano," *Rend. Pont. Acc. Rom. di Archeol.*, XVII, (1940/41), 178 ff.

[31] See Mitteis, *Reichsrecht und Volksrecht*, 396; T. Frank, Am. Hist. Review, XXI (1916), 69; Ciccotti, *Il tramonto della schiavitù*, p. 261, n. 2; W. L. Westerman, *R.E.*, Suppl. VI, S. V. Sklaverei, p. 1060 f. Equally, the concubines of the soldiers were often called *uxores*.

[32] See on the purpose A. Segrè, *An Essay on the Nature of Real Property*, p. 109 ff.

of Rabel, as far as the Alexandrian enactments are concerned; it differs from Rabel's point of view as to his assertion that καταγραφή assumed the meaning of conveyance not earlier than in the later Empire."

With this declaration Taubenschlag avoids the discussion of one of the most important and difficult problems of the Greek and of the Hellenistic law. In his literature, he has overlooked Angelo Segrè, *An Essay on the Nature of Real Property in the Classical World* (New York, 1943), which deals extensively with the *katagraphe*.

It is impossible to review in a few pages a book as extensive as the compilation of Taubenschlag, the work of a very active and patient scholar. The book is undoubtedly very useful and easy to read for people without legal training. It cannot claim, however, to be a synthesis of our knowledge of the law of Greco-Roman Egypt but the rich collection of materials will certainly further the progress of our knowledge in a field marvelously familiar to the learned author.

Angelo Segrè.

ALEXANDER TURYN, *The Manuscript Tradition of the Tragedies of Aeschylus*. New York: Polish Institute of Arts and Sciences in America (Series No. 2), 1943. Paper, pp. 141.

M. Alexandre Turyn, de tous les philologues vivants, est peut-être celui qui représente le mieux la pure tradition de la philologie classique au vrai sens de ces mots. Alors que de nombreux hellénistes et latinistes, sans parler des romanistes et des germanistes, s'occupent de classer les manuscrits d'auteurs byzantins ou d'écrivains latins du Moyen Age, ou d'écrits en langue vulgaire de la même période, il semble que plus personne ne s'intéresse, ou presque plus personne, à la tradition manuscrite des grands, des vrais classiques. On peut presque dire que la précision des études relatives à la *Textgeschichte* et à l'*Überlieferungsgeschichte* d'un ouvrage grec ou latin est en raison inverse de sa valeur ou de son antiquité.

La raison en est qu'il faut une certaine abnégation et un réel courage au savant qui entreprend aujourd'hui de refaire un travail qui aurait dû être fait depuis le XVIe siècle, mais qui, dans bien des cas, n'a été sérieusement entamé qu'à une époque récente, longtemps après que les plus grands critiques semblaient avoir dit le dernier mot sur le texte et l'interprétation des Pindare et des Eschyle.

M. Alexandre Turyn a eu ce courage, lorsqu'il n'a pas craint de discuter les bases mêmes sur lesquelles un grand philologue moderne faisait reposer le texte de Pindare. Et les controverses célèbres auxquelles cet examen a donné lieu ont prouvé que le jeune savant polonais, élève de maîtres illustres

[33] Incidentally, on the sale of animals (p. 253), Taubenschlag asserts inaccurately that Romans in Egypt made use of Roman as well as of Greek form, on the basis of P S I 729 (77 A.D.). This text has been shown to have been redacted in Cappadocia (see A. Segrè, *An Essay on Real Property*, p. 70). For the forms of sales of slaves (p. 251), see also A. Segrè, *op. cit.*, p. 53 ff.

et admirablement équipé pour sa tâche, avait raison sur la plupart des points et qu'il y avait encore des découvertes à faire dans un champ où tout paraissait moissonné et glané.

Aussi est-ce avec une entière confiance que nous avons examiné ce Mémoire sur la *Textgeschichte* d'Eschyle. Certes, il serait exagéré de dire que le résultat en est sensationnel, ou plus exactement que ces recherches nouvelles, minutieuses, consciencieuses, à peu près exhaustives, doivent modifier profondément le texte du grand tragique.

Mais il faut affirmer qu'en dépit des travaux d'un Wilamowitz, M. Turyn avait devant lui une tâche difficile et compliquée. Si des faits essentiels étaient établis, que M. Turyn n'avait qu'à accepter ou à confirmer, beaucoup de détails importants restaient obscurs et demandaient à être précisés. Cela est surtout vrai en ce qui concerne les *scholies* dont la teneur peut être sérieusement affectée par le nouveau classement que préconise M. Turyn.

J'estime que les longues et pénibles collations, comparaisons et investigations auxquelles s'est livré M. Turyn ont particulièrement éclairé, et on peut même dire éclairci les problèmes dits de Thomas et de Triclinius. Tous ceux qui ont lu avec quelque attention l'*Orestie*, l'oeuvre la plus chère aux humanistes de tous les temps et de tous les pays, savent combien l'interprète et l'éditeur sont intéressés à savoir exactement quel rapport existe entre la recension du manuscrit de Naples, le fameux *Farnesianus*, écrit par Triclinius, et les autres témoins de la tradition manuscrite.

La distinction faite par M. Turyn (p. 133) entre la première édition de Triclinius, dont l'autographe est perdu, (cet autographe serait la source de divers manuscrits) et la seconde édition du philologue byzantin, représentée par le manuscrit de Naples, est une découverte frappante, pressentie d'ailleurs par Frédéric Blass, et confirmée, pour ainsi dire, par l'étude des manuscrits d'Aristophane (où Zacher a discerné deux recensions tricliniennes).

À la lumière de cette découverte, plus d'un problème, plus d'une "*crux*" même de la critique textuelle d'Eschyle reçoivent une solution satisfaisante. M. Turyn a écrit là un important chapitre de l'histoire de la philologie byzantine.

Le Mémoire de M. Turyn est rendu plus précieux encore par ses *excursus* et *addenda* dont tout connaisseur reconnaitra immédiatement la valeur.

J'ajoute, pour finir, que la bibliographie, particulièrement soignée, contient beaucoup de raretés qui piqueront la curiosité et du classiciste et du byzantiniste. J'ai noté particulièrement les pages 174 et 178 sur Triclinius et ses émules (cf. pp. 179 et 180). À chaque instant, d'ailleurs, M. Turyn appuie ses observations et ses hypothèses de faits empruntés à la tradition manuscrite d'autres poètes.

En conclusion, je suis heureux de proclamer que l'érudit polonais, dont l'arrivée en Amérique marquera dans les annales de la philologie, vient d'écrire sur un sujet difficile et qui paraissait usé, un Mémoire d'une prodigieuse érudition, et en même temps d'une véritable élégance. On a l'impression qu'une fois de plus le flambeau a passé aux mains d'une nouvelle équipe, et qu'après les périodes anglaise (Bentley), hollandaise (Cobet), allemande

(G. Herrmann, Wilamowitz), la critique textuelle, base de toute étude sérieuse des sources littéraires et historiques, entre, grâce à Alexandre Turyn, dans une période polonaise.

HENRI GRÉGOIRE.

LOUIS C. WEST and ALLAN CHESTER JOHNSON, *Currency in Roman and Byzantine Egypt*, Princeton, 1944. pp. 195.

This is a technical treatise on the various types of coins in circulation in Egypt, their relation to each other, their value, weight and measure, and the bookkeeping devices in connection with their exchange and the payment of the taxes. Some discussion on the taxes is also included, but only when they help to explain monetary problems. It covers the period from the reign of Augustus to the conquest of Egypt by the Arabs. It is what the French would call *un instrument de travail* and should prove useful to numismatists and papyrologists, especially those interested in the history of Egypt during the Roman and Byzantine domination. Of particular interest to the social and economic historian is the chapter on price levels during the Roman period and the discussion on inflation.

That there was a steady rise in the price levels during the second and third centuries there seems to be no doubt, but the causes for this rise are not entirely clear. The authors attribute this rise to the scarcity of goods available for free sale, a scarcity which was brought about, they think, by the ever increasing taxes in kind. There was also an increase in the number of coins in circulation so that "the vicious combination of too much money and too few goods touched off the inflation which not even the absolutism of a Diocletian could control."

Interesting also is the statement of the authors that "at no time in Egypt in the period after Diocletian is there the slightest evidence of any inflationary trend in prices that are expressed in gold. The same statement can be made about the rest of the empire." The apparent increase of prices in terms of the lesser coins is to be explained by the supposition that "the Egyptians transferred to the new bronze coins of the post-Diocletian period the names of the pre-Diocletian monetary system but instead of calling the smallest bronze an obol or a drachma, he seems to have called it so and so many talents or myriads." This view that there was no inflation in the proper meaning of the term after Diocletian is contrary to that expressed by Angelo Segrè in *Byzantion* XV. That these distinguished scholars should reach opposite views after examining virtually the same sources raises the question whether these sources are yet sufficient to warrant any definite conclusions.

Seven tables where coins are classified from various points of view, a number of documents giving information about money, and an analytical index are included in the book. These doubtless enhance its usefulness Each document is accompanied by an English translation.

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A. Zeki Validi Togan, "Ibn Fadlan's Reisebericht" *Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, Leipzig: Kommissionsverlag F. A. Brockhaus, 1939. XXXIV pages d'*Einleitung*, 336 pages de traduction et de commentaire et 35 pages de texte arabe.

Ce livre capital, dont la préparation a pris plusieurs années, et dont la préface est datée d'Istanbul, 18 septembre 1939, ne doit rien à une publication simultanée et parallèle, la traduction russe de Kračkovskij.[1] Disons tout de suite, en effet, que l'édition russe, malgré son titre, ne comporte pas de véritable commentaire historique et géographique, et n'identifie même point les noms des lieux. En revanche, le travail de Zeki Validi est d'une richesse surabondante. Il ne peut guère se comparer, pour l'exubérance de la bibliographie et l'ampleur de l'érudition, qu'avec le *Hudūd-al-'Ālam* de notre ami Minorsky. Ces deux livres seront désormais les deux instruments de travail indispensables de tous ceux qui voudront consulter et utiliser, pour l'ethnographie, la géographie et l'histoire de la Russie méridionale, les trésors que récèlent les sources arabes et persanes. D'ailleurs, la science de Zeki Validi ne se borne pas au turc et au persan. L'auteur, comme il était naturel de par son origine et sa nationalité, se montre particulièrement versé en linguistique et en ethnographie turques. Et en général, il ne néglige aucune catégorie de sources, depuis les chinoises jusqu'aux byzantines, en passant par les Scandinaves. La littérature scientifique internationale lui est familière, y compris la finnoise et la hongroise. Et quant à sa critique, qu'en dire? Ceci. Si elle ne lui a pas toujours fourni ou suggéré des solutions définitives; si à chaque page, on la voit lutter contre l'abondance même des matériaux accumulés, il faut reconnaître que, dans toute oeuvre de ce genre, les erreurs sont inévitables, et que, plus "le chercheur" est "génial", plus il a de chance de se tromper souvent: je pense à Marquart. Trop de textes sont encore insuffisamment publiés; trop de "combinaisons" sont rendues possibles par les graphies arabes; trop de sources primaires ne nous sont connues que sous une forme altérée; et surtout, notre ignorance de plus d'une langue turque ancienne, comme celles des Petchénègues et des Chazares par exemple, ne peut être compensée par aucune prouesse imaginative. M. Zeki Validi savait tout cela. Il connaissait ses risques et ses difficultés. Nous devons admirer son courage, et lui savoir un gré infini des responsabilités qu'il a prises et des services qu'il a vaillamment rendus à notre science, avec un optimisme dont nous avons tous le plus grand besoin.

Ibn Faḍlān! Nom fameux pour tous ceux qui s'intéressent aux origines russes, et cela depuis cinq quarts de siècle, car c'est en 1823 que paraissait à Saint-Pétersbourg le livre de Frähn, *Ibn Foszlan's und anderer Araber Berichte über die Russen älterer Zeit*, suivi dix ans plus tard d'un autre mémoire du même auteur: *Die ältesten arabischen Nachrichten über die Wolga-Bulgaren aus Ibn Foszlan's Reiseberichten*. Mais c'est un siècle tout entier après la première de ces publications que Zeki Validi et Herzfeld découvraient à Meschhed en Perse le manuscrit contenant les oeuvres géographiques d'Ibn-al-Faqih, d'Abū Dulaf et d'Ibn Faḍlān lui-même. Jusqu'à présent nous ne

[1] *Putešestvie Ibn Faḍlana na Volgu: perevod i kommentarii pod redakcii I. Ju. Kračkovskago*, Leningrad 1939, avec facsimile du texte original

connaissions donc Ibn Faḍlān, auteur de la première moitié du Xe siècle, que par les extraits qu'en avait donnés Yaqūt. Mais le manuscrit de Meschhed lui-même n'est pas complet. Tant chez Kračkovskij que chez Zeki Validi, cette source de premier ordre a dû être reconstituée, ou si l'on veut complétée, au moyen des citations de Yaqūt. Le manuscrit de Meschhed s'arrête brusquement tout au début de l'épisode le plus intéressant peut-être pour nous (cérémonies à la cour du roi des Chazares).[2] On peut se demander encore si le nouveau manuscrit lui-même nous donne une forme absolument sûre, authentique et originale de l'oeuvre d'Ibn Faḍlān. Pour ma part, je n'en suis pas certain. Yaqūt affirme catégoriquement que la relation d'Ibn Faḍlān existait en plusieurs exemplaires ou recensions et M. Zeki Validi a démontré dans sa préface que deux auteurs, l'un de la fin du XIIe siècle, Aḥmad Ṭūsī et un autre de la fin du XVIe, Amīn Rāzī, ont fait quelques emprunts à Ibn Faḍlān, qu'ils citent d'après une édition parfois plus complète que le texte de Meschhed et celui de Yaqūt, et en tout cas différente de ces deux recensions. On fera bien de ne pas l'oublier. Si importante que soit la nouvelle source et si pure qu'elle nous paraisse, elle n'est peut-être pas exempte d'interpolations. Yaqūt, très certainement, attribue à Ibn Faḍlān, notamment, à propos des Chazares, beaucoup de choses dont l'auteur du Xe siècle n'est nullement responsable. Par exemple il met sous son nom des histoires tirées en réalité d'Istaḥrī (Zeki, p. XVI). Je ne crois pas que l'on puisse attribuer à Ibn Faḍlān le paragraphe 103 de la relation où il est dit que les Chazares et leurs rois sont de la religion judaïque. Car, au paragraphe précédent, 102, le roi des Chazares, l'année même de l'ambassade d'Ibn Faḍlān, soit en 922, après J-Chr., fait détruire dans sa capitale le minaret d'une mosquée en représailles pour la destruction d'une église en terre musulmane. Ce curieux passage a été admirablement commenté par M. Zeki Validi dans la note 4 de sa page 102. Le savant commentateur a tout à fait raison d'y voir une allusion à des faits survenus à cette époque en Espagne, lors de la réoccupation par les troupes d' 'Abdurraḥmān III, des domaines d'un usurpateur, Ibn Hafsūn, qui prétendait descendre d'un roi visigoth. Le terme arabe Kanīsa, "église" comme l'a fait observer Kračkovskij, ne peut signifier synagogue; et c'est pourquoi, d'ailleurs, M. Zeki Validi traduit lui-même "die Kirche" sans aucune hésitation. Mais, dans ces conditions, il faut bien admettre qu'Ibn Faḍlān considère le roi des Chazares comme un champion du christianisme; et, dans le chapitre chazare de la relation, sauf la courte phrase finale qui paraît due à Yaqūt, je ne vois aucune allusion au judaïsme. Il est vrai, et je m'empresse de l'ajouter, que dans la partie du texte consacré à la Bulgarie de la Volga, deux passages, d'ailleurs fort intéressants, montrent que ces Bulgares, voisins, vassaux et ennemis des Chazares, affectaient de parler de leurs tyrans comme

[2] "Die *Risāla* (Schrift) von Ibn Faḍlān, die ich *Rihla* (Reisebericht) nenne, ist leider auch in unserer Handschrift nicht vollständig. Die Erzählung hört auf mit dem Worte جلس in dem Berichte über die Zeremonie beim Chaqan der Chazaren, und von den Berichten, die Yaqūt zitiert hat, sind nur die Zeilen 11–17 der Seite 438 erhalten. In bezug auf die übrigen Teile der Berichte über die Chazaren bleibt Yaqūt noch immer der einzige Gewährsmann" (p. XIII, cf. p. 98).

d'une tribu juive. Le premier de ces passages est au chap. 48. L'ambassade arabe avait pour but principal d'établir une alliance entre les Bulgares de la Volga et le Califat, alors dangereusement menacé par l'insurrection carmate. Ibn Faḍlān, sans contredit le membre le plus intelligent et le plus sympathique de la mission, devait offrir au souverain, déjà islamisé, une somme considérable pour lui permettre de fortifier son pays contre des voisins hostiles et notamment contre les Chazares. Mais à la suite de certaines machinations, l'ambassade avait dû se mettre en route, pressée par la saison, avant que la somme en question pût être réunie. Or, comme le chiffre en était mentionné dans la lettre du calife (il s'agissait de 4,000 dinars), Ibn Faḍlān craignait avec raison d'être accusé par le Bulgare de fraude et d'infidélité. C'est ce qui arriva; et l'apostrophe du souverain étranger, telle que la relation la reproduit, porte tous les caractères de l'authenticité. La voici, traduite par M. Zeki Validi: "Mein Herr der Kalif hat die Ausgaben für Euch doch nur gemacht, um diesen Betrag zu mir zu überbringen, damit ich mit ihm (dem Geld) eine Festung baue, die mich von den Juden, die mich unterjocht haben, schützen soll." Plus loin l'hostilité des Bulgares à l'égard des Chazares est expliquée par la violence dont le roi de ce peuple a usé pour se procurer une épouse bulgare: union scandaleuse, vu la différence de religions, le Khagan étant juif et la princesse musulmane (p. 80): "obgleich er Jude war und sie eine Muslimin . . . Nur dieses ist es was den König veranlasst hatte, mit dem Sultan (dem Kalifen) zu korrespondieren und ihn zu bitten, eine Festung erbauen zu lassen, weil er den König der Chazaren fürchtete." Je me borne à relever, sur ce point capital, une sorte de contradiction qui, cette fois, n'est pas attribuable à Yaqūt, mais se trouve déjà dans le manuscrit de Meschhed. Une fois de plus, il apparaît que notre information sur l'état religieux des Chazares, même au début du Xe siècle, est bien sujette à caution. De toute manière, nous le répétons, le commentaire prodigieusement riche de Zeki Validi marque une date dans l'histoire de l'investigation vraiment scientifique des peuples et tribus de la Russie méridionale au Xe siècle. Les byzantinistes, au lieu de se plaindre des fautes d'impression et autres menues erreurs qui se trouvent en assez grand nombre, il est vrai, dans les citations du Porphyrogénète, seront reconnaissants à l'orientaliste de son importante contribution à un commentaire sérieux du *De administrando imperio*. Signalons tout particulièrement les pages consacrées aux Petchénègues, je veux dire à ce résidu de la nation petchénègue demeuré près de la Volga. Des détails curieux sur ces retardataires, que le Porphyrogénète a enregistrés, sont confirmés par les sources orientales: cf. p. 144, 147 (excursus sur les "pauvres" Petchénègues): "Idrīsi (Jaubert II, 437) berichtet von 'rasierten' Petschenegen mit 'kurzem Qurtaq' an sich. Der erste Teil dieses Berichtes stimmt mit dem des Konst. Porphyrogenetus überein. Dieser sagt über die gerade von Ibn Faḍlān besuchten Petschenegen östlich der Wolga, dass sie unter der Botmässigkeit der Uzen (Oguzen) leben und als Kennzeichen dessen, dass sie von ihren (nach Osteuropa ausgewanderten) Stammesgenossen abgeschnitten sind, kurze Kleidungsstücke tragen, die nur bis zu den Knien reichen und ihre Ärmel oben an den Armen abgeschnitten sind." Toute cette note serait à

citer. A elle seule elle justifie pleinement l'annonce du beau livre de M. Zeki Validi dans une revue byzantine. Ajoutons, pour terminer, que l'intérêt humain de la *legatio* d'Ibn Faḍlān est très grand. En fait, c'est non seulement un monument, mais un moment historique. Ibn Faḍlān, dont les qualités d'observateur objectif et précis sont tout à fait remarquables, et dont la sagesse comme la politesse fut appréciée des princes de la Volga, est non seulement l'auteur d'une relation de voyage vraiment scientifique, qui fait penser tantôt à Priscus et tantôt à Rubruquis, mais encore, à la différence de Liutprand, un autre de ses émules internationaux, plus près de lui dans le temps, c'est un diplomate qui a réussi. Il eut le droit d'être fier de sa mission. A une heure difficile pour le califat, il sut rattacher à l'Islam les peuples turcs dont il semble avoir deviné le rôle futur; et il a certainement préparé la défaite de ces Chazares que leur option tardive pour un vague judaïsme ne put sauver des coups conjugués de leurs voisins russes, et de leurs vassaux turcs qui, contre eux, avaient cherché et trouvé un appui dans le Commandeur des Croyants.

H. G.

A LA MEMOIRE DE CHARLES DIEHL

Charles Diehl s'est éteint à Paris, le 2 novembre 1944. Depuis longtemps aveugle, privé de sa chère compagne (morte à Pau, en 1941), l'infatigable travailleur n'avait pas cessé de produire. Il avait même fait paraître un dernier ouvrage de synthèse dont une lettre de notre collègue Paul Mazon nous dit la haute valeur, digne en tous points des autres oeuvres du Maître.

Le revue *Byzantion* a de grandes obligations envers Charles Diehl. En 1924, au premier Congrès des Etudes Byzantines, tenu à Bucarest, il fut l'un de ses parrains. Le tome IV (1927–1928) de la Revue, paru en 1929, lui est dédié. Et l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire Orientales et Slaves de l'Université de Bruxelles—celle-ci avait inscrit Charles Diehl au tableau de ses docteurs *honoris causa*—l'avait invité à faire à Bruxelles un cours complet d'art byzantin: tâche dont il s'était acquitté avec sa conscience et sa maîtrise coutumières.

C'est pourquoi notre Institut, ressuscité à New York pendant les années d'exil, avait l'impérieux devoir de rendre un pieux hommage au doyen des études byzantines.

Le 20 janvier 1945, dans une des salles les plus somptueuses de la Galerie Wildenstein, mise à notre disposition très gracieusement, par l'éminent directeur de la *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, M. Félix Wildenstein, les maîtres, élèves et auditeurs fidèles de l'Institut—et beaucoup d'amis américains et internationaux de la science française—s'associèrent avec une profonde émotion à cet *In Memoriam*.

M. Henri Grégoire, directeur de *Byzantion*, qui présidait, remercia la nombreuse assemblée, et notamment le R. P. Evthymiou, représentant l'Archevêque grec des deux Amériques, M. Charles Lely, Ministre plénipotentiaire de Grèce, et Miss Gisela Richter, du Metropolitan Museum, et donna successivement la parole à MM. A. A. Vasiliev et O. Halecki et à Mlle Sirarpie Der Nersessian, qui avaient accepté, le premier, de caractériser toute l'oeuvre de Diehl, surtout ses découvertes et ses grandes synthèses, le second, d'étudier *Diehl historien des relations byzantino-latines*, la troisième ayant pris pour sujet: *Diehl, l'archéologie et l'histoire de l'Art.*

Discours de M. A. A. VASILIEV

C'est le douloureux privilège de l'âge, de l'âge avancé, de pouvoir se pencher sur le passé et faire revivre les événements et les épisodes d'une jeunesse lointaine.

Au mois de septembre 1897 avait lieu à Paris le Onzième Congrès des Orientalistes. Ce Congrès comprenait une section gréco-byzantine, instituée depuis quatre ans seulement.[1] Et c'est en 1897 que je rencontrai pour la première fois Charles Diehl, alors âgéde 38 ans et professeur à l'Université de Nancy. J'étais présent à sa com-

[1] C'est en 1894, il y a un peu plus de cinquante ans, que notre discipline fut internationalement consacrée par la création d'une Section byzantine au Congrès des Orientalistes, tenu à Genève. Il y a vingt ans, se tint à Bucarest le premier Congrès entièrement consacré à Byzance (Pâques 1924).

munication sur les cérémonies de la Cour byzantine à l'époque de Justinien le Grand, communication basée surtout sur le Panégyrique de Justin II par le poète latin Coripus, versificateur sans génie, mais observateur fidèle et précis. Dans cette communication, Diehl utilisait déjà les monuments de l'art byzantin, notamment les mosaïques de S. Vital de Ravenne, et des sources nombreuses et diverses. Depuis longtemps, il était docteur. Il avait publié (en 1888) son excellente thèse intitulée *Etudes sur l'Administration byzantine dans l'exarchat de Ravenne*, et, plus récemment, sa courte mais lumineuse étude sur l'*Origine de Thèmes* (1896: réimprimée dans ses *Etudes byzantines*, 1905); enfin, son magnifique ouvrage, *L'Afrique byzantine* (1896). Au moment du Congrès il travaillait à son oeuvre magistrale, *Justinien et la Civilisation byzantine au VIe siècle*, qui devait paraître en 1901.

Je viens de mentionner l'étude de Diehl sur l'*Origine des Thèmes*. Elle a paru en 1896, il y a cinquante ans. Pourtant, aujourd'hui encore, malgré tant de travaux spéciaux sur le même sujet, cette note reste le point de départ et la base de toutes les recherches, de toutes les investigations faites et à faire, en largeur et en profondeur, sur ce phénomène essentiel de l'histoire interne de l'Empire byzantin.

Dans son livre, *L'Afrique Byzantine*, Diehl s'occupe de la période de 533 à 709; en d'autres termes, après avoir narré la grande expédition décidée par Justinien contre les Vandales de l'Afrique Septentrionale, et confiée au général byzantin Bélisaire, qui, salué par les populations d'Afrique comme un libérateur, marcha de succès en succès, l'auteur poursuit l'histoire de l'Afrique septentrionale jusqu'à la conquête arabe. Le résultat de cette conquête fut désastreux. "Pendant près de deux siècles," écrit Diehl, "l'Empire byzantin avait, à l'abri de ses forteresses, assuré au pays une grande et incontestable prospérité; pendant près de deux siècles, il avait, dans une partie de l'Afrique du Nord, maintenu les traditions de la civilisation antique et initié, par sa propagande religieuse, les Berbères à une culture plus haute; en cinquante ans, la conquête arabe ruina tous ces résultats." Dans son *Afrique Byzantine*, Diehl, non content de nous raconter les épisodes interminables des expédition militaires, nous fait connaître aussi les problèmes économiques de ce riche pays, appréciant à leur juste valeur les monuments archéologiques qui abondent dans l'Afrique du Nord.

En l'an 1901, lorsque son ouvrage *Justinien et la civilisation byzantine au VIe siècle* eut paru, nous nous sommes rendu compte que Diehl avait accompli une tâche énorme en présentant admirablement le tableau de la vie politique, sociale, économique du siècle de Justinien si complexe et si fascinante; plusieurs pages de son oeuvre étaient dédiées à l'histoire de l'art de l'époque du grand empereur, créateur de Sainte-Sophie, ce monument unique en son genre. Pour la première fois, nous avons compris qu'en la personne de Diehl nous avions un véritable historien de la civilisation byzantine en général. Dans cette oeuvre, en effet, Diehl révélait son don de pénétration, son amour des généralisations bien fondées, toujours intéressantes et stimulantes; même dans les cas où elles ne sont pas définitives, elles ne risquent pas de nous donner des idées trop hâtives, erronées. Charles Diehl n'a jamais cherché à présenter des nouveautés coûte que coûte; tout ce qu'il avançait reposait sur une base solide.

Toutes ces qualités exceptionelles de Diehl se sont plus tard merveilleusement manifestées dans ce petit volume, *Byzance: grandeur et décadence*, paru en 1919, où il dépeint si brillamment la vie intérieure de Byzance, où il montre les causes de la grandeur et de la décadence de l'Empire, l'influence de la civilisation byzantine sur les nations voisines, où il retrouve l'héritage byzantin en Turquie, dans l'Orient asiatique, en Arménie et en Géorgie, dans les États balkaniques, et surtout, dans la lointaine Russie, à Moscou, dans cette nouvelle Byzance, la "troisième Rome," "la nouvelle cité de Constantin," avec son "Tsar de toute l'orthodoxie," l'héritier

présomptif, véritable, le successeur naturel et le représentant légitime des empereurs de Constantinople."

Je me demande avec stupéfaction pourquoi cet admirable aperçu de vulgarisation n'a été traduit dans aucune langue étrangère. Si je ne me trompe, il n'en existe qu'une seule traduction, en finnois, parue à Helsinki en 1929. Peut-être me trompé-je. En tout cas, cette version est la seule que je connaisse.

La substance de ce livre remarquable a servi de base à la contribution de Diehl à la *Cambridge Medieval History*, chap. XXIII et XXIV du vol. IV.

La même année (1919) parut la première édition de son petit volume, *Histoire de l'Empire Byzantin*, qui contient un aperçu, peut-être trop concis, de l'histoire de Byzance jusqu'à la chute de Constantinople en 1453. Ce livre a eu plusieurs éditions en France.

Si l'on parcourt la liste de ses travaux publiés dans les *Mélanges Charles Diehl*, on est frappé de leur nombre et de leur variété. Et encore, n'oublions pas que ces *Mélanges* ont paru en 1930, que la bibliographie du maître a été arrêtée au 1er mai de cette même année. Après cette date, cette liste formidable s'est encore—et considérablement—accrue.

Parmi les oeuvres les plus récentes, je dois signaler ici *L'Egypte chrétienne et Byzantine* (*Histoire de la Nation Egyptienne* éditée par G. Hanotaux), monographie très claire et très solide de cette région de l'Empire qui fut toujours le grenier de Constantinople et le foyer par excellence des disputes religieuses.

Le dernier ouvrage d'ensemble de Diehl (écrit avec la collaboration de M. G. Marçais pour la partie arabe) est *Le monde oriental de 395 à 1081:* il a paru en 1936. C'est un large aperçu très bien fait, basé sur ses recherches antérieures.

Quoique, dans cette brève commémoration, je doive concentrer mon attention sur les oeuvres maîtresses, je ne peux m'empêcher de signaler ici son étude *La société byzantine à l'époque des Comnènes*, qui a paru dans la *Revue du Sud-Est Européen*, en 1929. Cette étude de vulgarisation, de haute valeur, nous donne un tableau magnifique de la civilisation byzantine en général, tableau qui, une fois de plus, nous fait reconnaître et saluer en Diehl un véritable historien de la culture et de la civilisation byzantines.

Ses livres et toutes ses études, jusqu'aux moindres notes, sont admirablement écrits. Son style est beau, peut-être trop beau, mais il n'est jamais boursouflé ou artificiel. Quelquefois j'ai entendu faire la remarque, tout-à-fait injuste, que Diehl serait un styliste admirable, de premier ordre, mais pas un "savant profond." Rien de plus absurde, rien de plus injuste.

Les travaux de Diehl, et son impulsion personnelle puissante ont créé l'école byzantine de France, qui a largement rayonné hors de ce pays et surtout dans les Balkans.

Dans l'activité de Diehl, il y a un côté qui nous frappe: c'est la variété des sujets qu'il a traités. A côté du sujet central de ses études, c'est-à-dire de l'histoire de Byzance, il y a un nombre très considérable de publications qui traitent de l'histoire de l'art byzantin, de l'histoire de l'art en général; il y a des impressions de ses nombreux voyages, des "pages de guerre," qui se rapportent à la première guerre mondiale; il y a des questions universitaires, etc.

Je veux donner ici un exemple:

En 1935 fut lancée une nouvelle *Revue internationale des études balkaniques:* or, dès 1936, nous y lisions un article de Diehl, *La civilisation balkanique à l'époque byzantine.*

Dans sa critique des ouvrages d'autres savants, Diehl est toujours calme et courtois, sans ces attaques violentes, au fond bien superflues, qui, très souvent, n'aboutis-

sent à rien. Je rappelle que dans un de ces articles, où il déclarait ne pouvoir accepter les arguments un peu vifs d'un contradicteur; il terminait sa réplique par les vers si connus:

Cet animal n'est pas méchant:
Quand on l'attaque, il se défend.

J'admire toujours le système de travail à la française. Malgré son labeur énorme, Diehl n'était point un "rat de bibliothèque": il était homme du monde; il aimait le théâtre, la musique, la société des femmes. Il savait être gai. Je me souviens que, lors de sa courte visite à Madison, après un dîner chez un des professeurs de l'Université de Wisconsin, nous—Diehl et moi—nous avons même essayé de chanter quelques chansons populaires italiennes!

Quelquefois, on appelait Diehl "le professeur itinérant" parce qu'il "portait sans cesse la parole" dans les pays les plus divers de l'ancien comme du nouveau monde. Je l'ai rencontré non seulement à Paris, mais aussi à St. Pétersbourg, en Russie, et à Madison (Wisconsin), aux Etats-Unis.

Car Diehl était connu, en dehors des cercles universitaires et scolaires, non seulement par ses livres et ses études; plusieurs pays en Europe, en Afrique, ou dans le Nouveau Monde l'ont connu en personne; ils l'ont vu; ils l'ont écouté; et beaucoup de ses auditeurs, grâce à ses conférences populaires, ont pris le goût des choses byzantines.

L'avenir de l'oeuvre historique de Diehl est solidement assuré.

D'après mon opinion, l'avenir assignera aux oeuvres de Diehl une place spéciale qui est réservé à très peu de savants: plus nous nous éloignerons de la date de sa mort, plus grandira notre admiration pour ses oeuvres, qui ont jeté tant de lumière sur la civilisation byzantine, qui ont découvert et expliqué tant de pages nouvelles et originales dans l'évolution de ce monde raffiné et complexe. Sans aucune exagération, je peux dire que l'oeuvre de Charles Diehl est impérissable.

Discours de M. O. HALECKI

Professeur à l'Université de Varsovie; Directeur du Polish Institute of Arts and Sciences in America; Professeur à Fordham University

L'oeuvre de Charles Diehl, dont on vient de nous montrer toute la richesse, la variété et l'ampleur, comprend, entre beaucoup d'autres, deux volumes, parus dans la même collection, qui constituent des synthèses de caractère analogue. C'est avec une émotion très personnelle que je me rappellerai toujours le premier, intitulé *Byzance—grandeur et décadence.* Lisant ce beau livre, il y a bien des années, je fis pour la première fois la connaissance de Diehl, non pas encore celle de l'homme dont je devais apprécier plus tard le charme attrayant et la grande bienveillance, mais celle de l'écrivain qui savait si bien passionner le lecteur pour le sujet traité. Je fis à la fois la connaissance de Byzance que j'avais jusqu'alors méconnue, comme tant d'autres historiens, partageant le préjugé qui remonte à la vieille conception de Gibbon, et qui ne voit dans toute l'histoire millénaire de l'Empire d'Orient qu'une longue décadence, menant fatalement à la chute finale. Avoir montré les éléments d'incomparable grandeur qui abondent, eux aussi, dans l'histoire byzantine, c'est là incontestablement un des résultats les plus féconds des recherches de Diehl, résultat qui a influencé toute l'historiographie contemporaine.

Mais je m'empresse de passer au deuxième des volumes que je voudrais rappeler, celui qui nous parle d'*Une république patricienne-Venise.* Il nous prouve tout d'abord que le maître qui consacra toute sa vie à la byzantinologie était très qualifié pour traiter avec le même talent des sujets qui dépassaient, dans l'espace comme dans

le temps le cadre, si large d'ailleurs, de l'histoire de l'Empire d'Orient. Modestement, Diehl signalait dans la préface de ce livre, combien de fois l'histoire de Venise avait été écrite avant lui. En effet, si l'on veut se documenter sur les détails de cette longue évolution, on se rapportera, sinon aux nombreux ouvrages italiens, tout au moins aux gros volumes de Kretschmayr, pleins d'érudition. Mais quiconque veut comprendre Venise, l'essence même de sa tradition qui, comme celle de Byzance, n'est morte qu'en apparence, fera mieux de suivre une fois de plus Charles Diehl qui, de nouveau, a su dégager merveilleusement les éléments de grandeur et ceux de décadence, et dont l'exposé possède, à la fois, la clarté systématique d'un manuel et toutes les qualités d'une grande oeuvre d'art.

Nul n'a réussi mieux que lui à expliquer, dans leur développement organique, tous les rouages si complexes de la constitution vénitienne, unique au monde; à faire ressortir la valeur documentaire des célèbres *relazioni* des ambassadeurs de la République de Saint-Marc; ou d'évoquer ce carnaval dans lequel s'étourdissait la glorieuse "Sérénissime" déjà mourante. Mais c'est pour une autre raison que ce livre occupe une place si importante dans l'ensemble de l'oeuvre de Diehl et permet d'en entrevoir un deuxième résultat capital. D'une part, l'auteur a sans aucun doute choisi ce sujet italien, parce que Venise, suivant une de ces définitions frappantes dont Diehl avait le secret, avait été successivement sujette, vassale, alliée et héritière de Byzance. Un Enrico Dandolo, qui créa l'empire colonial de la république, et même un Francesco Morosini, qui, longtemps après la chute de Constantinople, ramena en Grèce le lion de Saint-Marc, appartiennent, à la fois, à l'histoire de Venise et à celle de Byzance et de sa tradition. D'autre part, ce lien intime entre une cité italianissime et l'Empire d'Orient est la preuve la plus éloquente que l'histoire byzantine ne saurait être traitée comme quelque chose d'exotique et d'isolé, en marge de l'histoire générale. Au contraire, Diehl a montré, ici comme dans tant d'autres travaux, qu'elle est partie intégrante de l'histoire européenne et que, s'il est nécessaire de tenir compte des influences orientales à Byzance et de l'importance des possessions asiatiques de l'Empire, il n'est pas moins indispensable de suivre, à travers les siècles, les rapports entre l'Europe orientale grecque et l'Europe occidentale latine.

Pourquoi Diehl a-t-il été attiré par cet aspect, si souvent négligé, de l'histoire byzantine? D'abord, parce qu'il appartenait à cette illustre lignée de byzantinistes français qui remonte jusqu'à Du Cange. Il se plaisait à retrouver en Romanie les traces de ce qu'un pape du XIIIe siècle appela la "Nouvelle France". Il devait se rappeler que la France des Villehardouin avait conquis Constantinople, que la France des Courtenay y avait régné, que la France des Boucicaut avait défendu la ville impériale, retardant sa prise par les Ottomans. Mais à cette raison, presque sentimentale, il en ajoutait sans doute une autre. Diehl s'intéressait à l'histoire byzantine tout entière, du premier au dernier Constantin. Mais aucune époque ne lui était plus familière que celle de Justinien, à laquelle il consacra un de ses chefs d'oeuvres. Or, c'est précisement l'époque où, ayant reconquis tant de provinces de la partie occidentale de l'Empire, Byzance était, plus que jamais, conformément à son titre officiel, l'Empire des Romains, avec de nombreuses populations latines et avec le latin comme langue officielle. Diehl lui-même consacra ensuite des pages pénétrantes à l'hellénisation de l'Empire après Justinien,voire à son orientalisation qui, plus que l'hellénisation, devait l'éloigner de l'Occident latin. Mais l'auteur qui avait si brillamment interprété la civilisation byzantine du VIe siècle et la politique d'un grand empereur plus soucieux de regagner l'Italie ou même l'Espagne que de défendre les frontières orientales, était appelé plus que tout autre, à rester, dans une large mesure, l'historien des rapports de Byzance avec les Latins.

Il arriva ainsi à quelques conclusions générales de la plus haute importance. Il montra d'abord combien était injuste un autre préjugé qui s'oppose parfois à une juste compréhension de Byzance. On lui reproche souvent cette *fides graeca*, presque proverbiale, ou plutôt cette perfidie avec laquelle elle aurait toujours traité l'Occident. Remontant à l'origine des principaux malentendus réciproques, c'est à dire à l'époque des croisades qui, au lieu de rapprocher les deux parties de la chrétienté menacée par le monde musulman, finirent par les diviser plus profondément que jamais, Diehl sut montrer, avec son objectivité coutumière, que des erreurs regrettables furent alors commises de part et d'autre, dès le premier "passage" des croisés, occidentaux par Constantinople, et que Byzance, si elle leur a causé bien des déceptions, avait, elle aussi, des raisons très sérieuses de se plaindre et de s'inquiéter. Venant d'un historien occidental, ce témoignage prenait une valeur particulière.

Examinant avec une impartialité absolue les rancunes qui s'accumulaient ainsi, Diehl arriva à une seconde conclusion, suivant laquelle les deux civilisations, celle de Byzance et celle de l'Occident latin, auraient été incompatibles et la tâche de les réconcilier—sans espoir. Sur ce point, malgré tout le respect que j'ai pour le grand historien, je ne pourrais pas le suivre jusqu'au bout. Certes, les faits positifs semblent lui donner raison, et les essais de collaboration politique ont finalement échoué, comme les tentatives d'union religieuse qui se multipliaient tout au long de l'histoire du schisme oriental. Mais j'ose exprimer l'opinion que ce résultat négatif fut causé plutôt par des contingences tragiques, telles le fameux détournement de la quatrième croisade ou les défaites des expéditions qui, en 1396 ou 1444, allaient au secours de Constantinople, et non pas par une impossibilité absolue de remédier au dualisme de la civilisation gréco-latine du monde chrétien.

Diehl lui-même a d'ailleurs admirablement prouvé, et c'est là la troisième conclusion, incontestable celle-ci, qui se dégage de ses recherches, que Byzance et l'Occident, loin d'être séparés par des cloisons étanches, restaient non seulement en rapports constants, mais s'influençaient réciproquement d'une manière profonde. Sans jamais rester dans les généralités, Diehl, illustrant sa thèse, a étudié ces influences, celles notamment que l'Occident exerçait sur l'Empire d'Orient, dans des domaines aussi divers que la diplomatie et la littérature. C'est ainsi qu'il a montré la place qu'occupe Manuel Comnène, suivant de près la lutte entre la papauté et l'Empire germanique, dans l'histoire des relations internationales du XIIe siècle. Et les pages éloquentes que Diehl a consacrées a cet empereur qui plus que tout autre fut sympathique à tout ce qui était latin, nous font regretter qu'il n'ait pas écrit sa biographie complète. D'autre part, comparant l'épopée byzantine du Xe siècle—aujourd'hui l'objet des recherches pénétrantes de M. Henri Grégoire—avec les romans composés et lus a Constantinople trois ou quatre cents ans plus tard, Diehl a pu constater combien ces derniers étaient imprégnés de l'esprit de la chevalerie occidentale. Mais c'est à la lumière de deux autres exemples que je voudrais montrer avec quel succès la méthode de Diehl a renouvelé l'histoire byzantine, en y découvrant des pénétrations de tout ordre, originaires de l'Occident latin. On a rappelé avec raison qu'une de ses découvertes les plus méritoires fut celle des origines du régime des thèmes, découverte qui jeta une lumière inattendue sur un des problèmes les plus difficultueux de l'histoire intérieure de l'Empire et le résolut d'une manière aujourd'hui généralement admise. Or, cette solution, Diehl la trouva en étudiant l'administration byzantine dans l'exarchat de Ravenne—véritable travail de pionnier qui devança l'ouvrage allemand de Ludo Hartmann—, et ensuite en faisant revivre cette Afrique byzantine qui était, elle aussi, une partie de l'Occident reconquis par Justinien. Il constata qu'un de ses successeurs moins illustres, l'empereur Maurice, créant, vers la fin du VIe siècle, deux exarchats: celui de Ravenne pour mieux organi-

ser la défense de l'Italie contre les Lombards, et celui d'Afrique ou de Carthage destiné à refouler les Maures, donna les deux premiers exemples d'une combinaison de l'autorité administrative, judiciaire et militaire dans les mains d'un gouverneur-général représentant l'empereur. La subordination progressive de l'administration civile au pouvoir militaire qui en résulta dans ces deux cas particuliers, fut, suivant Diehl, le prélude de la grande réforme administrative d'où sortit le régime des thèmes, réforme qui débuta au siècle suivant dans les confins orientaux de l'Empire, également menacés, et se répandit ensuite sur l'Empire tout entier, divisé au Xe siècle en une trentaine de thèmes.

Passant à un sujet beaucoup plus attrayant, il faut observer que Diehl, tout en s'intéressant aux institutions et aux monuments, s'intéressait encore plus aux hommes qui les avaient créés. Il faudrait dire plutôt: aux personnes humaines, car—chose digne d'attention—il fut impressioné surtout par le rôle historique des femmes et spécialement des impératrices byzantines. A côté de son premier héros, Justinien, il plaça tout de suite son épouse bien-aimée, l'étrange et troublante Théodora qu'il défendit contre tant de calomnies, et dont il montra l'influence capitale. Mais parmi les impératrices qui lui succédèrent sur le trône de Byzance, Diehl montra à côté des Irènes, des Théophanos, des Zoés tout un cortège de princesses d'Occident qui marquèrent l'Empire d'Orient de l'empreinte de leurs personnalités. Il n'oublia pas les Allemandes: Berthe de Sulzbach qui régna à Constantinople au XIIe siècle, et Constance de Hohenstaufen qui apparaît à Nicée au XIIIe. Il insista sur le rôle des Italiennes: Italiennes d'Italie, comme Yolande de Montferrat et Anne de Savoie, sans l'histoire desquelles celle de Byzance au XIVe siècle serait incompréhensible, et Italiennes de l'Orient latin, comme les deux premières épouses du dernier Paléologue, Théodora Tocco et Catherine Gattilusio. Mais il évoqua surtout les destinées tragiques de deux Françaises: l'une, la princesse royale Agnès, venue de France à un âge si tendre qu'elle fut plus déracinée, plus "byzantinisée" que les autres impératrices étrangères, et qui pourtant, comme Diehl l'a dit si joliment, "rejoignit son lit de mort à son berceau"; l'autre, Française de Syrie, cette belle Marie d'Antioche étranglée à trente-cinq ans au milieu d'une de ces révolutions de palais qui resteront la tare de l'histoire byzantine.

Frappé non seulement par l'aspect romantique de leur sort, mais aussi, et surtout, par la manière dont elle influencèrent les rapports entre Byzantins et Latins, Diehl ne fit que mentionner en passant cette autre Française d'Orient, Mélisende de Tripoli, dont la mystérieuse langueur l'empêcha d'épouser l'empereur Manuel et reçut de nos jours une interprétation poétique dans la "Princesse lointaine" de Rostand. Mais, pour Diehl, *toutes* ces impératrices de l'histoire et de la légende étaient autant de princesses lointaines, qu'il désirait rapprocher de nous pour rapprocher en même temps, à travers les âges, la Byzance d'autrefois et notre monde latin. Lui-même, tel un ménestrel médiéval, leur resta fidèle jusqu'à la mort.

Pour le montrer, je voudrais terminer, comme j'ai commencé, par un souvenir personnel. En ce printemps douloureux de 1940, je rencontrai Diehl à Pau, où il s'était réfugié, ayant déjà perdu la vue et sa vigueur, si longtemps conservée. Il accepta cependant de faire une conférence publique et je lui demandai quel sujet il avait choisi. Il me répondit avec un sourire mélancolique: "Mais naturellement l'impératrice Théodora". Cette conférence d'un vieillard aveugle fut un grand succès, le dernier succès d'un des plus grand savants français de notre époque, que ceux qui l'entouraient de leur respecteuse affection, n'oublieront jamais.

Discours de MLLE SIRARPIE DER NERSESSIAN

M. Vasiliev et M. Halecki ont montré l'étendue et l'importance de l'oeuvre historique de M. Diehl. On est saisi d'étonnement lorsqu'on considère l'ampleur de

cette production qui embrasse les multiples aspects de l'histoire byzantine, dans l'empire et au dehors, partout où a rayonné l'influence de Byzance. Cet étonnement grandit encore lorsqu'on étudie l'oeuvre de l'historien de l'art, qui égale celle de l'historien.

Dès les débuts de sa carrière scientifique M. Diehl s'est intéressé aux oeuvres d'art; il les a étudiées en historien qui sait trouver dans les monuments une vivante image du passé, et en homme de goût sensible à la beauté des formes. Pendant les années passées aux Écoles françaises de Rome et d'Athènes, au cours de ses missions en Afrique du Nord et dans le proche Orient, il avait vu et étudié les monuments de l'antiquité et du Moyen Age byzantin, et ses premiers travaux furent consacrés à l'archéologie classique autant qu'à l'art chrétien. Entre les années 1880 et 1900 il publiait plusieurs articles sur les découvertes archéologiques en Grèce, en Afrique du Nord, en Asie Mineure, en Syrie, en Italie et en Sicile. Ses travaux sur l'art chrétien, publiés au cours de ces mêmes années, doivent être plus spécialement signalés, car ils ouvraient des horizons nouveaux. Plusieurs articles, réunis en 1884 dans son livre: *L'Art byzantin dans l'Italie méridionale*, donnaient les résultats de son exploration systématique des grottes érémitiques. C'est lui qui découvrit les peintures des grottes de Carpignano, près d'Otrante; il fut le premier à étudier les fresques de Vaste, de Soleto, de San Biagio et d'autres églises de cette région; il eut le grand mérite d'attirer l'attention sur les peintures de l'Italie méridionale, et d'en signaler l'intérêt et l'importance.

Un peu plus tard, en 1889, paraissait son étude sur l'église et les mosaïques de Saint-Luc en Phocide. Encore une fois il ouvrait la voie, car cette église, une des plus importantes du onzième siècle, n'était connue jusqu'alors que par des descriptions sommaires et pour la plupart inexactes. L'examen critique des sources historiques et hagiographiques, joint à l'étude de l'architecture et des mosaïques, lui permettaient d'établir la date de la construction et de la décoration. Les conclusions de M. Diehl demeurent acquises et les travaux plus récents consacrés à Saint-Luc ont ajouté très peu à ce qu'il avait déjà dit. Poursuivant ses recherches sur les monuments inédits ou peu connus, M. Diehl étudiait les mosaïques de l'Eglise de la Dormition à Nicée, ensuite celles des églises de Salonique, la ville qui rivalisa avec Byzance par splendeur de ses constructions. Ces articles, remaniés et complétés, furent réunis dans l'ouvrage important sur les *Monuments chrétiens de Salonique* qu'il publiait avec les architectes Le Tourneau et Saladin. Il n'avait pas encore terminé la rédaction de son manuscrit—la préface a été écrite en décembre 1917—lorsqu'un funeste incendie ravageait la ville et détruisait presque entièrement la fameuse basilique de Saint-Démétrius. Le livre de M. Diehl a donc une double importance: il nous donne une étude approfondie des monuments célèbres de Salonique, et il nous conserve le souvenir des mosaïques du sixième siècle de Saint-Démétrius, à jamais disparues.

A côté des travaux savants destinés avant tout aux spécialistes, M. Diehl en publiait d'autres qui s'adressaient au grand public. Mais même lorsqu'il a voulu faire, comme il l'a dit, "oeuvre de vulgarisation plutôt que de science", cette vulgarisation a conservé les éléments solides et les qualités de son oeuvre scientifique. Il suffit de mentionner, à titre d'exemple, ses récits de voyage, les livres qui ont paru dans la collection des Villes d'art célèbres—Ravenne, Constantinople, Palerme et Syracuse—et qui instruisent l'archéologue de métier autant qu'ils charment le lecteur. Quelques lignes de sa préface aux *Excursions archéologiques en Grèce* doivent être citées, car elles expliquent le but qu'il s'est proposé et forment un des meilleurs commentaires de son oeuvre. "La science, dit M. Diehl, n'est point nécessairement chose aride, sévère et sèche: elle doit comprendre qu'un peu de parure embellit les plus belles choses, qu'un peu de coquetterie ne messied pas aux personnes les plus

graves; elle ne doit pas se contenter d'imposer ses leçons par la seule force de la vérité, elle doit les faire accueillir par le charme de l'enseignement. Elle doit, pour aller dans le monde et y plaire, faire quelque toilette et tempérer d'une bonne grâce aimable les austérités de l'érudition." En effet, la science de M. Diehl n'est nullement aride, sévère ou sèche, mais elle demeure une science solide. Il a su tempérer les austérités de l'érudition, sans faillir aux exigences d'une méthode rigoureuse.

M. Diehl a exploré tous les domaines de l'art byzantin. Ses travaux portent sur l'architecture, la peinture, la sculpture et sur les oeuvres des arts mineurs: manuscrits, ivoires, tissus et argenterie. Il a étudié les monuments de l'empire byzantin en même temps que ceux des pays voisins en Syrie, en Arménie, en Russie, en Egypte, en Italie et dans les Balkans. Il a suivi de près tout ce qui se publiait en France et ailleurs, et dans ses comptes rendus, dont plusieurs sont de longues études, il a discuté les diverses hypothèses et théories sur le caractère de l'art byzantin. Par sa vaste érudition, par ses dons de clarté et d'organisation, par son sens critique si fin, en même temps que son bon sens, il était admirablement qualifié pour présenter une histoire générale de l'art byzantin. C'est ce qu'il fit dans la première édition de son *Manuel*, qui repris et remanié en 1926, demeure le modèle du genre, l'ouvrage dont ne peuvent se passer ni les débutants, ni les spécialistes.

Plus que tout autre savant M. Diehl a fait connaître et comprendre l'art byzantin au grand public. Il a montré que tout en étant bien des fois imitateur et copiste, cet art fut davantage encore capable d'originalité et d'invention créatrice. S'il a avancé parfois que l'art byzantin "intéresse plus qu'il n'émeut", et qu'on y rencontre "peu d'oeuvres de maîtrise véritable", il n'a pas manqué d'ajouter que nous le connaissons surtout par ses débris et nous ne pouvons le juger entièrement d'après ce que le hasard a conservé.

Dans les controverses sur les origines de l'art byzantin il a tenu le juste milieu entre les théories extrêmes. Tout en reconnaissant ce que Byzance doit au puissant mouvement artistique de l'Asie Mineure, de l'Arménie, de la Syrie, de l'Egypte et de la Mésopotamie, il a insisté, avec raison, sur le rôle de la capitale; il a montré que "le point où ces influences diverses se rencontrèrent, se coordonnèrent, se combinèrent, fut Byzance." Il a également insisté sur la prodigieuse expansion de l'art byzantin. "Dans tout le monde chrétien, a-t-il écrit, des coupoles de Kiev aux églises de l'Italie, Byzance apparaît durant tout le Moyen Age comme la grande initiatrice."

L'archéologie classique et l'art byzantin n'ont pas seuls intéressé M. Diehl. Dans ses récits de voyage, d'une lecture si attachante, il a parlé avec autorité des monuments de toutes les époques. Il a, de plus, publié des études spéciales sur l'art italien de la Renaissance, tels ses livres sur Botticelli et sur le Paysage en Italie au XVe et au XVIe siècle.

Je ne saurais terminer ce bref aperçu de l'oeuvre de M. Diehl sans parler du maître lui-même. Ses cours publics de la Sorbonne attiraient un auditoire nombreux et assidu, mais ses élèves se souviendront surtout de ses cours privés, en particulier des leçons réservées à l'étude des textes. Après l'examen minutieux, les commentaires savants et pénétrants, où chaque mot était pesé, venait la large synthèse faisant entrer les points de détail précédemment acquis dans le cadre général de l'histoire et de la civilisation byzantines. M. Diehl avait une haute conscience de ce qu'il appellait "son métier de professeur"; ses élèves se souviendront de son accueil toujours courtois, de l'intérêt qu'il leur témoignait, de ses conseils et de l'aide qu'il était toujours prêt à leur donner pendant leurs années d'études, comme plus tard dans leur carrière scientifique, et ils conserveront pieusement la mémoire d'un grand savant qui fut aussi un grand maître.

Nous regrettons que la place nous manque pour reproduire aussi une adresse de Mrs. Georgina Buckler au nom des byzantinistes anglais, une touchante allocution de M. S. Xydis au nom des byzantinistes grecs, les souvenirs personnels d'un poète français, ancien auditeur de Diehl, M. André Spire et le discours de M. Henri Grégoire. Plusieurs de ces hommages à Charles Diehl trouveront place ailleurs, notamment dans la revue *Renaissance.*

OBITUARY

NICHOLAS IORGA, A GIANT OF SOUTHEASTERN EUROPE[1]

By Dr. E. Dvoichenko-Markoff

The day will come when Roumania, liberated from the German yoke, will celebrate the memory of Professor Nicholas Jorga who gave his life for the honor and freedom of his native land, one of the first victims of Nazi violence. The value of his contribution to science will not be forgotten by future generations, for whom his life and work will serve as an inspiration.

November 28th, the day of his death, will become a memorable historical date. It will be marked by gatherings of numerous historians and scientists from all parts of the civilized world; many will be the speeches pronounced, honoring one of Roumania's greatest sons; books and articles on his life and works will appear, not only in Roumania, but throughout the entire world.

To-day Roumania is silent, and the anniversary of his death may not be commemorated. Only in secret will a Roumanian patriot brush away a tear, and in the dead of night fire a stray shot at an occupationist, or in silence lay a mine across the path of a German train--all in token of the revenge to come for the great and beloved teacher.

In the United States we enjoy freedom of speech. May it be permitted to me, a former pupil of this great master, to acquaint you with a brief biography of the man who, protesting to the last the invasion of his native land, chose death rather than escape to safety.

Nicholas Jorga, the great Roumanian patriot and scientist, was born in 1871, in a small town in Northern Moldavia, "Botoşani." His father, a lawyer, stemmed from a family of impoverished "boyars" who prided themselves with generations of highly cultured ancestors. His mother was the niece of Manolaki Drăghici, well known in Moldavia as a politician and historian. His mother was a talented translator of French novels, and the French language reigning supreme in the child's home, he had

[1] Nicolas Iorga (the real orthography and pronunciation is, of course, Iorga) fut assassiné le 27 novembre 1940. Cette nécrologie reproduit, en langue anglaise, le discours français prononcé par Mme Dvoichenko-Markoff, le dimanche 22 mars 1942, à 3 heures, à la Commémoration Nicolas Iorga, organisée par l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire Orientales et Slaves de l'Ecole Libre des Hautes Etudes.

already consumed numerous French books when at the age of 6 he started going to school.

At school, and later in College, Jorga's unusual capacities immediately attracted his teachers' attention. His Latin teacher was particularly proud of him.

Tall and slim, Nicholas Jorga did not associate much with the other boys who looked up at him in awed admiration. One of these boys (who in the future was to become Minister of Education) once asked his companions: "Why is Jorga so clever? Is it not because he always eats nuts?"

Upon graduating from College, Jorga entered the University of Jassi. He immediately attracted the attention of his professors, who decided that so talented a student need not remain a full term in the University. Hardly a year had elapsed when he was subjected to a test, which proved him worthy of the University diploma. One of the professors refused to take part in the examining board, declaring that he was used to average students, not to geniuses.

Jorga graduated from Jassi University at the age of 18.

At that time he already had published numerous articles and poetry which had appeared in several Jassi periodicals. He had also delivered his first lecture on capitalism, after having made a thorough study of Russian socialism which was then very much the fashion.

Very soon, Jorga was granted a scholarship for studies abroad. He travelled to Paris and followed courses at the "Ecole des Hautes Etudes," at the same time writing his first thesis on "Philippe de Mézières": He then went to Germany to study under the well-known Karl Lamprecht, and obtained his doctor's degree for his work on "Thomas III Marquis de Saluces." Jorga then visited England, which country impressed him greatly. This is what he wrote upon his first acquaintance with English literature:

"It was with enthusiasm that I started reading English literature, starting with the sonnets of Shakespeare, and ending with Bulwer Lytton's "Last Baron." I witnessed the spectacle of a nation which never boasts of its highest ideals and never displays its intimate sentiments. For the first time I was in the presence of a real nation, complete and molded into its definite shape; my own national consciousness was aroused in me, never again to slumber."

This first acquaintance with the Anglo-Saxon world was bound to arouse in Jorga a desire to visit America. This desire, however, was only realized in 1930 when, upon returning from the United States, Jorga published a book entitled "America şi Românii din America" (America and Roumanians in America). For lack of space, I cannot give more details on Jorga's sojourn in America. This subject would be worthy of a separate article. It should be noted, however, that the great man's sharp eye penetrated beyond the superficial layer of "business" America, and spotted the deeper America: the America of thought and art, of model colleges and of first rate museums and libraries. Little did he suspect that ten years after his trip to America, and immediately after his tragic death, the "Ecole

Libre des Hautes Etudes" in New York would open a seminar in his name, and commemorate his memory on the first anniversary of his death.

Jorga's historical conception was born of his early travels and he expressed it thus: "No nation can be understood when taken separately—it may be studied only in relation to its role in the general scheme of history. No forms of government can be grafted from outside; they have to grow naturally, as the manifestation of the life of a given nation."

On November 1, 1894, Jorga started his course of general history in the University of Bucharest. He was but 23 years old, but his fame had already spread over all of Roumania. In his historical lectures he touched on national and social problems. In the hearts of his students he kindled the spark of love for the Fatherland and for Truth. He called on Roumanian society to build a new life, a life cleansed of political intrigue, of hypocrisy and injustice. He expressed himself thus: "Roumania cannot reach the level of other European countries unless the oppressed peasant class is enlightened and granted the right to take part in the political life of the country." He endeavors to determine the place of Roumania in the Europe of to-day: 'We have reached the age when we must start with the knowledge of ourselves, with the most earnest study of our strength and weakness. The time has come for us to collect all our forces, wherever they may be. It is high time that we aim toward our own purposes, properly investigated and fully clarified. We are no longer subject to foreign influences, and we may no longer be slaves to anyone. We want to live on our own and establish our own small, national hearth. Older countries have no need of planning every new step they take. We, however, have to inquire, to take counsel, realize our needs, understand them, stand on watch every moment in order to realize the true purpose of our existence and never deviate from our path."

In 1903 Jorga stood at the head of the literary movement which attacked the trend then prevailing in Roumanian literature—imitation. It is under his influence that the new generation of Roumanian writers developed. Freed from the bonds of foreign imitation, they created the new Roumanian literature.

In 1907 Jorga founded the "Roumanian Cultural League" (Liga Culturală) and opened the first Popular University in the lovely mountain village "Vălenii de Munte," which soon became the great cultural center of Roumania. The summer session usually brought about a convention of the most brilliant and talented minds of the country. Jorga also established a special center for minorities' groups and foreigners desirous of acquainting themselves with Roumanian language and culture. The Students' Home cottages were scattered in spacious, shady parks. The needy students were subsidized and spent one or two years in close contact with their Roumanian colleagues. Personal contacts helped much toward mutual understanding; the universal took the upperhand over narrow nationalistic tendencies. The "Şcoala de Misionare Culturale si Morale" (Higher Women's School for the Propagation of Culture and Ethics) was an offspring of "Vălenii de Munte." The "Şcoala de Misionare" was

open the year round and, during the winter, Jorga would travel twice a week from the capital to deliver his course on General Culture. In summer he would settle there with his family.

In "Vălenii de Munte" Jorga had his own historical museum and his own printing press which was mostly taken up with the printing of his works and of the papers and periodicals he published; it could scarcely cope with the amount of work which invariably overburdened it—it is common knowledge that Jorga was the most prolific scientific writer the world has ever known. As listed after his death, his work amounted to 1,200 books and 23,000 articles, taking into account verse and drama, in addition to scientific, political articles.

Everyone was amazed by his untiring energy, his unusual capacity for work and his high productivity. It has been rumored that an English scientific institution had already purchased his brains for its collection of brains of geniuses.

Jorga was not only a great historian of his own country: he was known as an eminent expert on Byzantium, on the history of the Ottoman Empire, on Medieval History, and on entire Southeastern Europe. The following story was told about him:

When once in Zurich he dropped into a bookstore, searching for new material on the southeast of Europe. The librarian started showing him his own books until, losing his patience, Jorga finally told him who he was. Flustered and embarrassed by the visit of so great a man, the owner of the bookshop did not know how to honor his eminent guest and begged him to accept the gift of numerous valuable books.

Jorga did not limit himself to the study of past history—he was eager to take part in the making of contemporary history. He first stepped into the political arena during the agrarian uprising of 1907, when he was active on the side of the peasantry.

Later, when the first World War broke out, he advocated the entry of Roumania into the war on the side of the Allies. When in 1916, the German hordes swarmed into Roumania and the entire nation was on the verge of despair, Jorga was the only one whose spirit never flagged, and he insistently prophesied a happy outcome of the war.

And his prophecy came true: The century-old dream of the nation materialized: Greater Roumania came into being.

The Roumanian people did not forget their prophet, their great teacher. In 1931 Jorga became Premier, and although his tenure of office lasted but one year, he did much to raise the prestige of Roumania abroad.

Soon, however, Jorga rose in open protest against the dictatorship of King Carol, and especially against the arbitrary power of Roumania's evil genius, the one-eyed Calinescu. Taking advantage of his ascendency over Carol, Calinescu endeavored to bring about the definite ousting of Jorga. The story was current that, when summoned into the King's presence to furnish explanations, Jorga broke out in anger: "Were I to know who it is that calumnied me to your Majesty, I would with my own hands tear out his last eye."

Jorga was famous for his wit. From the rostrum and in the press he lashed out in biting irony against his opponents, whose weak points he mercilessly brought to light. In addition to numerous political enemies, he soon acquired a great number of personal ones.

When the poison of fascism started spreading all over Europe, Jorga immediately took a firm stand against it. In his speeches and lectures which are a striking evidence of his prophetic vision, he invariably foretold that Hitler would inevitably meet Napoleon's doom. When the German invasion of Europe broke loose Jorga courageously raised his voice in loud protest and, in one of the leaders of his paper "Neamul Românesc" (The Roumanian People), he called the Germans "porci motorizaţi" (motorized pigs).

No wonder he soon attracted the affectionate attention of the Gestapo. A young German girl appeared at the University of "Valenii de Munte," and proved a most attentive and diligent student, carefully taking down the Master's every utterance. It became known, that, just as conscientiously, she was turning every word over to the German Embassy.

Jorga's loyal attitude toward the Allies who had helped Roumania acquire her latest frontiers stood in the way of the Germans, as well as in that of those opportunists who were driving Roumania into the abyss of German totalitarianism. Neither the genius, nor the world-wide fame of their great leader could stay their treacherous hand. Fulfilling the will of their new masters, the Germans, they perpetrated the vilest crime against their own country and the entire civilized world.

In the fall of 1940 Roumania suffered from a violent earthquake which destroyed the house of Professor Jorga at "Vălenii de Munte." At the same time his house in Bucharest was being taken over by the Roumanian legionnaires, Germany's mercenaries. Jorga could do naught else but retire to his villa in Sinaia where, far from the painful sight of the nazis running his country, he took up his literary work. The premonition of his impending doom is reflected in his last verses written at this time, and which remained unpublished.

No English translation being available, we give the French version of one of these poems.

Le Vieux Sapin (The Old Pine).
On abattait un vieux Sapin
Parce qu'il donnait trop d'ombrage,
Quand du fourré sombre et sauvage
Sortit la voix d'un dieu sylvain:

"Vous qui vivez dans la lumière,
Et mettez à mort les Ancêtres,
Le Géant vous gênait peut-être?
Mais votre hâte est téméraire. . . .

Car, sous ses branches indociles,
Tant qu'il fut là, longtemps, longtemps,
Contre tous vents, contre tous temps,
Beaucoup trouvèrent un asile.

Le vieillard debout sur la crête
Montrait la route aux pélerins,
Et, quand tonnaient les cieux d'airain,
Il bravait le choc des tempêtes.

Vivant, il fut l'aide et l'accueil,
Ton rempart, Peuple, et ton apôtre—
Mort, que peut-il te donner d'autre
Que des planches pour ton cercueil?"

(translation by Professor Henri Grégoire)

On the evening of November 27th Jorga had completed the third act of the drama he was working on. His pen had just dashed off the heading "Fourth and Last Act" when a loud knock resounded and the murderers burst into the house. Taking no heed of his wife's entreaties, they bade him follow them. Not a minute was he granted to take leave of his family. The car sped away into the night, and next morning, Professor Jorga's body, riddled with bullets, was found lying in the dust on the road between Bucharest and Sinaia.

Roumania had lost her greatest patriot and historian, her pride and glory. The entire Roumanian people who had been looking up to him, the cultural institutions which he had created—Liga Culturală, the Sud-Est European Institute, the Institute of World History, the Popular University, the "Şcoala de Misionare"—all were smitten by the murderers' bullets.

Never will the Roumanian nation forget her greatest son. His monumental works on Roumanian history and literature, as well as those on universal history, will forever commemorate his glory, and will be long recognized as the best and most thorough sources for the study of South-eastern Europe.

He died at his post, standing watch over the past and present history of his country. To the last, he never laid down arms: for in our gloomy days of intense national enmities and mutual extermination of peoples, he unflinchingly held high the banner of the "Religion of Freedom," as he called his convictions, and openly denounced violence, regardless of whence it came.

He is gone—but his Religion of Freedom remains with us. May we, assisted and directed by his teaching, bring about the realization of his great dream, and may his name be borne by the institutions of that new, enlightened world, which shall replace the violence and chaos of the present-day nightmare.

Comment mourut Nicolas Iorga.

Nous sommes en état de compléter le bref historique de Mme Dvoichenko par cet émouvant récit, tiré d'une lettre adressée a Mme Dvoichenko par Mlle. E. Chişcă, une des secrétaires de Jorga.

Le 27 novembre à 6 heures du soir, arrivèrent, à Sinaïa, huit légionnaires

dans deux automobiles. Ils réclamèrent le professeur. Mme Iorga dit qu'il était absent et leur demanda de produire leurs documents ou pièces d'identité. Ils refusèrent grossièrement et commencèrent à circuler dans les chambres. Iorga, qui était légèrement indisposé, et qui s'était couché sur un divan, ayant entendu du bruit, sortit, et c'est alors qu'ils lui demandèrent de le suivre à Bucarest pour une enquête. Le lendemain devait avoir lieu la revision du procès dont la polémique de Iorga contre Codreanu était le prétexte; et le professeur devait être absous de toutes les accusations portées contre lui "par la masse imbécile des légionnaires ignares, achetés et excités par leurs "patrons". Le professeur, jugeant parfaitement normal d'être ainsi convoqué dit à sa femme: "Acum ăştia sunt ţara, şi dacă ţara mă chiamă, eu mă duc' " (Aujourd'hui ces messieurs représentent le pays, et puisque le pays m'appelle, j'y vais.) Telles furent ses dernières paroles. Il sortit avec les légionnaires et Mme Iorga, craignant une trahison, se précipita au téléphone pour appeler la police. Mais personne ne lui répondit, car, comme on le sut plus tard, les assassins étaient d'accord avec toutes les autorités. Ce ne fut qu'après une demi-heure d'efforts que Mme Iorga réussit à atteindre son fils qui vivait à Bucarest. Celui-ci se précipita chez le général Antonescu, auprès duquel on refusa longtemps de l'introduire, sous de vains prétextes. Il apparut que le général Antonescu n'avait même pas pensé à faire convoquer Iorga. Informé de ce qui venait de se passer, le général comprit de quoi il s'agissait et, se prenant la tête à deux mains, cria que ses "collaborateurs" le compromettaient à jamais.

(Comme chacun sait, ces mêmes "collaborateurs", ayant à leur tête Hora Sima, se soulevèrent contre le général Antonescu qui réprima durement la révolte, avec l'aide des Allemands.)

Il fit envoyer immédiatement des autos blindées, des soldats et la police à la recherche du Professeur. Mais il était déjà trop tard: à 4 heures du matin, sur la chaussée, près de Ploeşti sur la route menant à "Vălenii de Munte", si cher au professeur, on trouva son cadavre encore chaud, recouvert d'un manteau de fourrure.

Une légende circula aussitôt, donnant les détails du meurtre.

On assure que Iorga fut d'abord amené à Ploeşti, où les légionnaires, en présence de la Gestapo, le firent passer en jugement.

"Naturellement, ils le trouvèrent coupable" ajoute la correspondante en racontant les détails du meurtre. "On l'amena à la lisière d'un bois, prés d'un village des environs de Ploeşti, et là, on le fusilla. On dit avoir trouvé, à côté du corps de Iorga, celui de deux légionnaires qui avaient refusé de tirer; en effet, il avait longuement parlé avec eux, et persuadés de son innocence, ils avaient supplié les autres de l'épargner: mais ils n'y gagnèrent que d'être exécutés eux-mêmes, les premiers, avant Iorga. On raconte que Iorga leur parlait de la honte que vaudrait au pays son assassinat, et combien les autres pays le mépriseraient. On raconte aussi qu'il leur aurait dit, avant sa mort: "Vous vous êtes jusqu'ici conduits comme des traîtres, ne le soyez donc pas jusqu'au bout, et ne tirez pas dans le dos".

Et il leur présenta sa poitrine. Et en effet, il avait des traces de balles nombreuses, aux tempes, et sur la poitrine, à droite et à gauche.

Le 28 novembre, vers midi, son corps fut porté à la chapelle "Bellu", et nous y allâmes. Je restai longtemps à le regarder: il paraissait vivant, les yeux ouverts, souriant, et avait une expression extraordinairement tranquille et heureuse. La trace des balles était petite, à peine visible, et n'abîmait pas l'impression d'ensemble: seulement un filet de sang coulait le long du front et du nez, et se perdait dans sa moustache. Ses doigts étaient légèrement enflés, si bien que son alliance coupait un peu l'annulaire. Ils étaient tachés d'encre, car Iorga avait beaucoup écrit ce jour-là.

Puis ce furent les funérailles. La terreur était telle que le bruit courait d'une tragédie sanglante préparée par les légionnaires pour le jour même de l'enterrement. On parlait d'un massacre général des partisans de Iorga. Malgré les horreurs qu'on avait fait circuler, il y avait tant de monde que l'immense cimetière de Bellu n'était qu'une mer de têtes. Dans l'église on s'écrasait pour le voir une fois encore. Lorsqu'on essaya de repousser la foule quelqu'un s'écria: "Qu'on nous laisse le voir encore une fois: Nous tous nous aimions Iorga". Ce témoignage, venu du coeur du peuple, fut pour le martyr le plus haut hommage et la condamnation des misérables qui l'avaient assassiné et qui après sa mort voulaient encore insulter son cadavre; car pendant la nuit où son corps resta à l'église, il fallut mettre des soldats pour le garder, et fermer la porte du cimetière et de l'église.

Rédigé par H. G.

LA BYZANTINOLOGIE FRANÇAISE PENDANT LA GUERRE: 1940–1945

PAR A. GRABAR

Les études byzantines, pendant la guerre, ont partagé le sort de toutes les activités intellectuelles en France. La recherche a été entravée ou momentanément arrêtée par la mobilisation de plusieurs érudits, par les opérations militaires, les évacuations, la fermeture des bibliothèques, la dispersion des fichiers, par divers obstacles d'ordre politique et économique, voire par la sous-alimentation. Et plus encore que la recherche proprement dite, l'impression des livres et des revues a été constamment entravée, pendant la période envisagée (absence de papier, de courant électrique, de main d'oeuvre, de transport). Aussi, maints travaux entrepris ou terminés depuis 1940 n'ont pas encore pu voir le jour, et dans ces conditions une liste des publications ne pouvait donner une idée de l'activité des byzantinistes français que si aux ouvrages mis en vente on joignait les livres et articles en cours d'impression et prêts à paraître. C'est ce que nous avons fait en rédigeant la notice bibliographique qui va suivre.

C'est la France, on s'en souvient, qui préparait le VIe Congrès International d'Etudes Byzantines. Il devait se réunir à Alger, en Octobre 1939, sous la présidence de Gabriel Millet.[1] Le déclenchement de la guerre fit remettre le Congrès *sine die*, mais un important volume des *Résumés des communications* annoncées fut imprimé par les soins de M. Millet. Dès que les circonstances le permettront, il sera distribué aux personnes qui s'étaient fait inscrire au Congrès. En attendant, on trouvera un exposé succinct des travaux qui devaient se dérouler à Alger, selon le programme élaboré par le Comité organisateur, dans trois communications de M. Millet à l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres (*Comptes-Rendus*, 1940, pp. 132–156).

Plusieurs ouvrages de synthèse ont été préparés pendant la période envisagée. C'est d'abord et surtout le t. IX (1) de l'*Histoire du Moyen-Age* de l'*Histoire Générale* fondée par G. Glotz, qui sous le titre *L'Europe Orientale de 1081 à 1453* réunit des chapitres posthumes de Ch. Diehl, (en collaboration avec L. Oeconomos) sur l'histoire de Byzance depuis 1081 jusqu'en 1204 et d'autres, très nouveaux, par R. Guilland, sur Byzance entre 1204 et 1453. Une troisième partie, due à R. Grousset, traite de l'histoire de l'Orient latin.

On s'attend à la parution prochaine de deux au moins des trois volumes que L. Bréhier consacre à Byzance, dans la *Bibliothèque de Synthèse Historique. L'Evolution de l'Humanité* dirigée par H. Berr: t. 32: *La vie et la mort de Byzance*, et t. 32bis: *Les institutions de l'Empire byzantin*. Le troisième volume de cette série, t. 32ter, sera réservé à la *Civilisation byzantine*. L'ensemble formera probablement le livre de synthèse le plus complet qu'on ait jamais dédié à Byzance.

Signalons, en outre, deux aperçus rapides de l'histoire byzantine. Dans l'un, publié chez Colin en 1943, sous le titre *Grands problèmes de l'histoire byzantine*, Ch.

[1] Un Congrès International des Etudes byzantino-slaves, le premier d'une série qui, nous l'espérons, sera longue, s'est tenue à New York, sous les auspices de l'Ecole Libre des Hautes Etudes et sous la présidence de M. A. A. Vasiliev et H. Grégoire les 26, 27 et 28 avril 1946. Les 25 communications présentées à ce Congrès paraîtront *in extenso* dans le tome XVIII de la revue BYZANTION qui s'imprime en ce moment à Wetteren-lez-Gand chez De Meester. On est prié d'adresser dès à présent toute correspondance relative à BYZANTION XVIII, à M. le Professeur Paul Wittek 73, avenue E. Verhaeren, Bruxelles III.

Diehl proposait une mise au point de son brillant petit livre d'autrefois intitulé: *Byzance. Grandeur et Décadence*. L'autre esquisse, signée par P. Lemerle, fait partie de la collection de brochures *Que sais-je?* lancée par les Presses Universitaires: *Histoire de Byzance*, 1943.

Plusieurs travaux ont été consacrés aux sources byzantines. B. Leib a fait paraître le 2e volume de *l'Alexiade* d Anne Comnène (1.V-X): coll. G. Budé, Les Belles Lettres, 1943, texte, traduction, notes. Dirigé par le même auteur, le 3e volume (1.XI-XV) achève de s'imprimer.

En fascicules séparés, A. Dain a publié les textes suivants:

(1) *L'"Extrait Tactique" tiré de Léon VI le Sage* (fascicule 284 de la Bibl. de l'Ecole de Hautes Etudes, Sciences hist. et Philol.), Champion, 1940.

(2) *Naumachica*. Les Belles Lettres, 1943 (texte annoté de sept opuscules). Par le même auteur, dans *Rev. Et. Grecques*, LIII (1940), 123–136: *Mémorandum inédit sur la défense des places* (court traité byz. du Xes.).

Pour paraître prochainement, par le même auteur, un volume qui portera le titre *Poliorketica*. En collaboration avec le regretté P. Noailles, A. Dain a publié, aux Belles Lettres, en 1944, un recueil: *Les Novelles de Léon VI le Sage* (Introduction, texte et traduction de 113 Novelles; LXIII et 279 p.).

Le R. P. Grumel imprime le 3e fascicule des *Régestes* du patriarcat de Byzance; sa parution a été retardée par les événements politiques. Vient de paraître le volume: P. Lemerle, *Archives de l'Athos, II, Actes de Kutlumus* (chez P. Lethiellieux): on y trouvera, en dehors d'une monographie du couvent, une édition diplomatique des 80 documents qui composent ses archives grecques, une analyse de chaque document et de nombreux appendices sur les textes faux, les documents serbes et turcs, les inscriptions du couvent, etc. Plus un album de 32 planches.

Enfin, reprenant, suivant une formule nouvelle, l'ancien *Recueil des historiens des Croisades*, l Académie des Inscr. et Belles-Lettres imprime en ce moment le t.1 du *Recueil de documents relatifs à l'histoire des Croisades*, que les Byzantinistes pourront occasionnellement mettre à profit. On peut en dire autant des deux premiers volumes (l'un est sous presse et l'autre en cours d'achèvement) de la collection des classiques arabes, avec traduction française, de l'Assoc. G. Budé. R. Devreesse a fait paraître au printemps de 1945 le *Catalogue du fonds Coislin* de la Bibl. Nat. (XX, 450 p.). Cf. sa communication à l'Acad. d. Inscr. et Belles-Lettres (*Comptes Rendus*, 1942, p. 112–120).

A propos de sources: R. Loenertz, "La date de la lettre θ de Manuel Paléologue et l'inauthenticité du "Chronicon Majus" de Georges Phrantzès," *Echos d'Orient*, XXXIV (1940), 91–99), et A. Dain, *La collection florentine des tacticiens grecs. Essai sur une entreprise philologique de la Renaissance* (Coll. de philol. class.) Paris, 1940, 74 p.

Dans la série des traductions de sources, relevons: Ps.-Denis l'Aréopagite, *Oeuvres complètes* en un volume, trad. française accompagnée d'une préface et de notes par M. de Gandillac (chez Aubier, 1943); Nicolas Cabasilas, *Explication de la Divine Liturgie*, par S. Salaville (2 vol., chez Bloud, 1943); Grégoire de Nysse, *Contemplation de la vie de Moïse ou Traité de la perfection en matière de vertu*. Introductior et traduction par J. Daniélou (coll. *Les Sources chrétiennes*, éd. du Cerf, 1942, 176 p.). Clément d'Alexandrie, *Le Protreptique*, traduction par Cl. Mondésert (même coll., 1942, 189 p.).

Enfin, M. Canard continue l'impression de sa traduction française des textes arabes du tome II de A. A. Vasiliev, Византия и Арабы. On y trouvera, *Une description de Constantinople par Harun Yaḥyā*, texte traduit et annoté en reprenant et complétant des travaux de Marquart, Bury et Vasiliev (communication de M.

Canard à l'Institut d'Etudes Orientales de la Faculté des Lettres d'Alger, le 21 Janvier 1945).

En dehors des publications de textes, je ne vois qu'une seule *étude* de caractère purement philologique: Mlle Rouillard, "Une étymologie (?) de Michel Attaliate," *Rev. de Philol.*, XVI (1942), 63–66). Je n'ai eu connaissance d'aucune publication de l'histoire littéraire de Byzance. Voy. toutefois Frolov, "Deux inscriptions sur des reliquaires byzantins," *Rev. Arch.*, XVIII (1941), 233–242: pièces de vers restitués a Nicolas Calliclès et à Manuel Philès.

Les études originales dans le domaine de l'histoire économique et sociale ne sont représentées que par un seul ouvrage, qui est de Mlle Germaine Rouillard: *Recherches sur la vie rurale dans le monde byzantin* (actuellement sous presse) qui, résumant de nombreux travaux de détail, nous apportent une somme considérable de connaissances nouvelles et de vues suggestives. L'étude de Mlle Rouillard, qu'elle résumera dans des conférences de la fondation Schlumberger au Collège de France en 1945, porte successivement sur la vie rurale en Égypte byzantine, puis dans les autres parties de l'Empire, du VIII^e^s., aux Comnènes; sous les Comnènes et les Anges; sous les Paléologues; et se termine par un chapitre sur la vie journalière dans le monde rural byzantin. Un article du même auteur, dans *Études byz.*, I (1943), 74–84, touche au même domaine: "La politique de Michel VIII Paléologue à l'égard des monastères."

La thèse de P. Lemerle, qu'il a brillamment soutenue en été 1945, apportera une contribution importante à plus d'un aspect de l'histoire intérieure byzantine. Une partie considérable de son livre, actuellement sous presse, est consacrée à l'histoire de la ville de Philippes et de la Macédoine orientale, depuis le début de notre ère jusqu'à la conquête turque (*Philippi christiani, étude sur l'histoire de Philippes et de la Macédoine orientale à l'époque chrétienne et byzantine, et sur l'architecture de l'Orient chrétien au Ve et au VIe siècle*, env. 750 p. et Album de 80 p., chez de Boccard).

D'autres aspects de l'histoire intérieure ont fait l'objet d'un certain nombre d'études monographiques plus rapides. L. Bréhier, "Les empereurs byzantins dans leur vie privée," *Rev. Hist.*, CLXXXVIII (1940), 1–25) et: "L'enseignement classique et l'enseignement religieux à Byzance," *Rev. d'Hist. et de philos. relig. de la Fac. de Théol. protest. de l'Univer. de Strasbourg*, 1941, p. 34–69. R. Guilland, "Les eunuques dans l'empire byzantin. Étude de titulature et de prosopographie byzantines, *Etudes byz.*, I (1943), 196–238); du même, "Fonctions et dignités des eunuques" (*ibid.*, II (1944), 185–225). Les deux mémoires de M. Guilland, très documentés, qu'il consacre aux eunuques-dignitaires de l'Empire, seront suivis par un troisième et dernier article. Il traitera des eunuques ayant la charge de maître d'hôtel, d'échanson et de concierge de Palais (dans *Etudes Byz.*, III). Un sujet apparenté a été traité par le regretté A. Vogt, "Le protospathaire de la phiale et la marine byzantine," *Échos d'Orient*, XXXIX (1941–42), p. 328–332. La topographie historique de Constantinople a égalenent occupé A. Vogt, "Notes de topographie byzantine: 1. Au grand palais. 2. Ste-Marie de la Diaconesse. 3. Le palais patriarcal," *Échos d'Orient*, XXXIX, 1940, p. 78–90), ainsi que R. Janin, "Études de topographie byzantine: Les citernes d'Aétius, d'Aspar et de Bonus," *Etudes byz.*, I (1943), 85–115); "Topographie de Constantinople byzantine: le port sophien et les quartiers environnants" (*ibid.*, pp. 116–151).

Relevons, enfin, un chapitre de l'histoire de la Morée, dans R. Loenertz, "Pour l'histoire du Péloponèse au XIVe siècle (1382–1404)," *Etudes byz.*, I (1943), 152–196) et plusieurs études du R. P. Goubert: "Maurice et l'Arménie. Note sur le lieu d'origine et la famille de l'empereur Maurice (582–602)," *Échos d'Orient*, XXXIX (1941–42), 383–413); "L'aventure de Gondovald et les monnaies franques de l'empereur

Maurice.—Un second Gondovald: Syagrius.—Note sur le triens Viennois frappé au nom de Maurice," *ibid.*, p. 414–457). Du même auteur, une étude bien documentée sur "Byzance et l'Espagne visigothique (554–711)," dans *Études byz.*, II (1944), 5–78. Dans, *Échos d'Orient*, XXXIX (1940), 161–175, E. Dalleggio d'Alessio étudie et commente les versions diverses du "Traité entre les Génois de Galata et Mehmet II" (1er Juin 1453).

Tous les autres ouvrages et articles touchant l'histoire byzantine—et c'est la majorité—sont consacrés à l'histoire religieuse de Byzance. Il y a tout d'abord deux thèses de doctorat ès-lettres. Celles de M. Giet (*Les idées et l'action sociale de S. Basile*, 1941; *Sasimes, une méprise de S. Basile*, 1941) intéressent moins les études byzantines à proprement parler que la critique théologique de l'oeuvre du grand Cappadocien. Par contre, le livre de R. Devreesse, *Le patriarcat d'Antioche depuis la paix de l'Église jusqu'à la conquête arabe* (Lecoffre Gabalda et cie 1945, XIX 340 p.) reconstruit un morceau d'histoire ecclésiastique d'une importance considérable et apporte des quantités de faits nouveaux relatifs au christianisme en Syrie et dans les provinces voisines. Une première partie du livre est consacrée à l'histoire religieuse du patriarcat; une deuxième, plus étendue, est reservée aux fastes episcopaux, aux centres chrétiens et à leurs monuments.

Plusieurs revues se sont partagé les articles de R. Devreesse, tous relatifs à l'histoire de l'Eglise dans différentes provinces byzantines· "Le christianisme dans la péninsule Sinaïtique, des origines à l'arrivée des Musulmans," (*Rev. Bibl.*, 1940, pp. 205–223); "L'Eglise d'Afrique durant l'occupation byzantine," *Melanges d'Arch. et d'Hist.*, publ. par l'École française de Rome, 1940, pp. 143–166); "Le christianisme dans le Sud Palestinien· Négeb," *Rev. des Sciences relig.*, 1940, pp. 235–251); "Les anciens évêchés de Palestine," (*Mémorial Lagrange*, 1940, pp. 217–227).

C'est l'histoire de l'Église également et l'orthodoxie byzantines qui font l'objet d'un livre du R. P. Jugie destiné à un public plus large (*Le schisme byzantin*, chez Lethiellieux, 1941) et de la plupart des articles savants des RR.PP. Assomptionistes, dans leur revue *Echos d'Orient* (depuis 1940, deux fascicules parus, t. XXXIX, n° 197–198, Janvier–Juin 1940 et n° 199–200, 1941–1942) remplacée en 1943 par Études Byzantines (parus· t.I, 1943 et t.II, 1944). En voici le relevé, par fascicules de ces publications (sauf bien entendu les articles qui figurent *supra* sous d'autres rubriques).

Échos d'Orient, XXXIX, 1940: S. Salaville, "Formes ou méthodes de prière d'après un Byzantin du XIVe siècle, Theolepte de Philadelphie," pp. 1–25; V. Laurent, "Rome et Byzance sous le pontificat de Célestin III" (1191–1198), pp. 25–58; V. Laurent, "Une lettre dogmatique de l'empereur Isaac l'Ange au primat de Hongrie," pp. 59–77, M. Jugie, "Barlaam est-il né catholique? suivi d'une note sur la date de as mort," pp. 100–125; J. Gouillard, "L'acrostiche spirituel de Théognoste (XIVe s.?)," pp. 126–137.

Échos d'Orient, XXXIX, 1941–1942: V. Grumel, "Le schisme de Grégoire de Syracuse," pp. 257–267; S. Salaville, "L'épiclèse africaine," pp. 268–282; M. Jugie, "Deux homélies patriotiques pseudépigraphiques: S. Athanase sur l'Annonciation; S. Modeste de Jérusalem sur la Dormition," pp. 283–289; M. Th. Disdier, "Jean de Carpathos: l'homme, l'oeuvre, la doctrine" (2e article), pp. 290–311; M. E. Lauzière, "Les Théotokies coptes," p. 312–327; V. Grumel, "L'affaire de Léon de Chalcédoine: le décret ou semeioma d'Alexis Ier Comnène" (1086), pp. 333–341; V. Grumel, "Un document canonique inédit du patriarche Nicolas III Grammatikos: les réponses à l'évêque de Zétounion," pp. 342–348; S. Salaville, " 'L'Explication de la Messe' de l'Arménien Chosrov" (950), *Théologie et Liturgie*, p. 349–382.

Études Byzantines I, 1943: S. Salaville, "Vues sotériologiques chez Nicolas Cabasi-

las," pp. 5–57; V. Laurent, "L'érection de la métropole d'Athènes et le statut ecclésiatique de L'Illyricum au VIIIe s.," pp. 58–72; V. Grumel, "Le *περὶ μεταθέσεων* et le patriarche de Constantinople Dosithée," pp. 239–249; V. Grumel, "La chronologie des patriarches de Constantinople de 1111 à 1206," pp. 250–270.

Études Byzantines II, 1944: M. Th. Disdier, "Le témoignage spirituel de Thalassius de Libye," pp. 79–118; S. Salaville, "La vie monastique grecque au début du XIVe s. d'après un discours inédit de Théolepte de Philadelphie," pp. 119–125; V. Grumel, "L'affaire de Léon de Chalcédoine: le Chrysobulle d'Alexis Ier sur les objets sacrés," pp. 126–133; R. Janin, "Les sanctuaires de Byzance sous la domination latine" (1204–1261), p. 134–184.) (Je n'ai relevé que les articles originaux, à l'exclusion par conséquent des comptes rendus et notes bibliographiques.)

C'est encore aux études de l'histoire religieuse byzantine mais considerée d'un point de vue plus original qu'appartient l'excellent mémoire de A. Frolov, sur "La dédicace de Constantinople dans la tradition byzantine," *Rev. Hist. Relig.*, CXXVII (1944), pp. 61–127 (souvenir de la dédicace païenne et récits légendaires sur une dédicace chrétienne).

Si grâce à l'activité de l'équipe des RR.PP. Assomptionistes, la religion byzantine a fait l'objet d'un nombre élevé de travaux d'érudition, la même activité intense s'est manifestée chez les archéologues. Dans cette autre branche très vivante des études byzantines, on retrouve les mêmes catégories de publications: synthèse, documents, recherches.

Les années de guerre n'ont vu paraître qu'un seul et très bref aperçu général, par P. Lemerle, *Le style byzantin* (Larousse, 1943). On trouvera, en outre, une esquisse de la peinture byzantine refugiée en Italie pendant la crise iconoclaste, dans E. Mâle, *Rome et ses vieilles églises* (Flammarion, 1943), et maintes indications qui interessent l'archéologie byzantine dans René Villiard, *Recherches sur les origines de la Rome chrétienne*, Mâcon, 1941.

Plusieurs ouvrages sont exclusivement ou principalement des publications de documents. On rangera dans cette catégorie: le dernier volume (II, 2, 1942) des *Églises rupestres de la Cappadoce*, par G. de Jerphanion; *Miniatures byzantines de la Bibliothèque Nationale* (66 photographies inédites), par A. Grabar (Van Oest, 1940); *Les Miniatures du Grégoire Nazianze de l'Ambrosienne* (Ambrosianus 49–50), par le même (Van Oest, 1943: seul l'Album de 80 pl. a paru). Sur le point de paraître· G. Millet, *Broderies religieuses de style byzantin*, 216 pl., description, index (Presses Universitaires); J. Lassus, *Itinéraire archéologique dans le Nord du Djebel Sem'ân* (étude de sites négligés par les deux expéditions américaines, (Geuthner).

Parmi les monographies d'archéologie byzantine, c'est la thèse de J. Lassus qui est la plus considérable: *Les sanctuaires chrétiens de Syrie* (Geuthner, 1945). Elle est consacrée à l'architecture chrétienne dans ce pays et aux rapports entre l'art et le culte liturgique. On sait qu'une autre thèse, celle de P. Lemerle (v. *supra*), comprendra également une partie très importante reservée à l'architecture des églises du Ve et du VIe siècles et une publication des résultats des fouilles sur l'emplacement de deux basiliques de Philippes en Macédoine. L'ouvrage de Juliette Renaud, *Le cycle de l'Apocalypse de Dionysiou* (Presses Univ., 1943) a pour objet principal l'interprétation byzantine de gravures occidentales. Sous le titre *Le Martyrium, recherches sur le culte des reliques et l'art religieux à la fin de l'Antiquité et au haut moyen-âge*, A. Grabar fera paraître prochainement (publ. par le Collège de France) un ample volume où il étudie l'influence de la dévotion aux corps saints et aux lieux saints sur l'architecture et l'imagerie chrétienne du premier millénaire, dans toutes les parties de la chrétienté.

On s'attend à voir sortir des presses prochainement une petite monographie de

N. Millet, *La dalmatique du Vatican* qui comprendra une recherche sur l'iconographie du Jugement Dernier (Presses Univ.), tandis que chez Laurens, la collection des minuscules *Memoranda* s'enrichira bientôt d'une plaquette posthume de Ch. Diehl consacrée à *Mistra*. Une partie de la recherche de J. Baltrusaïtis, *L'église cloisonnée en Orient et en Occident* (Van Oest, 1941) est consacrée à des églises de Byzance et de l'Orient chrétien.

C'est hors de France, dans la Cité du Vatican, en 1940, que G. de Jerphanion a fait paraître la luxueuse monographie: *Les miniatures du manuscrit syriaque n° 559 de la Bibl. Vaticane* (*Codices e Vaticanis selecti*, XXV). Le même auteur consacre un volume analogue à un missel du XIVe s. qui, quoique sorti d'un atelier parisien, peut intéresser l'archéologie byzantine: à paraître prochainement, sous le titre: *Le Missel de la Ste-Chapelle à la Bibl. de Dijon* (*Doc. paléogr., typogr., iconogr. publiés par la Soc. des Amis de la Bibl. de Lyon.*).

Et voici, enfin, groupés par noms d'auteurs (dans l'ordre alphabétique) les articles des revues et des recueils consacrés à l'archéologie byzantine et à l'art des domaines voisins:

A. Frolov: "Émaux cloisonnés de l'époque post-byzantine," (deux articles dans *Cahiers Archéologiques*, I (Paris, 1945) et II, sous presse).—"Une inscription bulgare inédite" (sur une croix pectorale), *Rev. Ét. Slaves*, XXI (1944), p. 97–111).—Articles sous presse: "Église Rouge de Perustica," (*Bulletin of the Byzantine Institute*, Paris, I); "Ste-Marthe ou la Mère de Dieu? (sur une fresque de Neredicy), *ibid.*; "Deux églises byz. d'après des sermons peu connus de Léon VI le Sage" (*Études byz.*, III).

A. Grabar: "L'art religieux et l'Empire byzantin à l'époque des Macédoniens, *Annuaire* (1939–1940) *de la Section des sciences religieuses de l'Ecole des Hautes Etudes*), pp. 5–37; "Les fresques de la synagogue de Doura-Europos," *Comptes-Rendus de l'Acad. Inscr. et Belles-Lettres* (1941), p. 77–90; "Le thème religieux des fresques de la synagogue de Doura," *Rev. Hist. Relig.*, CXXIII, 2–3 (1941), 143–192 et CXXIV, 1 (1941), 5–35; "Cathédrales multiples et groupements d'églises en Russie," *Rev. Ét. Slaves*, XX (1942), 91–120; "Plotin et les origines de l'esthétique médiévale," *Cahiers Archéol.*, I, 1945; "Une fresque visigothique et l'iconographie du silence, *ibid.*; "Les ambons syriens et la fonction liturgique de la nef dans les églises antiques," *ibid.*; "Saint-Front de Périgueux et les églises byzantines en forme de croix," *Bulletin Soc. Nat. Antiquaires de France*, 1941, pp. 200–201; "Les décorations aniconiques de Baouît," *ibid.*, 1942, p. 180; "Notes sur les mosaïques et les fresques carolingiennes," *ibid.*, 1944, sous presse; "Notes sur les fresques de la nef à St-Savin-sur-Gartempe," *ibid.*, Janvier 1945, sous presse; "Ste-Sophie d'Edesse d'après une Sugitha syriaque," *Cahiers Archéolog.*, II, sous presse; (en collaboration avec Ch.-H. Puech), "Le reliquaire de sainte Foy de Conques et les martyrs trônant," *Cahiers Archeol.*, II, sous presse.

G. de Jerphanion, "Traces d'influences orientales dans les manuscrits illustrés de la bibliothèque de Lyon," *Comptes Rendus de l'Acad. Inscr. et Belles-Lettres*, 1943, p. 177–193; "La croix d'Herculanum (?)," *Orientalia christiana periodica*, VII (1941), 5–35; "Sur l'église de St-Siméon Stylite au Djebel Sem'ân," *ibid.*, IX (1943), 203–211; Voyez aussi plusieurs recensions de livres, *ibid.*, VI (1940) 150–197: *Bulletin d'archéologie chrét. et byz.*, VIII.

A. Piganiol, "L'hémisphairion et l'omphalos des Lieux Saints," *Cahiers Archéol.* I (1945).

W. Seston, "Le Jugement Dernier au mausolée de Galla Placidia," *ibid.*

May Vieillard, "Les canons d'évangéliaires de la Basse Antiquité," *ibid.*

Signalons, en outre, un article de numismatique: Dr Longuet, "Une monnaie de Jean V ou Jean VI," *Rev. Numism*, VI (1942), 111–116), et un mémoire de musico-

logie: R. Aigrain, "*Musicologie byzantine*," *Rev. Et. Grecques*, LIV (1941), 81–121 et 270–274.

Il convient enfin de mentionner un certain nombre de publications qui, sans être consacrées à Byzance, ne manqueront pas de rendre service aux byzantinologues.

L'étude de M. Canard, *L'impérialisme des Fatimides et Byzance* (communiquée en Janvier 1945 a l'Institut d'Etudes Orientales d'Alger) paraîtra dans les Annales du même Institut.—Une autre par le même auteur, sur *Une description de Constantinople par Harun ibn Yaḥyā* (comm. en 1943 au même Institut) sera imprimée dans le tome II de Vasiliev (v. *supra*, sources).

La thèse de Claude Cahen, *La Syrie du Nord à l'époque des Croisades et la principauté franque d'Antioche* (Geuthner, 1940, 768 p.) intéresse directement l'histoire byzantine de cette période. On trouvera dans A. Gabriel, *Voyages archéologiques dans la Turquie orientale* (De Boccard, 1940, 374 p. et 109 pl.), des indications précieuses sur les fortifications byzantines d'Amida et de Martyropolis. La monographie de J. Sauvaget, *La mosquée omeyyade de Médine: étude sur les origines architecturales de la mosquée et de la basilique* (sous presse chez Van Oest) comprend une étude nouvelle des origines de l'église à plan basilical qui dériverait des salles d'audience basilicales byzantines et romaines. La thèse du même auteur, *Alep. Essai sur le développement d'une grande ville syrienne des origines du milieu du XIXe siècle* (Geuthner, 1941) consacre un chapitre spécial à la ville byzantine et à ses monuments.

Toujours par J. Sauvaget, plusieurs articles d'archéologie omeyyade, recherches d'approche en vue d'un ouvrage d'ensemble sur les "Châteaux omeyyades de Syrie: 1°: Châteaux de Syrie," *Journal Asiatique*, 1939, pp. 1–59); 2°, "Argenteries 'sassanides,' " *Melanges Asiatiques*, 1940, pp. 19–57; 3°, "Les ruines omeyyades de 'Anjar,' " *Bull. du Musée de Beyrouth*, t. III; 4°, "Notes de topographie omeyyade," *Syria* sous presse).—Les châteaux omeyyades ont fait l'objet d'un article de H. Stern dont le texte avait été envoyé en 1941 à l'*Ars Islamica* (Univ. de Michigan).

M. Dupont-Sommer publie dans *Cahiers Archéol.*, II (sous presse) une traduction française, avec commentaire philologique, d'une Sughita syriaque qui comprend une description de Ste-Sophie d'Édesse.

Pour donner une idée tant soit peu fidèle de l'activité des byzantinistes français pendant la guerre, nous avons cru devoir mentionner, à côté des livres, et des articles parus, tous leurs ouvrages, particulièrement nombreux, qui déposés chez un imprimeur, n'arrivent pas à sortir des presses faute de courant électrique, de papier ou d'ouvriers. Mais il y a aussi les études, et notamment les recherches de longue haleine, que les circonstances ont empêché de finir et qui pourtant ont tenu une place importante dans les travaux de plus d'un érudit. Je me permettrai de citer quelques-unes de ces recherches, celles que leurs auteurs ont bien voulu me signaler.

C'est ainsi que Mlle Rouillard a entrepris des recherches, avec M. Jean Longnon, sur la période de la domination latine; elles ont porté sur des questions de diplomatique et sur l'organisation agraire, d'après l'étude comparée des documents latins et byzantins. Une autre recherche a pour objet le mode d'exploitation des terres par les colons dans la période qui a suivi le VIIIe siècle (à ce propos, la question du *νόμος γεωργικός* a été reprise et ses données comparées à celles des vies de saints et des documents d'archives). Autres recherches encore, sur les domaines monastiques en Egypte et sur certains passages des documents d'archives qui nous renseignent sur l'habitation byzantine. Enfin, Mlle Rouillard continue à préparer le tome II des Actes de Lavra.

M. Guilland a continue la traduction de *Jean Cantacuzène*, pour la collection G. Budé, ainsi que la préparation de son grand ouvrage d'ensemble sur la *littérature byzantine*.

C'est une édition des *Gloses nomiques* à laquelle travaille M. Dain, qui avait commencé cette étude en collaboration avec le regretté P. Noailles.

M. Lemerle a en preparation: un *Jean VI Cantacuzène* (pour Albin Michel) et un volume de *Studia byzantina I, Étude sur l'histoire et les archives du couvent d'Esphigménou* (quelques inédits de ce couvent ont été le point de départ de ce travail.

Le R. P. Paul Goubert prépare une thèse sur l'empereur Maurice, sous la direction de M. L. Bréhier.

M. Canard achève un travail sur *la dynastie syro-mésopotamienne des Hamdamides du Xe s.*, dont certains chapitres ont trait aux diverses relations des Hamdamides avec Byzance. Pour une échéance plus lointaine, il prépare un travail sur les *Relations entre l'Egypte musulmane et Byzance.*

Plusieurs études sont sur le chantier chez M. Frolov: un *Catalogue raisonné d'une collection de croix et d'images pectorales conservées à Vatopèdi* (Mission Millet, 1918); une étude d'ensemble sur *les reliquaires de la Vraie Croix* une ttude des *légendes en abréviations accompagnant les images de la croix* et, enfin, éune éude du thème iconographique de la *Vierge "Znamenie."*

M. Grabar continue la préparation du volume de texte qui complétera l'album, déjà paru, de son *Grégoire de Nazianze de l'Ambrosienne* (v. supra). Il travaille à un petit volume sur les *Fresques de Baouît* et à un autre sur les *Baptistères*, architecture, images et culte. Il prépare, en outre, une monographie sur l'Image dans le culte chrétien, les Iconophiles et les Iconoclastes.

ANDRÉ GRABAR

Paris, 1945

NOTE

Je me permets d'ajouter à ce magnifique tableau de l'activité des byzantinistes français quelques lignes du modeste auteur de cette note, empruntu à un lettre de juillet 1945:

Malgré tout, j'ai réussi à maintenir mon enseignement à l'Ecole des Hautes Etudes et même à travailler scientifiquement d'une façon assez intense. Quelques articles, deux publications de manuscrits byzantins enluminés et un livre de 400 pages sous presse (sur le Martyrium, recherches sur les rapports entre le culte des corps saints et des lieux saints, d'une part, et, de l'autre, l'architecture et l'imagerie chrétienne, à leurs débuts)—voici le fruit de mes études de temps de guerre. Le livre sur *Le Martyrium* surtout est ce que je crois apporter de nouveau,—une espèce de pendant chrétien au travail sur l'Empereur dans l'art byzantin de 1936. Par ailleurs, j'ai préparé et mis en marche une collection de recueils qui, sous le titre de *Cahiers Archéologiques*, offriront des études sur l'archéologie paléo-chrétienne, byzantine et latine du haut moyen-âge, avec l'accent porté sur des problèmes comparatistes et sur les recherches d'archéologie religieuse et "idéologique." Le premier Cahier paraîtra en Octobre; le 2e est en composition. . . . Autre entreprise préparée pendant l'occupation et dont je commence la réalisation, avec un groupe de fidèles: une Cartothèque des édifices chrétiens d'Orient et d'Occident antérieurs à l'an mil. A ma connaissance, cela n'existe nulle part et pourra rendre de grands services. Je prolonge et modernise ainsi la "Collection byzantine et chrétienne" que M. Millet avait fondée à l'Ecole des Hautes Etudes. . . . .

[H. G.]

THE WRITINGS OF A. A. VASILIEV

By Peter W. Topping

1893

Review of И. Помяловский, Житие иже во святых отца нашего Феодора, архіепископа Эдесскаго,
Жур. М-ва Нар. Пр., часть 286, 201–203.

1894

"О славянском происхождении Юстиниана,"
Византийский Временник, I, 469–492.

1896

"О греческих церковных песнопениях,"
Византийский Временник, III, 582–633.

1897

Obituary of P. Kalligas.
Виз. Врем., IV, 313–314.
Obituary of N. Kalogeras.
Виз. Врем., IV, 314.

1898

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NOTE: This bibliography is based on the list appearing in the *Seminarium Kondakovianum* (vol. X [1938], pp. 12–17), with additions and corrections made in consultation with Professor Vasiliev. All scientific publications by Professor Vasiliev in Byzantine and related studies are included.

THE PHONIKON AND OTHER BYZANTINE TAXES

A correction to André Mirambel's
"Blood Vengeance in Southern Greece and among the Slavs," *Byzantion*, XVI, 389

André Mirambel, quoting a passage from the Chrysobull of Andronicus II (1299 A.D.) translates it "with the exception of provisioning of corn, construction of castles, mountain life, vendetta" (p. 389).

André Mirambel, whose article was written in 1940 in London, did not know a parallel passage in another Chrysobull of the same emperor published in *Byzantion*, XV (1941), 167–207. Alexander's scholarly publication, it is true, is cited in Mirambel's article. But the reference was added by the editor of *Byzantion*. I should have altered Mirambel's mistranslation in connection with the new text and Alexander's remarks on the technical sense of the expressions used in it. Professor Peter Charanis rightly observes that the correct translation should be "with the exception of the taxes called *sitarkia*, *kastroktisia*, *orike* and *phonos*." The κεφάλαιον φόνου, called more often φονικ'ν, sometimes δόσις φόνου, was a fine for murder and consisted in the confiscation of part or all of the movable property of the culprit. Whatever the origin and history of the vendetta may have been in mediaeval Greece, no information can be gained about it from the official pronouncemente concerning the *phonikon*. Cf. G. Rouillard & A. Soloviev, "τὸ, φονικόν, *Une influence slave sur le droit pénal byzantin*," Μνημόσυνα Παπουλία (Athens, 1924), pp. 221–232.

H. G.

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[1] κεφάλαιον φόνου.
[2] φονικόν.
[3] δόσις φόνου.